4570. f. 9

Mornay (P. de)

THE MYSTERIE OF INIQVITIE:

That is to say,

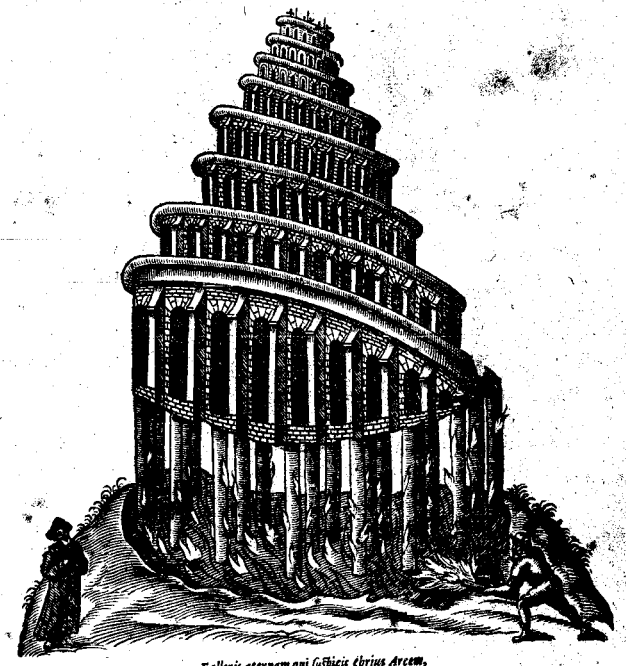
The Hiſtorie of the Papacie.

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

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

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

Engliſhed by SAMSON LENNARD.



Fulleris æternam qui ſuſpicis ebrius Arcem,
Subruta ſuccenſis mox cornet ima tigillis.

LONDON

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

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

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

To your Highneſse

moſt humbly

deuoted,

SAMSON LENNARD.

TO THE RIGHT REVE-

rend Fathers in God, GEORGE Archbiſhop of *Canturburie, and Metropolitan of England: and* IOHN *Biſhop of London.*

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

Your Graces and Lordſhips in all dutie

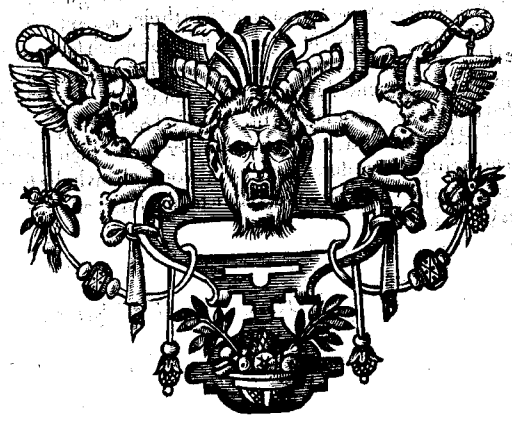
to be commaunded,

SAMSON LENNARD.

TO THE READER.

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

S. L.



A

TO THE FRIENDS AND FOLlowers of the Church of Rome.

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

Marke.v.27. Act.17.v.19. Matth.19.v.8. Ioh.9.v.29. Ioh.5.v.46.47.

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

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

A ceme, but yet by the persecuting rable vnmanured, defaced, halfe couered; Her
voice amongst the Salmonean thunders of the Popes was hardly heard, being e-
uery where interrupted by the noise of the sparkling flames about her, and, as it
were in Phalaris bull, in the writings of the Monks, and the mouthes of her aduer-
saries (least we should lament the tortures of the godlie) turned into the bellow-
ing of an Oxe.

Doest thou aske therefore where our Church was so manie ages past? *where it
fed her flockes, where it lay at noone*? Heare I pray thee what S. *Iohn* the Euange- *Cant.1.v.7.*
list saith, *The woman*, that is the Church, persecuted by the Dragon, *did flie into* *Apoc.12.v.6.&*
the wildernesse, where shee hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there, 16.
B *one thousand, two hundred, and threescore dayes*, that is, propheticall daies, a time cer-
taine, and that not short. Shee is not therefore to be sought in the Popedome,
in the light of the world, in the middest of pride and excesse. It is likewise sayd
that the dragon *which deceiued the whole world* hauing great wrath, persecuted *the
woman, and cast out of his mouth water after the woman, like a floud, that shee might be
carried away of the floud*; But there were then *giuen to the woman two wings of a great
Eagle, that shee might flie into the wildernesse*. And of a flight in the ayre there re-
maines no trace; In such sort that we are not bound to search after it, much lesse
to shew it, accounting it sufficient that we beleeue the Scriptues: That God
knoweth who are his: That the Church is knowne vnto God, as in the time of
C *Eliah*, though vnknowne to the Prophet, whereof, after so many ages past, there
is no reason why any account should be demaunded of vs.

But I will not deale so rigorously with you, will you know where, and what
manner of Church ours was in all your time? Our Church was that Primitiue
Apostolike Church inspired with the holie Ghost, grounded vpon the word of
God, which hath left vnto vs the Canon of the holie Scriptures the rule of our
faith and life, the Symboll of the Apostles the badge of our Christian warfare.
To vs therefore that embrace all these, and to hold and defend them, reject all hu-
mane inuentions, stoppe our eares against the voice of a stranger, the societie of
this Church, spread farre and wide through the world, and, as our Sauiour saith,
D continuing to the last day of the world, cannot be denied. But on the other side,
against you is that curse, threatened by S. Paule, who besides and against this
preach another Gospell; *If we or any angell from heauen preach vnto you otherwise, let
him be accursed*. Our Church is that which hath continued with this, yea hath *Gal.1.v.7.8.9.*
been euer ioyned vnto it, shining with so manie and so great miracles, made red
with so many and glorious martyres; For these are the miracles that witnesse the *1.Ioan.5.7.*
truth of this Gospell, Martyrdomes that gaue testimonie to Christ the onely be-
gotten sonne of God, the onely redeemer of mankind, Mediator, Sauiour, the on-
ly true Priest of the new Couenant, which we onely vrge, refusing all other, and
are readie to seale it with our bloud: Ours therefore are these miracles, and these
E Martyrdomes, since we are incorporated with them, by one and the same faith in-
to one and the same Church. Now tell me I pray, haue your traditions beene
confirmed by these miracles? Can you or dare you affirme, that any of your mar-
tyres haue suffered for the Papacie, for the Popish doctrine, for the adoration of I-
mages, the worship of Saints, the traffike of Purgatorie, the sacrifice of the Masse,
Transubstantiation? By what right then doe you arrogate vnto your selues the
miracles and martyrdomes of that Church, by what right, nay rather what wrong,
doe you take them from vs the true heires of their faith? I would to God, wee
could as truely say of their constancie. Againe our Church is that, that hereto-

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

From thence-forward the authoritie of one man by the contempt of the word of God, gathering ſtrength in the Church of Rome, the Princes likewiſe, according as it was foretold, ſtriuing to giue their aſſiſtance, he made and vnmade lawes at his owne pleaſure, preferring humane inuentions before the diuine oracles, his decrees before the Canons of Councells, Nouelties before antiquities, things profane, before holie, borrowed from elſewhere before his owne, adulterat before lawfull, ſuperſtition before religion, and all this furniture of Paganiſme, before Chriſtian ſimplicitie, by which meanes the Church by degrees fell into this corruption, and languiſhing conſumption. In ſuch ſort neuertheleſſe, that in the middeſt of this corruption, this confuſion, a part of our ſelues did ſtill remaine, and that in a twofold manner. This Church was a part of our ſelues, though corrupt, cloked, and couered with wood and hay, and ſtubble, yea in a manner ouerwhelmed, ſo long as ſhee ſtood vpon her onely true foundation Chriſt Ieſus, ſo long as the ſaluation of man depended vpon him onely, his merit, the bloud of his croſſe; Not vpon our owne or other mens workes, not vpon Popiſh abſolutions and indulgences, and other blaſphemous toyes of that nature. And as it falleth out, that the wind changing, the wether altereth, ſo for a time the matter hung in an equal ballance, vntill impietie ouer-weighing the mind of man, by a kind of ſelfe-loue, being prone to humane inuentions, true pietie was taken away. Againe this Church was a part of our ſelues, and the purer part, inaſmuch as many excellent men famous for their pietie and learning ſprung vp therein almoſt in euerie Nation, lifting vp their heads in the middeſt of this darkeneſſe; Aſſemblies of Biſhops and whole vniuerſities ſtriuing with all their force, againſt that ſwift and violent ſtreame, ſhewed thereby the newneſſe of the doctrine: But ſtriuing in vaine, broke out into mournings and clamours and complaints, calling heauen and earth to witneſſe againſt the Popes and their followers; who ſpeaking with ſo cleere

1. Corinth. 3.

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

And theſe things fell out in the ſeuenth, eight, and ninth ages, in which the Eaſt Church was directly oppoſite againſt the Weſt, the Weſt at variance with it ſelfe, their Councells wauering, and in one and the ſame Councell voices diuided, different opinions: we call theſe times the twilight of the Church, growing by little and little into an obſcure and darke night; A moonleſſe night, wherein there are few ſtarres, and thoſe that twinckle moſt, for the moſt part wandring, not
C faſtened in the firmament the word of God. In ſuch ſort, that whither you reſpect doctrine or manners, this night ſeemed to be the laſt night of the Church, her breſt, yea her heart, being pierſt, and her throat cut; The doctrine of the onely mediator, redeemer, ſauiour of mankind, Chriſt Ieſus, of his onely propitiatorie ſacrifice, almoſt extinct, and reſerued (if we looke into the outward face of things) amongſt a few. This no doubt was that time, wherein that *Woman*, the true Deut. 32. v. 11.
Church being put to flight by the Dragon, and borne vpon the wings of that great Eagle, was enforced to retire her ſelfe to the wildernesſe: Of that Eagle, the eternall omnipotent Iehoua, who when there is neede, knoweth how to carrie and keepe his Church, as the Eagle doth her young. This likewiſe was that time, Apoc. 12. 15.
D wherein that Dragon *caſt out of his mouth water after the woman like a ſloud, that ſhee might be carried away of the ſloud.* But ſhee whom thou ſeekeſt and perſecuteſt to the death, being got out of thy ſight, cutteth the ayre with her wings; ſeekes the ſteepie tops of the mountaines, where ſhee reſteth and hideth her ſelfe vnder the wings of the Almighty: And ſhee, whom thou like a wretch thinkeſt to be periſhed, in the beginning of the twelfth age, tooke her flight towards the plaine, God mouing and leading her the way, into Dauphin, Prouince, Languedock, Guyenne, the plains of Italie, filling all from the Pirenei hills to the Alpes, from the Alpes to the Appenine, with the preaching of the Goſpell. At the laſt her enemies the Popes, exerciſing their furie againſt her, after many bloudie ſlaughters and maſla-
E cres, being rather ſowed than ſcattered, ſhe ſprings vp & takes root, in Germanie, Slauonia, Hungary, & England it ſelfe, & there hath founded & extended her Colonies: No otherwiſe than that firſt Apoſtolike Church driuen from Hieruſalem by the furious prieſts, diſperſed it ſelfe by the great prouidence of God into all parts of the world, publiſhing the Goſpell (which otherwiſe had been included within a little circuit) in all the corners therof. Read, my good friend the Hiſtories of this time, ſet downe by your owne writers; we produce our witneſſes out of thine owne boſome; we haue no other either for you, or againſt you: It ſhall be eaſie for thee there to note her foot-ſteps. Heere ſome by flocks are maſſacred,

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

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

Remember *Ionas*, a figure of the bodie of Christ in the Sepulchre, and there-
fore of his Church: Thou seest him swallowed by the Whale, and thou thinkest
him deuoured, and thou hast reason to beleeue too; for he saith, *The waters compas-*
Ionas c. 2. & 3. *sed me about vnto the soule, the depth closed me round about, and the weeds were wrapt a-*
bout my head, in so much that I said, I am cast away out of thy sight; out of the sight of
God himselfe, if we may so say, not of men, not of his aduersaries: But I (saith he)
will yet looke againe toward thy holie Temple: Out of the bellie of hell it selfe, the bowels
of that beast, I cried, and thou hear dest my voyce. At the verie becke of the omnipo-
tent God this monster cast out *Ionas* vpon the drie land, to be sent as an Herauld
to preach repentance vnto the Niniuites, a people seperated from the Church. E
What maruell then is it, that the Popedome hauing swallowed vp this poore
Church, at the word of the Lord, in these later times should cast it out againe,
that so the Gospell might be preached more gloriously than before, euen to your
selues?

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

A there was none such, except thou seeke it among the Heathen with *Simon Magus*,
not *Simon Peter*. In a whole thousand yeares was there any Church that called
the Hoast Lord, thought it a god, adored it? In a whole thousand two hundred
yeares, that shut it vp in a box, carried it about, appointed vnto it a proper feasti-
uall day, set it out with pomp to be gazed vpon by the people, as in a publike The-
atre? Againe, in a whole thousand yeares after Christ, was there any Church,
howsoeuer otherwise corrupted, that placed Christ the sonne of God betweene
the hands of a Priest, yea created him, that sold his sacrifice for money, to be offe-
red at all times, yea euerie moment of time, and in all places; That abolished the
auncient institution of Christ, and Communion of the faithfull, bringing into the
B place thereof their solitarie Masses for the liuing and the dead, mumbled vp in a
corner; That depriued the people of the Cup of the Lord, to feed them with the
smoke of this pretended sacrifice? And since I am entred into it, to lay open these
monstrous abuses to the view of the world, Was there any Church that accused
the Scriptures of insufficiencie, or imperfection, writing bookes to that purpose;
That forbad the reading of them, as being daungerous and deadly, vpon paine
of grieuous punishment, and that by a publike Decree? Againe, was there any
Church in the whole world, for six hundred yeares after Christ, that beleeued the
Pope of Rome to be the Vniuersall Bishop, an earthlie Prince, armed with both
swords spirituall and temporall; That for a thousand yeres, out of Rome, acknow-
C ledged him to be Pope and Emperour, the Lord of the world, the true Spouse of
the Church; That for twelue hundred yeares did affirme him to be aboue gene-
rall Councels, the Catholike Church, the Scriptures; That did affirme or teach,
That he had power to dispose of the state of our soules by his Indulgences, That
he could shut Purgatorie, open heauen, canonize for a Saint, or damne to hell, at
his pleasure, whom it pleased him; commaund the Angels, abrogat the lawes of
God, and therefore a god, and aboue God? Adde if you will, to make vp the
matter, What Church in those ages euer knew those multitudes of Monkes, the
foure Orders of begging Friers, the scarlet Cardinals, this Pontificall pompe, his
Ianizaries and Mamalukes, and lastly his Iesuites, who are as it were the rereward
D of the Popes armie? And yet of these doth your Church now consist, and they
must be beleeued vpon paine of damnation. Herein *Bellarmine* and *Baronius* spend
their labours, and he that abates but a haire of that they affirme, let him bee ac-
counted as a Heathen or Publican. That man on the other side that beleeues all
this, especially all those poynts that concerne the Pope, though he be otherwise
an heretike, a prophane person, an Atheist, yet he is a good Catholike, and in the
right way. It is now then your part to proue this your Church out of the Fathers,
Councels, Histories, yea euen your owne, for I refuse not any.

But perhaps thou wilt aske, though against the rules of disputation, By what
apparent reason it appeares that your Church hath erred, and how it should bee
E likely, that it hath hitherto receiued Christ his enemie for Christ his Vicar, and
how and in what part that corruption thou speakest of hath crept in? Hearken,
my friend, let not this preposterous presumption deceiue thee; the Angels in hea-
uen haue erred, our first parents in Paradice haue erred, *Iacob* amongst so many vi-
sions of God, Israel in the desart, in the middest of so many myracles, haue erred;
the Church, the Spouse of God, vnder the Iudges, the Kings in the presence of
the Arke, in that holie land, though reproued by the Prophets, verie often, in the
time of the first Temple, and as often vnder the second, and that which is more,
puffed vp with the doctrine of the Law, euen to the forsaking of Christ himselfe,
the

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

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

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

Diuiditis muros, & mœnia panditis vrbis,
Et licet——Vtero ſonitum quater arma dedêre.

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

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

Inſtantes operi immemores cæcique furore,
Hoc monſtrum infœlix ſacratâ ſiſtitis Arce.

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

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

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

Lib Benedicti de Benedictis Bonnię excu. sus Anno 1608. Item Thes. Caraffæ Neapoli ex. cusę 1609.

behold Paul 5 your Pope at this day. He is placed in the beginning of the books lately printed, counterfeited as it were in a table euen to the life, with this inscription. PAVLO V. VICEDEO 5 to Paule the 5 Gods Vicegerent, *The inuincible Monarch of the Christian Commonweath, and the most valiant Protector of the Pontificall power.* And in the same stile we read at Tolentine: *To Paul 3 The most great and excellent God on earth.* The scepters and diademes of Princes, Kings and Emperours are his Trophes, who stand about him beholding him with astonishment bowing downeward, strooken with his lightning, adoring him with this inscription ouer his head, *His countenance presageth an Empire.* The word of God soundeth on euery side, but God knowes strangely wrested and applyed; *The nation and kingdome which will not serue him, I will visit saith the Lord with the sword, and with the famine, and with the pestilence. Ierem* 27. That which was once foretold of Nabuchadnezzar the destroyer of the Church, he like another Caiphas applyeth to himselfe, and will haue it fulfilled in him the Alastor and vsurper of the Christian Church. Againe, *He gaue him dominion and honor and a Kingdome, and all the people shall serue him, his dominion is an euerlasting dominion, which shall neuer be taken away, and his Kingdome shall neuer be destroyed. Dan. 7 With their faces towards the earth, they shall licke the dust of thy feet. Esay* 49. 23. That which was spoken of Christ onelie, the eternall sonne of God, gouerning his Church, and to be applied to no man elfe, is without blasphemy communicated to others. These things were done by *the commaund of the Superiors*, and printed at Bononia, and at Naples; And that not rashly, or by the priuat endeuors, and inconsiderat zeale of some priuat men, but by a decree of the Popes Senat, the matter solemnly deliberated, and in *Loco Maiorum*, in the presence of Paul himselfe, in a famous assembly of Cardinals, and a great concourse of people disputed and determined. Here Reader thou beginnest to bend thy browes, but they are not secrets that I vtter: Rome knowes these things, and these monsters are set out to the view of euery man; And thou art a great stranger in thine owne Church, if thou knowest them not; a traytor to thy selfe, if knowing them thou dissemblest it. These Iuglers in the meane time, are not ashamed to tell vs, in bookes printed to that purpose, That Antichrist is borne at Babylon with the teeth of a Cat, with rowling eyes, growen to his full stature in an instant, made knowen by his miracles, and presently marching towards vs with a huge armie. What opinion haue these men either of your sottishnesse, or their owne sufficiencie, that they should thinke to blind you with these fooleries? How long shall they with their brazen faces goe scotfree, or you, euen with the losse of your owne soules, with your leaden minds? Shall they alwaics lull you asleepe with these fables, and will you neuer find a time to awaken, neuer haue vnderstanding to discerne them?

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

Apoc. 18. v. 4. & 9.

Apoc. 17. v. 16.

בישעוכרה

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

Esay 63. 3.

Apoc. 18. v. 10.

Apoc. 19. v. 2.

Luk. 2. v. 29. 30.



To

To the Reader.

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

PAVLO V. VICEDEO.

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

5.
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666.

THE

THE MYSTERIE OF INIQVITIE:

That is to say,

The Historie of the Papacie.

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

THE PREFACE.

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

A THE Mysterie, whose proceedings we here intend to set downe in writing, is none other, than that which was foretold by S. *Paule* in his second Epistle to the Thessalonians, and the second chapter; and more particularly by circumstances and signes described by S. *Iohn*, in the thirteenth, fourteenth, seuenteenth, and eighteenth chapters of his Reuelation: which Mysterie, time it selfe from age to age, hath euer interpreted by euents, till now at B length all prophesies fulfilled, we see it clearely reuealed in these our dayes. S. *Paule* therefore 2. Thess. cap. 2. telleth vs, That *that day of Christ*, meaning that glorious day of his last comming, *shall not come, vnlesse there first come that Apostasie* and notable reuolt, that is, vnlesse some great part of the Church first fall away from the pure and vndefiled seruice of Christ; and vnlesse *that man of sinne be first reuealed; that sonne of perdition*, which shall be ringleader and chiefe director in this desperate reuolt; lost in himselfe, and cause of perdition vnto others, and is C therefore called by S. *Iohn* Ἀπολλύων, that is to say, a Destroyer. And to the end that Apocal. 9. vers. 11. none should take offence when these things should come to passe, he forewarneth vs of the greatnesse of this reuolt, by representing it to our vnderstanding vnder the name of Babylon, and of an Horrible confusion; comparing him who

Apocal.17. verſ.3. was to haue the chiefe direction and commaund in this worke, to *a woman ſitting* A
vpon a Beaſt of ſcarlet colour, eminent, and in euerie reſpect glorious, and conſe-
Ibid. verſ.8. quently admired of all thoſe who ſhould behold her, ſaue onely thoſe *whoſe*
names are written in the booke of life: inſomuch, that euen Kings, thoſe I meane
whom ſhe ſhall make drunke with the wine of her abhominations, ſhall giue her
their authoritie and power, to helpe warre vpon the Saints, and that Peoples and Na-
Ibid. verſ.15. tions ſhall ſerue her for a ſeat to ſit vpon: *The waters* (ſayth he) *on which ſhe ſit-*
teth are Peoples, and Multitudes, and Nations, and Tongues. So that, that Apoſta-
ſie and that man of ſinne make both togeather a kind of Eſtate or Kingdome;
whereof the Apoſtaſie is the Bodie, euen the Papacie, which hath long ſince de-
generated from the true doctrine of Chriſt, drenching the world with Idolatrie B
and Superſtition; and that Man of ſinne is the Head, euen the Pope, or Romane
Biſhop, in whoſe perſon all this power and authoritie is combined, and in his
Apocal. ca.13. verſ.12. name executed. And for this cauſe maketh S. *Paule* mention of *an Apoſtaſie, and*
of a man of ſinne; and S. *Iohn* of *a ſecond Beaſt*, and *of a Whore*: By which ſecond
Beaſt, which exerciſeth the authoritie of the firſt, what can be meant but the Ro-
mane Hierarchie, which hath deriued vpon her ſelfe all the authoritie of that an-
cient Commonwealth, making the earth to adore the firſt Beaſt in the ſecond;
that is, the old Rome in the new? And that Whore there ſpoken of, what is ſhe
but the Pope, in whom all that abhomination is compriſed, and as it were incor-
porated, who holdeth the cup in his hand, preſenting it to Kings, and vnto Peo- C
ples, and making them drunke therewith? And as S. *Paule* deſcribeth that Man
2.Theſſ. cap.2. verſ.4. of ſinne, by ſaying, that it is *he which oppoſeth and lifteth himſelfe vp aboue all that*
Apocal.17. verſ.3. *is called God*; ſo that Whore in S. *Iohn* is deſcribed *ſitting vpon a ſcarlet coloured*
Beaſt, full of names of blaſphemies, and her cup full of abhominations, filthineſſe, and
whoredome. Now what greater blaſphemie than to call himſelfe God, and to
make himſelfe aboue his Word? or what greater whoredome than Idolatrie, ſti-
led by this verie name in the holie Scriptures? All which yet muſt paſſe vnder a
colour of pietie and religion, and couered with a maske of the worſhip of the li-
uing God: And ſo farre forth muſt this hypocriſie preuaile, that as S. *Paule* ſayth,
2.Theſſ. cap.2. *This man of ſinne ſhall ſit as God in the Temple of God, and ſhall haue*, as S. *Iohn* D
ſpeaketh, *two hornes like a Lambe*, thereby to make at leaſt ſome ſhew and appa-
Apocal.13. verſ.11. rance of the doctrine of Chriſt, yet ſpeaking (ſayth he) *like a Dragon, and teaching*
the doctrine of the deuill; as doe the Pope and Papacie at this day.

Thus then you ſee what the perſon of Antichriſt is. As touching the place
where he ſhall haue his Seat (for that is the terme which they properly vſe) the
2.Theſſ.cap.2. verſ.4. caſe is cleere. S. *Paule* telleth vs, *That he ſhall ſit in the Temple of God*, that is, in the
moſt eminent place of this viſible Church: and S. *Iohn* more plainely, *Vpon ſe-*
Apocal.17. verſ.9. verſ.1. verſ.15. *uen Hils, i.* at Rome, aunciently ſurnamed Επταλοφος, *i.* a Citie built vpon ſeuen
hils, by vertue of which Seat he ſhall beare rule ouer manie nations; for *the great*
whore (ſayth he) *ſitteth vpon manie Waters*: and the Angell expoundeth theſe E
words in this manner; *The Waters which thou haſt ſeene, on which the Whore ſitteth,*
are Peoples and Multitudes, and Nations and Tongues.

As for the Time, which is the maine doubt of all, S. *Paule* telleth vs; *And now*
(ſayth he) *you know* το κατεχον, that which withholdeth him, *to the end he may be*
reuealed in his due time, to wit, the Romane Empire; whoſe place Antichriſt was
to poſſeſſe, which alſo was of neceſſitie firſt to be diſſolued, before that other
could openly appeare: wherefore alſo it is ſaid in the verſe next follow-
2.Theſſ.cap.2. verſ.6. ing, μονον ὁ κατεχων αρτι ἑως ἐκ μεσου γενηται, *Onely vntill he which now withholdeth, be ta-*
ken

A *ken out of the way*, or aboliſhed, becauſe that the one muſt build and raiſe it ſelfe
vpon the ruines of the other: in which place, by το κατεχον, *that which withhold-*
deth or hindereth, is meant the Romane State; and by ὁ κατεχων, he which with-
holdeth or hindereth, their forme of gouernment, which was Monarchicall: as
before by the *Apoſtaſie* was ſignified the Romane Church, by *that man of ſinne*
the head and gouernour thereof was prefigured. And S. *Iohn* ſpeaketh yet more
plainely, as one that ſaw Antichriſt at a leſſer diſtance, and ſayth, That *this ſe-* Apocal.13.
cond Beaſt exerciſeth the power of the firſt Beaſt, in his preſence; that is, that he arro- verſ.3.& 12.
gateth this power to himſelfe in the face of the Empire, and ſetleth it in himſelfe, & 15.
in ſuch ſort, *that the deadlie wound of the firſt Beaſt ſeemed to be healed*: to whom
B alſo *he giueth life and ſpeech*, making the old eſtate of Rome to quicken againe,
and to reuiue in the new. All which could not poſſibly be done by one man, nor
yet in the life of one man (certaine ages ſometimes paſſing betweene the firſt
decline, and the finall ruine of great Empires) but in long continuance of time,
and ſucceſſion of manie yeres, as the manner of one State is, in long time, to raiſe
it ſelfe out of the corruption and aſhes of another. And ſo much appeareth by
that which followeth in S. *Paule*: for (ſayth he) *that myſterie of iniquitie now wor-*
keth, this thred of Sathan is alreadie ſet into the loome, not by open force, but as
it is there added, *According to the effectuall working of Sathan in all power, in ſignes* 2.Theſſ. ca.2.7
and miracles of lies, and in all deceitfulneſſe of iniquitie: and as S. *Iohn* ſayth, *ſe-* verſ.9.& 10.
C *ducing the inhabitants of the earth by her ſignes and wonders, which ſhe had power* Apocal.13.14.
giuen her to doe before the Beaſt, and *making all nations to drinke of the wine of her* and cap.19.
fornications, and enforceling them with idolatrous ſuperſtitions. And indeed verſ.8.
this peſtilent Eſtate and Empire, enemie to God and to his Chriſt, is not now
(as in ſome meaſure we ſee alreadie come to paſſe) begun to be deſtroyed by
force of armes, but as S. *Paule* ſayth, *By the ſpirit of the Lords mouth, and by the* 2.Theſſ. cap.2.
brightneſſe of his comming, by the preaching of his Word and cleare light of his verſ.8.
doctrine, which is to ſhine in theſe later dayes; whichare oppoſed to *the darkneſſe*
and miſts of Sathan, as the comming of Chriſt in brightneſſe, *i.* in truth, is oppo-
ſed to the comming of *that man of ſinne in all power of lying*: the Lord proclaiming
D by his Angell, euen by the miniſterie of his true ſeruants, with a loud voice vnto
all the world: *If anie one adore the Beaſt and his Image, and take his marke vpon his* Apocal.14.
forehead, and vpon his hand, he alſo ſhall drinke of the pure wine poured out of the cup of verſ.9.& 10.
his wrath, and ſhall be tormented with fire and brimſtone before the holie Angels and
before the Lambe. But ſayth S. *Iohn*, *Here is the patience of the Saints*: as alſo
S. *Paule* ſayth in the verie beginning of that ſecond chapter to the Theſſalonians,
Be not yee troubled, neither by ſpirit, neither yet by word, neither by Epiſtle, as if that
day were neere at hand: his meaning is, that this myſterie alreadie ſet on foot muſt
run on and hold his courſe, and that in the meane time the Saints of God haue
much to ſuffer, euen betweene that day wherein that Whore glorying in her
E wantonneſſe ſhould ſay, *I ſit a Queene, and cannot be a widow*, in that day, euen Apocal.18.
that inſtant of time, when her wounds ſhall come vpon her, that ſhe ſhall be burt verſ.7.& 8. &
ned in the fire, that the Angell ſhall crie out, ſaying, *She is fallen, She is fallen.* cap.19.verſ.20.
Wherefore againe I ſay, that this cannot be meant of one man, or of one age,
but of manie; of the waxing and waining of ſome temporall Monarchie, of the
infancie, youth, perfect age, decline, and finall deſtruction of ſome ſpirituall
tyrannie: neither let anie man thinke, that this is a chicke of my hatching, but the
interpretation of the moſt auncient Fathers, which in all likelyhood receiued it
by hand from the Apoſtles: for, to haue named the deſtruction of the Romane

Cap. 2.

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

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

Concerning the ſecond point, which is the time of his reuealing; they ſay, that it ſhall fall vpon the decline of the Romane Empire, whoſe ruines he ſhall appropriate to himſelfe: Firſt [k] *Tertullian, Antichriſt* (ſayth he) *ſhall not come, Donec é medio fiat, vntill he be taken out of the way:* who (ſayth he) *but euen the Romane Empire?* which once comming to be diſtracted into ten kingdomes, ſhall draw Antichriſt after it at the heeles: And thence it was that thoſe old Chriſtians, to put off this lamentable time of Antichriſt from their dayes, were wont in their ordinarie Liturgie to pray [l] *Pro mora finis,* that it would pleaſe God to deferre the fall of this Empire. And after him [m] S. *Ierome* ſayth, *That Antichriſt ſhall not come, vntill the Romane Empire be firſt raſed to the ground, and that the Nations be firſt wholly remoued ſtrom it: which S.* Paule *durſt not ſpeake openly, becauſe they tooke it to be an eternall Empire, fearing to draw on a perſecution vpon the tender bloſſome of the Church,* to wit, vnder pretence of treaſon againſt the State: and [n] S. *Ambroſe* vſeth almoſt the ſame words vpon that place to the Theſſalonians: ſo doth [o] S. *Auguſtine,* in repeating the ſame words of the Apoſtle in his 20 booke *de Ciuitate Dei*: And [p] *Chryſoſtome* giueth a reaſon of his not comming ſooner: *For* (ſayth he) *ſo long as the feare of this great Empire ſhall endure, no man ſhall willingly ſubiect himſelfe to Antichriſt: but ſo ſoone as that ſhall fall, he ſhall inuade the vacant Empire, and ſhall appropriate to himſelfe the authoritie both of God and man,* that is, the temporall power in conſequence of the ſpirituall.

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

[a] *Tertul. de Reſurrectione, cap. 25.*
[b] *Ambroſ. in Apocal. cap. 17.*
[c] *Hieron. ad Marcel. viduã.*
[d] *Auguſtin. Hom. 10. in Apocal. idem, Homil. 11.*
[e] *Idem, lib. 13. de Ciuitat. Dei, cap. 2. & lib. 20. cap. 19.*
[f] *Gregor. in Moral. lib. 33. cap. 26.*
[g] *Tho. in Apocal. cap. 13.*
[h] *Gloſſ. ordinar. ib.*
[i] *Hugo Cardin. ib.*
[k] *Tertul. de Reſur. carnis, c. 24.*
[l] *Idem in Apologet. cap. 32. & ad Scapul. ca. 1.*
[m] *Hieron. ad Algaſiam.*
[n] *Ambroſ. in 2. ad Theſſalon. cap. 2.*
[o] *Auguſtin. de Ciuitat. Dei, lib. 20. cap. 19.*
[p] *Chryſoſt. in 2. ad Theſſal. cap. 2.*
[q] *Orig. in Matt. trail. 27.*

A you doth Antichriſt in theſe dayes take his proofes, to ſhew that all power is giuen him both in heauen and in earth, but from the Scriptures? [r] Saint *Ierome* expounding that place: *He ſhall ſit in the temple of God, that is,* ſaith he, *either at Ieruſalem, as ſome thinke,* (but we know, that according to the prediction of our Sauior, there is now not one ſtone of that citie left vpon another) *or, as we thinke more properly, in the Church.* And [s] *Chryſoſtome* more reſolutely, *Not,* ſaith he, *at Ieruſalem, but in the temple of the churches:* and the Scholiaſt ſpeaketh after the ſame maner. And againe, [t] *That wicked Hereſie, That armie of Antichriſt ſhall ſit in the holie places of the Church, and ſhall poſſeſſe them; and then he that will know where the true Church of Chriſt is, where ſhould he find it but in the Scriptures?* And [u] Saint *Hilarie, Doubt*

B *you,* ſaith he, *that Antichriſt ſhall ſit vpon the buildings of the Church?* The *wild foreſts, priſons, and dungeons, and hollow dennes of the earth, where ſometimes the Prophets propheſied, are, to my ſeeming, leſſe to be feared than the churches.* And [w] *Theodoret,* though ſo farre off, yet ſaw moſt cleerely into this point: *The Apoſtle,* ſaith he, *calleth the Church the Temple of God, wherein Antichriſt ſhall take vnto himſelfe the Prime ſeat, ſeeking to make himſelfe to be reputed and taken as a God.* And [x] *Oecumenius* alſo ſpeaketh after the ſame manner. And [y] *Theophilact, Not properly* ſayth he, *in the Temple which is at Ieruſalem, but in the churches, and in euerie holie temple.* And [z] *Aquinas, In the temple,* ſaith he, *that is in the churches rather than at Ieruſalem.* And

C *Auguſtine* goeth farther, *Shall Antichriſt,* ſaith he, *ſit vpon the ruines of the Temple of Salomon, or rather in the church? for the Apoſtle would neuer call that the temple of the diuell, which was Gods temple. And therefore,* ſaith he, *ſome imagine that this Antichriſt* (note well theſe words) *is a Prince, with the whole bodie of thoſe which belong vnto him; and thinke it more proper to expreſſe it in Latine as it is in Greeke, ὡς τυράννον, in templum, non in templo:* meaning that he ſhall ſit as if himſelfe were The Temple of God, and his verie Church it ſelfe: Which jumps with that maxime of the Popes adherents, That in his perſon the whole Church reſideth and conſiſteth. Wherefore it is now manifeſt, that Antichriſt ſhall haue his ſeat in the Church Chriſtian: Now let vs ſee whether in the Latine Church, or no.

Ireneus ſurely ſearching after the number of 666, which is the name of the

D beaſt, in this word λατεινος, though in ſo obſcure a point he pronounce nothing definitiuely, yet giueth he vs plainely to vnderſtand, that he thought it to be there. For, ſaith he, *It is verie likely; for ſuch is the name of the Empire, which now ſwaieth in the world. They call themſelues Latines.* So likewiſe doe *Tertullian, Ierome, Ambroſe, Auguſtine, Andrew* B. of Cæſarea, *Beda, Oecumenius, Lyranus, Aquinas, Caietan,* and others, when by Babylon they vnderſtand Rome, as well in the firſt Epiſtle, and laſt chapter of Saint *Peter,* as in the Reuelations. And *Bellarmine* himſelfe is cleere in this opinion; and *Baronius* affirmeth, that by Babylon, in the places before rehearſed, cannot bee meant but Rome: moth more, when by the whore clothed in ſcarlet, which maketh drunke all the kings of the earth, they vnderſtand Rome, as *Tertullian, Ierome, Arietas, Andrew* of Cæſarea, the Author of the

E Gloſſe, *Bellarmine* alſo, and *Baronius,* and others doe. Nay, moſt fairly haue all the Ancients vnderſtand it of the Romane Church, whoſe corruptions they ſaw encreaſe in thoſe dayes to encreaſe ſo faſt: ſaith Saint *Iohn* in those words of the Apocalyps, *Go out of her my people, ſaith the Lord, and be not partakers of her ſinnes, nor of her plagues; flye out of Babylon, and let euerie one ſaue his owne ſoules: for ſhe is fallen, ſhe is fallen, and is made a receptacle for diuels, an habitation of all vncleane ſpirits: For ſurely,* ſaith he, *there is the holie Church, there are the reliques and monuments of the Apoſtles and Martyrs, and there is the confeſſion of Chriſt: Be aſhamed,* ſaith he, *there*

[r] *Hieron. ad Algaſiam.*
[s] *Chryſoſt. in 2. Theſſ. c. 2. Hom. 3.*
[t] *Idem in opere imperf. Hom. 49.*
[u] *Hilar. contra Auxentium.*
[w] *Theodor. in epitome diuin. decret. lib. 2. & in 2. ad Theſſ. c. 2.*
[x] *Oecumen.*
[y] *Theophil. ib.*
[z] *Thomas ib.*
Auguſt. de ciuit. Dei li. 20. c. 19. Baron. Annal. to. 1. an. 45. art. 17. & 18.
Ireneus l. 5. c. 25. Tertullian contra Iudæos & contra Marc. lib. 3. Hieron. in Iſai. c. 47. Euſeb. li. 2. c. 25. Ambroſ. in 2. Theſſal. Auguſt. lib. 18. de ciuit. Dei. c. 21. Andr. Cæſar. in Apocal. Beda, Oecumen. Lyran. Thomas, Caiet. in 1. Pet. c. vlt.
Bellarmin. de Romano Pontif. lib. 2. c. 2. Tertul. aduerſus Iudæos & lib. 3. contra Marcia. Hieron. ad Algaſiam quæſt. 17. Aret. & Andre. in Apocalyp. Gloſſa Ordin. ibid. Hieron. ad Marcellam vid. duam. Idem contra Iouinian. lib. 1.

there is ambition, and oppression, luxurie of the belly and of the throat, which goe to A
ouerthrow the preaching of the Crosse. And therefore he summoneth all well disposed people to depart out of her, *though built vpon Christ the true rocke, by the preaching of Saint* Peter, *and though her Prophets which deceiued her, cried out, Peace, peace, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord,* to lull them asleepe in their owne securitie. And he seemeth farther to strike at her verie Hierarchie, when as in his preface to the bookes of *Didymus* of the holie Ghost, we find these words, *When*
Idem in Prefati. in lib. Dyd. de Spir. sancto. *I liued,* saith he, *in Babylon an inhabitant of that purple whore after the lawes of the Quirites or citizens of Rome, I would haue written something of the holie Ghost, and haue dedicated the treatise to the Bishop of that citie: and behold, that seething pot which was*
B *seene in the Prophet Ieremie, looking out of the North, beginneth alreadie to boyle, and the Senat of Pharises cried out at me all at once: neither was there so simple and meane a scribe of all that ignorant rabble, which conspired not against me: Wherefore I am now as it were out of captiuitie returned to Hierusalem, and, after that cottage of* Romulus, *and those Lupercall sports, come to visit againe the hosterie of the Virgine* Marie, *and the sepulchre of our Sauiour, &c.* Had this holie Father liued in the dayes of our fathers, and seene what passed in these later ages, what would he haue said? And truely, to vnderstand those passages of the Apocalips of Rome Painim, as some would haue it, and not of the Church of Rome; were to make it, of a mysterious prophesie, as all acknowledge it to be, a meere storie, cold and friuolous: or was it fitting, that the Prophet, with so maiesticall a preface, speaking in the name of C
God, and by his spirit, should aduertise vs, that the Roman Empire should persecute the Christians, which had alreadie seene the bloud of his brother shed, and so many thousand Christians slaughtered in all quarters of the Empire? And againe, where will a man find vs in Rome Painim, those ten kings made drunke with his cup, seeing there were in Rome no kings at all? And therefore the Iesuites themselues haue beene forced to yeeld this point: *This must,* saith *Ribera, bee*
Ribera Apocalips. 1. Introm. 4. & 17. *vnderstood of Rome, not onely such as she was vnder the Emperours, but also such as she*
Viega in 13. c. Apoc. com. 3. fol. 3. *shall be in the later dayes.* And *Viega* saith, *That the name of Babylon must be referred*
to her, and not only to that Rome which serued Idols, before it receiued the faith of Christ, D
but also to that Rome which shall be in the dayes of Antichrist: By which words, what can be meant but the Papacie and the Church of Rome?

Ca. Propositio. extra de priuil. & Cap. 2. de elect. Pontif. 2.

But some man will say, When was it seene that a Pope called himselfe God? And I answer, That neither are the Popes themselues ouer sparing in calling themselues Gods on earth, and the Canonists are ouer prodigall of such titles, and of far greater also, if greater may bee, whilest they make them to participate of the Deitie, and wait power to command both in heauen and hell, as the sequell of this discourse will but too apparantly declare; and it were but needlesse to repeat here, what I haue long since sufficiently proued in my treatise of the Church, cap. 9. But this is the point, and this is that which God so often forewarned vs E
of, That Antichrist should enter into the Temple and Church of God, with false
Origen in Matt. tract. 24. *boyes: in all deuirginship of iniquitie,* saith Saint *Paul, and borrowing,* as Saint *Iohn*
Idem in Matt. tract. 24. *speaketh, the horner of a Lambe,* that is, as a seruant of God, and vnder colour of his seruice: for otherwise euerie man would haue shut gates against him. And this is that which all the Fathers aimed at: *Origen* saith, *Antichrist hath not bing of Christ but the verie name, he neither doth his deeds, neither teacheth his doctrine: Christ is truth it selfe, and Antichrist a counterfeit. And to the end,* saith he, *that he may haue some colour to exalt himselfe aboue God, he taketh the testimonies of his false doctrines out of the Scriptures, to deceiue those who will not otherwise be satisfied: Hee taketh pos-*
session

A *session of the chaire of the Scriptures, he builds vpon them, and from thence sheweth himselfe as God.* Which when and so often as I read, me thinke I heare him come in with his *Tibi dabo*, with his *Pasce oues meas*, with *Oram pro te Petre*, and the like. Saint *Ciprian* also, *He shall teach,* saith he, *infidelitie vnder a shew of faith, the night* *Cypr. epist. 7.*
for the day, destruction for saluation, and Antichrist vnder the name of Christ. And *we* *August. in Apocal. Hom. 11.*
read, saith Saint *Augustine, in the Apocalips, that the Beast hath two hornes like a Lambe,*
that is, two Testaments like the Church, thereby the more easily to shed out the poyson of
Antichrist, vnder the name of Christ. And Saint *Ierome*, yet more particularly, ac- *Hieron. in Dan. c. 13.*
cording to the interpretation of *Symmachus*, saith, *That Antichrist shall speake as*
God: He shall attribute to himselfe as well the words as the power of his Maiestie: Hee
B *shall goe about to change the lawes and ceremonies instituted by God, to enthrall all religion to his owne authoritie.* And in another place, *He shall change,* saith he, *and seeke* *Idem in 2. ad Thessal. c. 2.*
to encrease the Sacraments of the Church. Now therefore seeing that the Pope maketh himselfe to be called, The most holie Father, seeing he deposeth kings, new moulds at his pleasure all Religion, all Commaundements, all Sacraments instituted by God; may we not say that Saint *Ierome* prophesied? And thus you see how these predictions of Saint *Paul*, and of Saint *Iohn*, were vnderstood by the ancient holie Fathers of the Church.

This Mysterie therefore of iniquitie, which our age now beholdeth in her height and exaltation, began to worke and to set it selfe forward, euen in S. *Paules*
C time. This monster of pride was alreadie conceiued in the mind of Satan, shewing it selfe in mens ambition: From hence proceeded those sidings in the Church, *I am of* Paul, *I am of* Apollo, *I am of* Cephas, *and I am of Christ.* And what, saith *1 Cor. c. 1. v. 12. & 13.*
Paul, Is Christ diuided? or was Paul *crucified for you?* The like would he haue said of *Cephas*, and *Cephas* of himselfe: But *Paul* to reserue all entirely vnto Christ, speaketh cleerly, and saith, *He that plants th is nothing, and he which watereth is nothing, but* *1b. c. 3. v. 7. & 8.*
God which giueth the encrease: as for those others they were all one, and seruants in the same degree. And farther, to cut off all pretence of inequalitie, *I was not* in *a* *Gal. c. 1. v. 6.*
different, saith he, *from those which seemed to be some bodie: They which seemed to be great, added nothing to me, aboue that which I had before:* and who were they? but
D *Iames* and *Cephas*, and *John*, which were accounted pillars of the Church: *Who also acknowledged,* saith he, *that the Gospell of the vncircumcision was committed vnto me, as the Gospell of the circumcision was vnto Peter; and therefore gaue vnto me and vnto* Barnabas *the right hand of fellowship*: in all which, no one iot of superioritie is to be found. And farther in another place he saith, *From Hierusalem to Illiricum, I* *Rom. c. 15. v. 19. & 20.*
haue made to abound the Gospell of Christ, and not there where he had beene already preached; that I might not seeme to haue built vpon another mans foundation: much lesse therefore did he preach by another mans commission. And *Cephas* himselfe, that is, Saint *Peter*, putteth off from himselfe and others this claime of superioritie, where he saith, *I beseech the Elders which are among you, I that am a fellow* *1. Pet. 5. v. 1. 2, 3 συμπρεσβύτερος.*
E *Priest or Elder with you.* And againe, *Feed,* saith he, *the flocke committed to your charge, &c. not domineering ouer the heritage of the Lord. But that you may bee ensamples to the flocke, decked* (as he speaketh afterward) *with humilitie, because God* *resisteth the proud, and giueth grace to the humble.* As well remembring the lesson of *Math. cap. 20. vers. 25. & 26. κατακυριευουσιν αὐτῶν.*
his Lord, whose tearme he vseth, *You know,* saith Christ, *that the Princes of the earth* *Baron. Annal. to. 1. an. 34. art. 275. Idem an. 57. to. 1. art. 39.*
lord it ouer them: but, saith he, *it shall not be so with you*; you shall not doe so ouer my Church, ouer mine inheritance. Far and wide is this from that claime which *Baronius* maketh in the Popes behalfe, where he saith, That Christ after his resur- rection translated vpon the Popes both Priesthood and Kingdome; and that this

Was

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

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

1. Progression.

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

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

Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. lib. 5. c. 23. 24.

τὴν Ρωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν ἀπέτεμνε τῶν πατρίων.

Opposition.

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

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

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

See Wicelius.

Lib. 4. cap. 4.

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

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

Euſeb. lib. 5. c. 23. Hiſtor. Eccleſ.

οὐ παραπομπικὸν. Ὁποτεοῦν Βικτόρα διάταγμα.

Euſeb. lib. 5. c. 21. & 22. ἐς πεῖσιν τε. Baron. to. 2. an. 198. art. 2, 3, 4.

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

knoweth not that the most learned euen among themselues, haue euer discarded A
these Epistles, as false and counterfeit? But aboue all, this hath the markes of the
forge where it was hammered, bad Latine, not answerable to the puritie of those
times, and ill befitting a Bishop of the Latines, with a false date of the Consuls
Adrianus and *Verus*, who raigned long after, in the yeare 137: which might well
make this grand Annalist to blush for shame. We could as well crie quittance
with him, and for our purpose alledge an Epistle decretall of Pope *Eleutherius* to
Onuphrius in Fastis Pont. the Bishops of France, where he telleth them, *That the vniuersall Church of Christ*
is committed to their charge; this being an Epistle of as good pistoll proofe as the
other, and both alike. And what credit ought in reason to be giuen to *Sixtus* in a
cause so neerely concerning himselfe, especially when in the next precedent Epi- B
stle, he contenteth himselfe with the title of Archbishop? Secondly, he produ-
Lib. de Pudicit. c. 1. ceth a certaine place out of *Tertullian* in his booke of Chastitie, where he taxeth
a certaine Edict of *Victor*, by which he receiueth adulterers vnto penance; and
whereof he baffleth the inscription: *I heare talke*, saith *Tertullian, of an Edict, and*
that a peremptorie one to: Pontifex Maximus, i. *The high Pontife, the Bishop of Bishops*
saith, I remit sinnes to adulterers and whoremasters which come to penance. True it is,
that after that attempt of his vpon all Asia, any thing may seeme credible of that
mans insolencie and pride: But who seeth not, that *Tertullian* stumpeth only and
jeasteth at him? as also he doth at that other decree of Pope *Zepherin*: *For where,*
saith he, *shall this liberalitie of his be proposed? if in the Church, how so? seeing she is a* C
virgine. But a little after, in the same booke, he driueth this naile a little closer:
If, saith he, *because our Lord said to Saint Peter, Vpon this stone I will build my Church:*
and, *To thee will I giue the keyes of the kingdome of heauen: thou doest therefore presume*
that the power of binding and loosing is derived vpon thee: what art thou that crossest
the purpose and intention of our Sauiour, who collated it onely vpon Saint Peters person?
And consequently not vpon you *Victor*, nor vpon you *Zepherin*, farther than you
represent *Peter*; not in shadow onely, as *Baronius* would haue it, but in truth and
veritie. But grant we, that he did call himselfe Vniuersall Bishop, might not eue-
rie Bishop haue done the same in regard of his charge? yes verily, and many of
them vpon better reason, considering the worth and dignitie of their persons: D
But would the Pope, trow you, suffer their successors now to ground any thing
thereupon, in prejudice of himselfe? Saint *Clement*, whom commonly they thrust
Clement. Constit. lib. 6. c. 24. vpon vs, as next successor vnto Saint *Peter*; had not, belike, well perused and vn-
derstood his euidences, when in his Constitutions he spake in this manner: *Wee*
haue written to you this Catholike and vniuersall doctrine, to confirme you, you, I say, to
Ignatius in Epistola ad Philadelph. *whom the Vniuersall Bishopricke is committed.* And *Ignatius* speaking of a Bishop of
Philadelphia, of his time, saith, *That he was called of God to vndertake τὸν διάκονιαν*
τῆς οἰκουμένης, that is, *the ministerie of the common Church*; as *Baronius* himselfe ren-
Nazianz. in laudem Cypriani. dreth it. And *Nazianzene* saith of Saint *Cyprian*, *That he presided not onely ouer the*
Church of Carthage and Africke, but also ouer all the East, all the West, ouer all the
Idem in laudem Athanas. *North, and all the South*: And of *Athanasius*, *That he presided ouer the Church of* E
Alexandria, nay ouer the whole world. But he expoundeth himselfe in both: of the
first he addeth, *where soeuer the admiration of his name came*; and of the other, *That*
he gouerned the Church of Alexandria in such sort, that the Vniuersall Church was bene-
Euseb. in vita Constantin. lib. 3. c. 57. *fited by him*. And would God the Bishops of Rome had done the like, we neuer
would haue enuied them the like honourable title. Also the Emperour *Constan-*
tine himselfe writing to *Eusebius*, vpon the refusall which he made of the Bishop-
ricke of Antiochia, when it was offered vnto him; *You are*, saith he, *a most happie*
man

A *man in this, That you are thought worthie in the opinion of all, to rule the Vniuersall*
Church: taking this word in that sence, which Saint *Cyprian* doth, when he saith,
That there is but one Bishopricke, of which euerie Bishop holdeth his part in solid. *Cyprian. de vnitat. Eccles.*

As for the title of High Priest, or Pontife, *Baronius* alledgeth no other proofe *Baron. to. 2. an. 216. artic. 9. & 10.*
but onely the imitation of the old Iewish law, where there was a *High Priest*; and
of Paganisme, which had *Pontificem Maximum*, i. a High Pontife; and groun-
deth himselfe especially vpon this later: *He*, saith he, *which was most eminent in iu-*
diciall authoritie aboue all the rest, was onely Pontifex Maximus, Soueraigne Pontife a-
mong the Pagans: Whence Festus *saith, that it was he who was reputed Iudge in all mat-*
ters diuine and humane. And to this purpose alledgeth this Cardinall all that
B which is spoken in holie writ of the royall Priesthood of our Lord Iesus. O how
weake a foundation is this for so huge a building! Why did he not rather ground
himselfe vpon their *Rex Sacrificulus*? who according to his owne author *Festus, see-*
meth to be the greatest among the Priests: after him *Dialis* the Priest of *Iupiter*, then
Martialis, of *Mars*, afterwards *Quirinalis*, the Priest of *Romulus*, and last of all
Pontifex Maximus, the High Pontife; all which you shall find in *Festus* in the word
Ordo, whence we learne by the way, that this word, Orders, was anciently taken
from the Heathen.

C

2. Progression.

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

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

D

Opposition.

But this matter rested not there; for the Churches of Spaine gaue notice of
this attempt vnto those of Africke, and presently assembled themselues in Synod.
The Synodall Epistle is yet whole to bee read in *Cyprian*; the summe and effect
whereof is, *That the law of God suffereth them not to readmit such persons to their* *In editio Turnebi. Epist. 31. & Pamely 68.*
charge in holie Church: That where the ordinances of God are in question, there ought to
be no acceptance of persons, no relaxation in fauour of any man: That their running to
Rome, or to Stephen, *might not cause the ordination of* Sabinus *to be reuerted, he be-*
ing there placed by due course of law, and the other remaining incapable of restituti-
E on: *That* Basilides *might deceiue* Stephen *by wrong information, but God he could*
not: That they ought to hold themselues to that, which themselues, and all Bishops through-
out the world, and Cornelius *himselfe their Collegue, had formerly decreed*; namely,
That such persons might well be receiued vnto penance, but neuer to Priestly dignitie
in the Church. In the whole course of which Epistle they euer call *Cornelius* and
Stephen, Bishops of Rome, their Collegues. Not vnlike vnto this, was that attempt of
Cornelius, not long before, vpon the Bishops of Afrike, in the case of certaine false
Bishops which fled vnto him, against the censures of the Churches: but *Cyprian* *Editio Parisien. Epist. 18. Pamel. 55.*
complained thereof vnto *Cornelius* as of a wrong, and in barre of such procee-

dings

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

Wherefore when *Bellarmine* sayth, that the constitution alledged by S. *Cyprian, That euerie cause should be heard in the place of the fact committed*, is to be vnderstood onely of the first instance; the words themselues, and those which follow are too too cleere against him: *The cause* (sayth *Cyprian*) *hath beene heard, sentence is passed, it is not fit that a censure of Priests or Bishops should be retracted, as rash and vnaduised.* And as friuolous is that which he sayth, that the word *lesse* is not spoken in comparison of the Pope, but of the cause: for those words, *vnlesse they thinke the authoritie of the Bishops of Afrike to be Lesse*, must necessarily be vnderstood in comparison of them with other Bishops, of those against whom they complained, with him to whom they fayled, that is, vnto *Cornelius*. And all this suiteth with the veine of *Cyprian*, as also doth that in his Treatise of the vnitie of the Church: *The other Apostles* (sayth he) *were the same that S.* Peter *was, of like honour, of equall authoritie and power*, but the beginning proceedeth from vnitie, to shew that the Church is one; where yet, to bolster out this pretended Primacie, one or other hath corrupted the text in sundrie places, contrarie to the truth of manuscripts, acknowledged in the Paris edition by the learned *Turnebus*. *Bellarm. de Pontif. Rom. lib. 2. cap. 33.* C

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

A *equall power to his Apostles*: and againe, *They were all the same that* Peter *was*: as also with that Nullitie pronounced elsewhere against appeales made ouer the sea, and diuers other places of the same Author. *None of vs* (sayth he) *hath made himselfe a Bishop of Bishops, through feare and tyrannie to force his Collegues to his obedience: The heauenlie goodnesse hath bestowed vpon vs the ordering of the Apostleship, and hath by his heauenlie fauour dignified the Vicars seat of the Lord: Christ said to all the Apostles, and in them to all Bishops which should succeed them in their Vicariall ordination, He which heareth you, heareth me: so that* (sayth he) *one of vs may not iudge another, but we attend* (he excepteth none) *the iudgement of our Lord Iesus, who alone hath power*, Vnus & solus, *to ordaine vs to the gouernment of his Church, and to iudge our doings*. Thus farre *Cyprian*: immediately vpon whose death the Church of Afrike, to cut off all claime of this pretended iurisdiction, decreed, *That the Bishop of the first See should not be called Prince of Priests, or chiefe Bishop, or by any other like name*: Which decree our French Church heretofore vnderstood expressely of the See of Rome. And now let the indifferent Reader iudge, which edition, that of *Pamelius*, or this of *Turnebus*, sorteth and suiteth better with these sayings of *Cyprian*, and consequently, whether these are not Harpyes clawes which thus defile the pure foord of the Fathers writings to our hands: and what they haue done in this Epistle, who can warrant vs, that they haue not done in the other writings of the same Father, and of all other Fathers? *Cyprian. in Concil. Carthagin. siue de sententt. Episcop. 73. editio Parisiens. Cyprian. de Anator.* *Idem ad Pupician. Epist. 66. editio Parisien.* B

C But here may we see as in a glasse, the audaciousnesse of *Baronius*, who would make vs beleeue, that the meaning of S. *Cyprian* was cleane contrarie: for first he sayth, That S. *Cyprian* acknowledged S. *Peters* Chaire as supreme Iudge ouer all Churches in the world, grounding himselfe vpon the Epistle before rehearsed, and so notoriously corrupted, which yet he is not ashamed so often to repeat, as if it were as true as Gospell; and who cannot make his owne cause seeme good, if he may be suffered to doe thus? Secondly he sayth, That in that decree against Iudgements giuen beyond the seas, the Church of Rome was still excepted; whereas indeed it was enacted directly against that Church, and against no other: but for proofe, he alledgeth a certaine decretall Epistle of *Fabianus*, Bishop of Rome, written to *Hilarius*, with these words, *Sulua in omnibus Apostolica authoritate*, *i.* sauing alwayes the authoritie of the See Apostolike: as if he had said, sauing the case for which the Canon was principally made; than which, what can be more ridiculously absurd? Now as touching all those Epistles which are inserted into the Councels, vntill the time of *Syricius*, it is agreed on all hands, that they are of no credit, and though they were, yet were it reason that *Fabianus* should be credited in his owne cause? But besides the sottishnesse of the stile of this Epistle, the verie date which it beareth, *Africano & Decio Coss.* bewrayeth the stampe; for they can shew vs no such date, either in their *Fasti*, or in *Onuphrius* himselfe: And it is noted in the margent of the first volume of the Councels vpon this Epistle, that the greatest part thereof is found word for word in the decree of *Sixtus* the third, which was but as yesterday to speake of: a professed Annalist should not so doe. Thirdly, that notwithstanding all this, yet *Cyprian* did aduow the authoritie of the Church of Rome: For (sayth he) in that Epistle which he wrote to the Clergie of Rome, vpon the death of *Fabianus*, he tearmeth him *Collegue* in regard of his function, but *Propositum* in respect of his place and dignitie: a meere tricke, not fitting anie simple scholler, much lesse a learned Diuine and Cardinall: for what? must *Propositus* needs signifie a Pope? Doth he not in the same Epistle call him a Bishop, and doth he not tearme him *Propositus*, in *In 1. vol. Concil. Epist. Decret. Fabian. ad Hilar. 3.* *Baron. an. 55. art. 21.* D E

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

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

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

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

Cyprian. epist. 3. edit. Pamel.

In notis ad epist. 3.

3. Progression.

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

An. 258. A Nother question arose not long after, Whether those which had bin baptized by

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

Opposition.

But neither *Cyprian*, nor yet the Churches, suffered themselues to bee so muzled by these excommunications; for first *Cyprian* in his Epistle to *Pompeius*, *Among other things*, saith he, *which our brother* Stephen *hath written vnto vs, either insolently, or vnfittingly, or contrarie to himselfe, hee hath also added this; If any man come to vs, for what heresie soeuer* (making no difference betweene heresie and heresie, which yet the Councell of Nice afterward thought fit to make) *let him receiue imposition of hands in penance: nay farther*, saith he, *his obduratnesse of heart and obstinacie is such, as to presume to maintaine, That by the baptisme of* Marcion, Valentin, *and* Appelles, *children may be borne vnto God.* Thus he spake, and this he maintained in heat of contention, contrarie to what the Church afterward defined, because these retained not the forme of baptisme! *But*, saith he, *a Bishop should not onely teach, but also learne; and he is the best teacher of others, who is himselfe euerie day a learner:* As if he had said, That *Stephen* should doe well to learne religion, by conferring with his Collegues: not to lay his authoritie vpon them, vnder a pretence of custome, *which not grounded vpon truth*, saith he, *is nought else but an aged errour. Saint* Peter, saith he, *the first chosen of our Lord, vpon whom also hee built his Church, when Saint* Paul *disputed with him vpon the point of circumcision, carried not himselfe in this manner; neither boasted he, that the Primacie was given vnto him: hee told him not, that he was an after commer; and that forethose must take vp hindest most: or disdained him, for that he had beene a persecutor of the Church: but submitted himselfe with all willingneesse to truth and reason: giuing vs thereby an example of patience, not to be selfe-willed, in louing that which proceedeth from our selues; but rather to account all that as our own, which our brethren shal teach vs for our good, & saluation of our soules.* And vpon these and the like tearmes he euer holdeth him. But *Stephen* staied not here: for he had alreadie written to the Easterne Bishops, who held opinion with *Cyprian*, declaring vnto them, That hee could no longer hold communion with them, if they persisted in that opinion: as appeareth by that Epistle which
E *Dionysius Alexandrinus* wrot vnto *Xystus*, who succeeded vnto *Stephen*: and yet more plainly, by that which he wrot to *Firmilianus*, *Helianus*, and others, to whom also *Cyprian* had alreadie dispatched *Rogatian* his Deacon. And the Easterne Bishops, vpon the intimation giuen them from *Cyprian*, grew much offended with the insolencie and pride of *Stephen*, and therefore in their answer vnto *Cyprian*, *We*, say they, *haue cause indeed to thanke him, for that his inhumanitie hath giuen vs large testimonie of your faith and wisedome; yet deserueth not* Stephen *any thankes for the good he hath done vnto vs, no more than did* Iudas, *for that by his treason he became an instrument of saluation vnto all the world. But let this fact of* Stephen *passe, least the remembrance*

Cyprian. in Epist. ad Pomp. 74.

Cyprian. Epist. 71

Euseb. lib. 6. c. 4.

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

Cyprian, Ep. 4.

Cyprian. Epist. ad Iubaianum Edit. Paris. 70. in Edit. Pamely 73.

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

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

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

κ) καλέσαντος αὐτὸν.

Athanas. de Sententijs Dionysij.

Baron. an. 265. art. 30. & sequent. & an. 272. art. 1. & 2.

Athanas. lib. de Synod.

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

εἰς τὸ σύνοικον.

συλλειτουργοῖς ἡμῶν.

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

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

Baro.an.294. art.8.& sequēt.

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

4. Progression.

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

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

Cyprian. lib. de Lapsis.

An.253.

An.302. Euseb. lib.8. c.1.& 2. ἀρχὴ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπιτιμήσεων. τὰς φιλαρχίας ἀντὶ τῆς θεοσεβείας.

An.310.

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

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

Lib.4.de Episc. & Cler.in co. Theod. Damasus & Anastas.in Sylvestro.

Cedrenus pag. 243.

3 Neither doe we here speake of that pretended donation of *Constantine*, made vnto the Church of Rome in the person of *Sylvester*, as well of the citie of Rome, C as of a great part of Italie, as being a thing contrarie and repugnant to the whole course of histories: for that we find no fourth Consulship of *Constantine* the son and *Gallicanus*, which yet is the date of that donation: Because *Damasus* Bishop of Rome, in the life of *Sylvester*, so particularly by him described, maketh no such mention; and *Anastasius* as little: Because all Italie, and Rome itselfe, came afterwards in partage among the sonnes of *Constantine*, as *Eusebius*, *Victor*, *Zosimus*, and *Zonaras*, report: Because *Isidore*, *Burchard*, and *Ivo*, judging it Apocryphal, haue omitted it in their seuerall Collections of decrees: Because Pope *Agatho* himselfe writing many yeares after to *Constantine Pogonatus*, calleth Rome *Vrbem Imperatoris seruilem*, *i*. The seruile towne or citie of the Emperour: Because the D most reputed men of the Roman Church haue refuted and rejected it, namely; [a] *Antonine* Archbishop of Florence, [b] *Raphael Volaterranus*, [c] *Hieronimus Catalanus*, Chamberlaine to Pope *Alexander* the sixt, [d] *Otho Frisingensis*, [e] Cardinall *Cusanus*, [f] *Laurentius Valla*, Senator of Rome, [g] *Francis Guicciardine*, and others, euerie one of them famous in their seuerall generations: *Æneas Sylvius* himselfe, afterward Pope *Pius* the second, in a particular treatise, cited by the foresaid *Catalanus*: Because *Platina* the Popes Historian is ashamed to mention it: to be short, Because that in the pretended originall it selfe, kept in the Vatican, and written in letters of gold, the scribe which wrot it hath added at the foot thereof, in false E Latine, *Quam fabulam longi temporis mendacia finxit*, *i*. Which fable, a lye of long continuance hath forged: And forged indeed with monstrous impudencie, when it is there said, That *Constantine* the fourth day after his baptisme, gaue this priuiledge also to the Bishop of Rome, *That all the Priests throughout the Empire should acknowledge him for their head, as Iudges acknowledge their King.* Surely it should seeme, that this good Emperour was not well instructed by *Sylvester*, in the rights and priuiledges of the Bishops of Rome, since it appeareth that he knew not that they came from heauen: nor *Sylvester* himselfe well learned in this point, since he chose to hold them, as from the Emperour, rather than from Saint *Peter*. And againe it is there said, That *Constantine* gaue to *Sylvester* and to his successors, the Primacie

Euseb.lib.4.c.51 Idem de vita Constant.lib.4.c. 49.50.51. Zosimus lib.2. Victor in Constantin. Zonaras to.3. Ado.in Epist. ad Constant. Pogonat.in Actis Synod.

[a] *Anton. Archiepp.part.1.tit. 8.c.2.§ sic inquit*
[b] *Volaterra. in vita Constantin.*
[c] *Hieron. Catalan. in practica Cancella. Apost.*
[d] *Otho. Frisingensis in Annal.*
[e] *Card.in. Cusanus in concord. Cathol.lib.3.*
[f] *Laurent. Valla de falsa donatione.*
[g] *Franciscus Guicciard.in locis duobus de Papa.*

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

Baron. to. 3. an. 324. art. 117.

Baron. an. 44. to. 1. art. 86. & ſequent. Idem paſſim.

A B C D

Opposition.

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

Legenda B. Sylueſt.

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

E

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

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

The ſixt Canon therefore of the firſt Nicene Councell, about the yeare 325, concerning the ranking and ordering of Biſhops euerie one in his place, is read in theſe words, *Let the auncient cuſtomes be obſerued, which are in Ægypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis, ſo that the Biſhop which is in Alexandria haue authoritie ouer all theſe, becauſe ſuch alſo is the manner or cuſtome of the Biſhop of Rome*: where the Greeke word is συνηθεια, that is, a thing vſed by cuſtome; by which appeareth, that it was a matter onely of cuſtome, not of law, much leſſe an ordinance or decree of God: *Likewiſe in Antioch and in other Prouinces, let euerie Church retaine her due honour*. And in the ſeuenth Canon is like prouiſion made for the Church of Hieruſalem, and the ſame reaſon added: *Becauſe ſuch hath beene the cuſtome, and the ancient tradition, to honour the Church of Ælia* (for ſo was Hieruſalem called, after that *Adrian* had rebuilt it in another place) *let her alſo haue her honour next after the other, with reſernation alwayes of due honour to the Metropolitane Church*. And ſo is this Canon read in *Gelaſius Cyzicenus* in the Acts of this Councell taken out of the Vatican: where we may obſerue, that this Councell foundeth them all alike vpon cuſtome, which it calleth εθος, συνηθειαν, σωνθεκ, a manner, wont, or cuſtome, placing the Biſhop of Rome betweene thoſe of Alexandria and of Antioch, vnto whom it aſſigneth their proper portions, in euerie reſpect equall to him of Rome. Of this cuſtome we read in *Epiphanius* in expreſſe tearmes: *The cuſtome* (ſayth he) *is ſuch, that the Biſhop of Alexandria hath eccleſiaſticall cure and charge ouer all Ægypt, Thebaida, Mareotis, Lybia, Ammonia, Mareotida, and Pentapolis*. And *Ruffinus*, who liued in the ſame time with S. *Ierome*, about 60 yeares after this Councell, citeth the Canons thereof, and among the reſt this ſixt Canon, to the effect of the Canon before rehearſed: *In Alexandria* (ſayth he) *and in the Citie of Rome, let the ancient cuſtome be obſerued*: to wit, that the one ſhould take care of the Churches of Ægypt, and the other *ſuburbicariarum*, that is, of the Churches neere vnto the Citie, meaning Rome. And the truth is, that at this time, doe he what he could, he could not extend the limits of his juriſdiction, ſo farre as vnto Milan or Rauenna; whereof there is a type and figure remaining at this day at Rome, which witneſſeth as much: wherein the Church of Lateran is expreſſed to be a Patriarchall Church, vnto which there are ſeuen Biſhops aſſigned to celebrate before the Pope vpon high daies, or to aſſiſt the Pope, if he pleaſed to celebrate himſelfe, to wit, *the Biſhops*, as ſaith *Onuphrius, of the adioyning Cities*, namely, *Oſtia, Porto, Sylua candida, Sabini, Tremeſie, Tuſculum, and Alba*: which *Ruffin* here ſeemeth to call *Suburbicarias*, which yet perhaps compriſed ſomewhat more, as the countries of Marca and Tuſcanie, as we may collect out of the Theodoſian Code. True it is, that *Balſamon* expounding the Greeke Canon, extendeth the authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome ouer all the Weſt, becauſe that in his time, which was about the yeare 800, he had ſtretched his wings a little farther; and *Balſamon* thought it ynough to exempt the Eaſt from his authoritie, not caring in the meane time what became of our Churches of the Weſt. But this one thing is euident, that *Gratian* long ſince entred this Canon in his collection of decrees, in the ſame ſence

An. 325.

Canones Græc. Concil. Nicen. 1. can. 6. περι των τοπων εξεσιαν.

Gelaſ. Cyzicen. in Act. Syno. Nice. 1. pag. 61.

Epiphan. her. 68. in princi.

Ruffin. lib. 1. cap. 6.

Onuphri. de Epiſcop. tituli & Diacon. Cardinal.

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

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

Distinct. 64. Can. 6. Nichola. in Ep. ad Michael. Imperator.

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

Concil. chalced. can. 16.

Can. 3.

Can. 28.

A Rome. Now, if those pretended priuiledges of the Church of Rome came from the Gospell, or from the prerogatiue of S. *Peter*, how could these be made equall with them? And if these be equall, then is it euident that those other came not from the Gospell, or prerogatiue of S. *Peter*: and why then should these men so abuse the name of the Gospell? Truth it is, that the morrow after *Lucentius* the Popes Legate protested against this decree, requiring it to be retracted, and an Act to be made of such his Protestation: But his Protestation was rejected by the Emperours Delegates themselues, who pronounced in this manner, as is there expressed: *The honourable Iudges said, what we haue pronounced, all the Synod hath approued*, namely, touching *the Canon against which they protested*. So farre was it from

B that which *Bellarmine* would haue, That the Fathers of that Councell held themselues satisfied with the remonstrations of *Paschasin*: and this is the truth and sincerities which they euer vse in alledging Councels. As for his finall answere, to which he holds himselfe, it is more than ridiculous: *The true exposition and meaning of that Canon* (sayth he) *is, that the Bishop of Alexandria should governe those Prouinces, because the Bishop of Rome was so wont to doe, that is, was wont before anie definition of the Councels, to suffer the Bishop of Alexandria to governe them.* But let him tell me in conscience, can these words, Ἐπειδὴ ὁ Πάπας τῆς Ῥώμης ἔθος ἔσχε τοῦτο, *i. Quia Romanus Episcopus ita consuevit*, alias, *Quia Romano Episcopo paruis mos est*, that is, *Because this is the manner or custome of the Bishop of Rome*; can, I say, these

C words be thus vnderstood, without violencing and wresting all sort of languages? Or can this exposition anie wayes suit with the opinion of *Ruffinus*? Or can *Bellarmine* but blush at the remembrance of this, euen in his secret chamber? Adde we hereunto, that in that celebrious and renowmed Councell of Nice, the deputies of the Bishop of Rome presided not, but contented themselues with the fourth roome. So that Cardinall *Cusanus* hauing expounded this first Canon as we now doe, had reason to say as he doth: *Hence we may see* (saith he) *how much the Bishop of Rome hath at this time gotten, onely by vse and custome of subiectionall obedience, beyond that which the old customes of the Church afforded him.*

This then is the naked truth, according to that which we find in Historiographers, which yet *Baronius* would faine disguise, either beleeuing it himselfe, or willing to

D put the gull vpon other men, to make them beleeue, that from the verie cradle and infancie of Christianitie there hath euer beene a Pope, wrapt in such clouts as now we see him in: and that *Constantine*, because among others he gaue largely also to the Church of Rome, therefore deuested himselfe of his imperiall robe and dignitie, to clad him withall. And obserue by what degrees he commeth to his First (saith he) *To the end that the soueraigne Bishop of Christian religion should no longer dwell in a priuate house, he gaue vnto* Miltiades *for him and his successors after him one of his palaces*, to wit, that of Lateran in Rome. And whence had *Baronius* this report? He is ashamed to alledge that Epistle of *Isidore* the Collector; but

E whence had he it? After much trash, *we haue it* (saith he) *from an approued Author, namely, from* Optatus Mileuitanus, *who telleth vs, that* Miltiades *Bishop of Rome held the Councell of Rome in the house of* Fausta *in the Lateran*: he should haue added, That he kept the Iubilie there also. But what can he argue or proue out of these words? That that was the Bishops house? or if it were, that it was giuen him by *Constantine*? We read, that not long after *Syluester* held another Councell, *Intra Thermas Domitianas*: was that house therefore his also? or if that stately palace of Lateran was his before, what needed he now to borrow another mans? Yet this were a small matter if he stayed there: but taking this as granted, he wisely groundeth

De concordant. Cathol. lib. 2. cap. 12.

Baron. to. 3. an. 312. art. 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85.

Can. 12. q. 1. c. 15. § denique.

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

Bellarm. de Roman. Pontif. lib. 2. cap. 3.

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

Baron.to.3. an.324.art.78. & ſequ.

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

An.324.art.79.

Tacit.lib.12.

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

Hiſtor.lib.4.

Baron.to.3. an.312. art.94. & ſequ.

A upon recourſe vnto the Emperour: And becauſe they held the Biſhops of Affrike as ſuſpect, preferred a petition vnto him, That he would be pleaſed to appoint them Iudges out of Fraunce: And *Optatus* ſayth, That the Emperour hereupon grew verie wroth, and ſaid, *You craue iudgement of me in my ſeculer Courts, which am my ſelfe to attend my doome from the hands of Chriſt:* as being iuſtly incenſed with the brawles and wranglings of theſe Biſhops, who in Chriſtian durie ſhould haue fallen to an accord, without an vmpire. And yet as *Optatus* ſayth, *at theſe ſuit Iudges were appointed, namely,* Maternus *Biſhop of Cullen,* Rheticus *of Authun,* and Marinus *of Arles.* Here *Baronius* telleth vs, *That* Conſtantine *was as yet a meanee in the Faith, not skilled in the courſes and proceedings of the Church; but that afterward he reformed this error, being giuen to vnderſtand, that this belonged onely to the Biſhop of Rome: which* (ſaith he) *the Emperour teſtifieth by that Epiſtle which he wrote vnto him thereupon:* by which letter, at the ſolicitation of *Anulinus*, he ioyned him in commiſſion with thoſe other three, for the hearing and determining of that cauſe in the Synod. Seeing therefore that he groundeth the reformation of the Emperours iudgement vpon this Epiſtle, it ſhall not be amiſſe to examine the contents thereof; Firſt the title of it is this: *A copie of the Emperour* Conſtantine *his letter, by which he commaundeth to call a Synod at Rome, for the vnitie and concord of the Churches;* The ſuperſcription, this: Μιλτιάδῃ Ἐπισκόπῳ Ρωμαίων καὶ Μάρκῳ, *i.* To Miltiades *Biſhop of Rome, and to* Marcus. Where *Baronius*, impatient to ſee a companion ioyned with the Pope, to make him all in all, in ſtead of καὶ Μάρκῳ, readeth ἰσαγγέλῳ, by what authoritie I know not, nor what copie he hath to follow: But graunt we that it is ſo, what doth I pray you ἰσαγγέλῳ ſignifie in all auncient Writers, and euen in *Dionyſius* himſelfe, whom they falſely ſurname the Areopagite, but onely a Biſhop, that is, a man hauing charge and ouerſight of diuine Seruice? But to the purpoſe: it is farre more likely, if we will ſtand vpon conjectures, that that word *Marcus* was written ſhort, to ſtand for *Maternus* or *Marinus*, with an abbreuiation in the end, in this manner, *Materno* or *Marino* &c. a thing vſuall in theſe Patents, which they called *Formatas* or *Sacras*, when they were directed to manie at once; of whom, in the exemplifications, they named onely ſome few of the firſt, and then added, καὶ λοιποῖς, *i.* and to the reſt: And ſuch might that ſo copie of Eſebius be. But what ſayth the Parent it ſelfe? Ἐπέμψαμεν (a word vſuall in their ſolemne decrees) that is, *It hath ſeemed good vnto me, that* Cæcilian, *with ten other Biſhops, ſhould repaire to Rome, there to haue hearing before you, and before* Rheticus, Maternus *and* Marinus *your Collegues, whom I haue commanded ex ſpeciall Mandate thither for this purpoſe* (according to that of S. *Auguſtine*, where he ſayth, *That when and what were read the letters of the Emperour before them, by which he enioyned them to heare the cauſe of* Cæcilian:) *Alſo, I haue cauſed to be deliuered into their hands the copies ſent vnto me by* Anulinus *the Proconſull, to the end that your Grauitie* (a great inſimilitie of the Emperour, not to ſay your Holineſſe) *may the better aduiſe vpon ſome courſe to be held in the proceedings and finall determination of this cauſe.* And now let the reader iudge, where the authoritie then reſted, and what omnipotencie the Pope then had. But ſo eagre are they in this matter, that of a ſimple voice and ſuffrage of the Pope they will needs make a definitiue ſentence: *By the ſentence of* Miltiades (ſayth *Baronius*) *this cauſe was ended and controuerſie decided;* hauing no colour for his aſſertion, but onely this that *Miltiades* ſpake laſt; whereas the Author ſpeaketh onely in this manner: Cæcilian *was pronounced innocent by all the aboue named Biſhops, and by the ſentence of* Miltiades *himſelfe, with which the iudgement was concluded;* and reaſon good: for he prefided, as was fit he ſhould, being

Optat. Milcui. cont. Parm. lib.1.

Baron.to.3. an.313.

Euſeb.lib.10. cap.5.

Auguſt. in breu. Collat.

Baron.an.cod. art.26.

Bishop of Rome, in a Synod held at Rome: Yet would not the Donatists here rest; and *Optatus* thereupon sayth, *That* Donatus *thought fit to appeale from the Bishops* (he sayth not from *Miltiades*, or from the Bishop of Rome) *and that* Constantine *grew highly offended with this course, and cried out, O the boldnesse of these mad fellowes! they haue entred their appeale as the Gentiles vse to doe in their suites at law:* so distastfull and vnpleasing to him was this bangling of the Clergie. Yet for all this (though *Baronius* should burst for anger) the Emperour in the end admitted of their appeale, and gaue order that a Councell should be called at Arles, for the oyer and terminer of this cause, writing to sundrie Bishops and Metropolitanes, to be present at it: And we find in *Eusebius* a copie of his Letters Patents, directed to *Chrestus* Bishop of Syracuse; the title whereof is, as of that other to *Miltiades*: by which he commaundeth a Councell to be called &c. and the tenor as followeth; Hauing declared the first judgement which was giuen in this cause, by expresse order from himselfe, by certaine Bishops of France and Afrike, the Bishop of Rome also being there present (he sayth not President) in the end, *Wee* (sayth he) *haue commaunded certaine Bishops to assemble in Synod vpon such a day at Arles*; giuing him likewise straitly in charge to be there in person, *to the end* (saith he) *that* διὰ τῆς σῆς σεμνότητος, i. *by thy Grauitie* (which qualitie and no other he vsed before vnto *Miltiades*) *and by the wisedome of the rest this controuersie may be composed*. To which purpose also he wrote vnto *Ablauius*, Grand Master of the household, willing him to follow this businesse, and euer with these tearmes, *Preceperam venire, intungendum duxi, facias nauigare*, and the like. So that S. *Augustine* speaketh verie properly when he sayth, *Alterum Episcopale iudicium dedit habendum &c.* that is, He appointed another hearing of this cause, to be had by the Bishops at Arles, leauing it a cleare case, to whom it appertained of right to call a Councell. And this Emperour caused at length (as S. *Augustine* reporteth) two hundred Bishops out of France, Italie, and Spaine to assemble at Arles; himselfe also was there present, he presided, and in the end gaue sentence himselfe in fauour of the Catholiques: whereupon *Baronius* citeth that vnto vs which we find in *Eusebius* his fift booke; namely, *that* Constantine *taking a particular care of the Churches of God, by reason of sundrie dissentions which he saw daily to arise betweene the Bishops, himselfe in person, as a generall Bishop appointed by God,* οὑτὸς τῶν κοινῶν ἐπίσκοπος, *i.* assembled Synods of the Ministers; and consequently, did that which the Pope now claimeth as properly belonging to himselfe. Well (saith *Baronius*) yet at least this appeareth, That the Fathers of this Councell wrote their Synodall Epistle to the Bishop of Rome, entreating him thereby to ratifie and confirme their Acts: and thence inferreth, that the custome and manner of the Church at that time was, whensoeuer anie decrees of Councels were agreed vpon and enacted, to send them first to the Bishop of Rome, as not to be published without his approbation first had and obtained thereunto: Let vs therefore briefly examine this Epistle also, whether according as we find it in the Councels, or whether as he alledgeth it out of *Pythaeus*. The title it selfe in the first is worth the noting, *Domino & sanctissimo fratri Sylvestro Episcopo*, i. *To our most holie brother* Sylvester *Bishop*: The exordium followeth in this manner: *The things which we haue with one consent decreed, we here make knowne* charitati tuae, *to your charitie, to the end that all may know what they ought to doe hereafter*. Now, this word *Decree* importeth no suspension of authoritie in them, nor yet implieth, that they were to learne of him, but rather that the Pope, as well as all others, should learne of them; neither doth that other copie much differ in sence: *Communi copula*

Optat. cont. Parmen. lib. 1.

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

Epist. Constant. ad Abla. ab ipso Baron. citat. ex Biblioth. Pet. Pith.

August. ep. 68. August. cont. Parmen. lib. 1. cap. 5.

Baron. an. 314. art. 53.

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

Baron. an. 314. art. 67, 68, 69.

pula charitatis, &c. We, say they, *knit together in one, and vnited, by that common bond of loue and charitie, and met together in this citie of Arles, by the good pleasure of the most godlie Emperour, greet thee most religious Father with all due reuerence. Would God, beloued brother, you had beene present with vs at the hearing of this cause; so should a more seuere decree haue past against the Donatists, and we all, finding your iudgements to concurre with ours, should haue had the greater ioy.* And comming a little after to signifie vnto him what had passed in the Councell: *It seemed good vnto vs*, say they, *the holie Ghost and the Angels being present with vs, &c.* I would know whether this be to craue confirmation, or to fetch the holie Ghost from Rome in a budget? or is it not rather to determine of the cause absolutely without the Pope? And again, *Placuit, &c. It seemed good to vs*, say they, *because you hold the greater Diocesse*, (therefore not all, as if all the world were but one Diocesse, and that subiect to his iurisdiction) *to make knowne vnto all men what we haue done, and principally by you.* And who seeth not, that to make knowne is one thing, and to craue confirmation is another? To conclude, the Donatists finding themselues to haue the worse, appeale to *Constantine* in person, who, though all wearie of their contentions and debates, yet assigned the parties a day to appeare before him at Milan, and there confirmed he by his decree all the former sentences giuen against them; witnesse Saint *Augustine* in many places: *The Emperour*, saith he, *being constrained to iudge this cause after the Bishops, caused the parties to appeare before him, and with all care, diligence, and wisedome, entring into the knowledge of the cause, pronounced* Cecilian *innocent, and his aduersaries a companie of vngodlie persons*. And againe, *Post Episcopalia Iudicia*, saith he, *i. After the iudgements of the Bishops, &c.* (meaning as well that at Rome, as that at Arles) what King or Emperour in these our dayes, attempting to doe the like, should not be excommunicated, and cut off from the Church? yet *Sylvester* at that time neuer grudged or repined at it. And thus they still abuse the world.

Religiosissimo Papa.

August. Epist. 168.

Fourthly he alledgeth the case of *Arrius*: let vs see therefore whether his successe be like to proue better in this than in the former. *Arrius* therefore hauing disgorged his poyson in Alexandria, and afterwards by his ballad-like letters dispersed it into all corners of the world, *Alexander* Bishop of Alexandria opposed himselfe against him, and sent likewise his Epistles general into all parts, to the number of seuentie, as *Epiphanius* reporteth. Here *Baronius*, without any authoritie or reason, groweth verie peremptorie: *It is apparent*, saith he, *that* Alexander, *before all others, wrot first concerning this matter to* Sylvester *Bishop of the first See.* But why should we take his bare word for proofe? *Proofe ynough*, sayth *Baronius*; *for haue we not a certaine Epistle of* Liberius, *wherein it is thus written, We haue euen at this day the letters of* Alexander *vnto* Sylvester? And what of that? for haue not we likewise euen at this day another of his Epistles generall in *Socrates*, with this inscription: *To our most honored fellow Ministers throughout the Church wheresoeuer?* And haue not we another of the same in *Theodoret*, written in particular to the B. of Constantinople? Were we disposed to take such aduantage, what might not we conclude out of this? But we say farther, That *Alexander* Bishop of Alexandria, without attending any aduise from Rome, *excommunicated* Arrius, *and cut him off from the Church*; as appeareth by his owne letters: and moreouer, published an orthodoxall confession, for an antidote against the poyson of his doctrine, and raised both East and West against him: in all which we heare no newes of *Sylvester*. Here againe *Baronius* runneth to his likelihoods: *All other Bishops of the East*, saith he, *rising as it were in armes to ioyne with* Alexander, *Haud*

Ypodigma. Epiphan. Haer. 69.

Baron. an 318. art. 59. Epist. Liber. to 9 Biblioth. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 3.

Ibidem.

Baron. an 318. art. 88, 89.

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

Euseb. de vita Constantin. l. 2. c. 63. *Socrat. l. 1. c. 4.* *Sozom. l. 1. c. 15.* *Euseb. de vita Constant. l. 2. c. 63.* *Theodor. l. 1. c. 7.* *Euseb. de vita Constant. Edit. Lat. 4. 6. l. 3.* *Theodoret. l. 1. c. 7.* *Sozom. l. 1. c. 16.* *Acta Concil. Nicen. vol. 1.* *Socrat. l. 1. c. 5.* *Gelas. Cyzicen. l. 2.* *Baron. an. 324. art. 131. to. 3. Concil. Rom. 2. c. 1.* *Baron. an. 324.*

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

Fiftly, *Baronius* groweth verie choleriske, to see the Bishop of Rome ordered by the sixt Canon of this Councell, as the other Bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, and Ierusalem were; he saith, That these Canons are mangled, and must be corrected by those of Chalcedon: And if they were so, yet might *Baronius* put all that he should gaine thereby in his eye, and doe himselfe no harme, as we haue alreadie shewed against *Bellarmine*. *Ruffinus*, of all the rest, sticketh most in his stomacke, for bounding the Popes jurisdiction, with these words, *Suburbicariarum Ecclesiarum curam gerat: i.* That he should take care of the Churches neere about the citie: And *Baronius* telleth vs, that *Regiones Suburbicariæ, and Vicariæ, in the Imperiall lawes of those times, were all one:* And that *Regiones Vrbicariæ* comprised, besides Italie, the ilse of Sicilie, Afrike, Ægypt, and many other countries: Forgetting in his choler, that the verie Canon it selfe now in question, assigneth Ægypt to the Bishop of Alexandria, and consequently not to him of Rome. Author for this assertion he hath none, nor reason, more than this, that these Prouinces were called *Vrbicariæ*, which we denie not; and the reason may be, because they yeeldest a yearely reuenew of corne, *Vrbi*, to the citie of Rome, according to the rate set downe in the Code of *Theodosius*. But grant we, that *Regiones Suburbicariæ*, and

Baron. an. 325. art. 13. & sequent. *Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 3.* *Edit. Lat. c. 7.* *lib. c. 11.* *Athanas. Apol. coner. 1.* *Acta Concil. Nicæn.* *Baron. an. 325. art. 2.* *Baron. an. 325. art. 54.* *Theodor. l. 1. c. 7.* *Ruffin. l. 1. c. 6.* *Baron. an. 324. art. 54.* *Lib. 14. Cod. Theodos. l. 6. tit. de Canon. frumentar. vrbis Romæ.*

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

[a] *Tabulariorum Lib. 8. de Annon. & Tribut. L. 3. & 11. in Cod. Theodos.*

Lib. 11. de Extraord. & sord. muner.

Tit. Si per obreptionē Vnic. Cod. Theodos.

L. 1. de Indulgent. debit. in Cod. Theodos.

Art. 57. & sequent.

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

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

Ruffin. l. 1. c. 13.

ἐπιστέλλειν.

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

Baron. an. 325. art. 172.

Euseb. lib. 4. de vita Constant. c. 42.

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

5. Progression.

1 *That* Marcus *Biſhop of Rome called himſelfe the Vniuerſall Biſhop.*
2 *That* Iulius *Biſhop of Rome offered to reſtore certaine Biſhops depoſed by their Metropolitans.* B
3 *Of the Canon of the Councell of Sardica, by which Biſhops wrongfully depoſed might flie to* Iulius *Biſhop of Rome.*

An. 337. 1 ABout the yeare 337, we haue in the firſt booke of the Councels an Epiſtle of *Marcus* Biſhop of Rome, ſucceſſor vnto *Sylueſter*, written to *Athanaſius*, and to the other Biſhops of Ægypt; wherein, notwithſtanding what hath beene alreadie ſaid, he taketh vpon him the name and title of *Vniuerſall Biſhop*. Surely we may well imagine, that this Epiſtle is of the ſame ſtampe with the reſt. There he furniſheth his cauſe with all the arguments which hee can deuiſe: *The Church of Rome hath alwayes continued immaculat and vndefiled, by the prouidence of God and aſſiſtance of Saint* Peter, *euer ſo to endure*. And againe, *The Lord in the Goſpell ſpake vnto the Prince of his Apoſtles, ſaying, I haue prayed for thee that thy faith ſhould not faile.* C

Socrat. l. 2. c. 11. Edit. Lat. Sozom. l. 3. c. 7. 2 After which time, we find in *Socrates* and *Sozomene*, that *Iulius*, ſucceſſor vnto *Marcus*, tooke vpon him by abſolute authoritie to reſtore ſundrie Biſhops of the Eaſterne Churches, depoſed for diuers cauſes by their Synods; *Becauſe*, ſaith he, *the care of all the Churches belonged to him, by reaſon of his See, therefore he wrot to the Biſhops of the Eaſt, telling them that they had done verie ill to determine and conclude any thing againſt thoſe Biſhops without his priuitie:* Where it is to bee noted, D
that theſe laſt words, *without his priuitie*, are added in the Latine tranſlation, there being none ſuch to be found in the originall it ſelfe. And farther ſaith he, *Iulius*
Epiſt. Marci in 1. tome Concil. *commaunded them to ſend ſome of their companions to appeare before him vpon a day appointed, to giue a reaſon, and to iuſtifie their proceedings againſt them*. And if this Epiſtle be all one with that which we find in the firſt tome of the Councels, with this title, *In the behalfe of* Athanaſius, *and concerning certaine exceſſes againſt the Church of Rome*; then would he farther perſuade them therein, that the Fathers of the Nicene Councell decreed, That no Biſhop might bee judged but by his See, no Synod called but by his authoritie: and thence proceedeth to ſharpe reproofes, and reproachfull ſpeeches, concluding at laſt, That whoſoeuer ſhall attempt any thing againſt this doctrine, is *irreuocably damned, and for euer depoſed from his charge*: And farther, That *whoſoeuer ſhall be depoſed without his authoritie, he will maintaine him in his place*: and addeth this reaſon; *For that euer ſince the times of the Apoſtles, and lately by the decree of the Nicene Councell* (as much the one as the other) *all greater cauſes haue euer beene reſerued to the hearing and finall determining of his See.* E

An. 347. 3 So likewiſe in the yeare 347, in the Councell of Satdica, at the motion of *Oſius*, there was a decree which paſſed to this purpoſe, That Biſhops depoſed by their

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

Opposition.

Athanaſ. in Orat. Vnum eſſe Chriſtum, col. 104. Firſt therefore as touching the Epiſtle of *Marc*, *Athanaſius* himſelfe might well haue anſwered him, as he ſometime ſpake in a treatiſe of his: *Thou art* Peter, *and vpon this ſtone will I build my Church: This is a faithfull ſaying, and varieth not: The*
B *Church is a thing inuincible*. And if perhaps *Marc* would haue gone to reſtraine this anſwere to himſelfe and to his See, *Athanaſius* might haue replyed, that though indeed he defended him, yet his ſucceſſor *Liberius* did openly condemne him, namely, when he wrote vnto the Biſhops of the Eaſt in this manner: *I caſt off* Athanaſius *from our Communion, not daining ſo much as to receiue his letters: I maintaine peace with you, embracing the confeſſion of the Syrmian Councell*: which is *Epiſt. Liberij ad Orientales apud Hilar. in fragment.* all one in effect, as if he had in expreſſe words renounced the Councell of Nice. Wherefore S. *Hilarie*, who liued at that time, cryed out, *This is an Arrian trechcherie: Anathema to thee O* Liberius, *and to all thy companions; Anathema againe and againe vnto thee, thou falſe hearted double dealing* Liberius. And this is that accur-
C ſed and wretched teſtimonie which *Athanaſius* alſo and *Ierome* giue of him. And *Bellarmine* himſelfe acknowledgeth as much, by reaſon of certaine letters which he wrote to *Conſtantius* the Emperour, and others; all which were found in the Popes Libratie.

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

Now therefore let vs ſee what anſwere the Biſhops of the Eaſt made to thoſe letters of Pope *Iulius*: *They tooke* (ſayth *Socrates*) *his reproofes in ſcorne, and calling a Synod at Antioch, by common aduiſe and conſent they returned his imputations backe vpon himſelfe with all bitterneſſe, telling him, That he was no more to controll them, if they thought fit to depriue anie man in their Churches, than they intermedled, at what time* Nouatus *was caſt out of the Church at Rome. Sozomene* addeth, That *their an-*
D *ſwere was full of ſcoffes and threats: For* (ſayth he) *they attributed indeed verie much to the Church of Rome, as the mother Citie, and ſchole of pietie and of religion (though ſo it were, that their firſt inſtructors in Chriſtian religion came vnto them out of the Eaſt) yet for all this diſdained they to be reckoned their inferiors, as they who made it not their glorie to excell in pompe and riches, but in vertue, pietie, and Chriſtian reſolution &c. offering peace and communion vnto* Iulius, *but ſtill vpon condition, that he ſhould put out of his protection thoſe Biſhops of theirs which were fled vnto him. This anſwere* (ſayth *Socrates*) *much offended* Iulius: and it ſeemeth that it wrought vpon him; for in his next letter he complaineth onely, That they called him not to their Synod; whereas before he pretended, that they might not call a Councell
E without his authoritie: he alledgeth now, *That the Canon of the Church forbad to impoſe anie Law vpon the Churches without the aduiſe of the Biſhop of Rome*; whereas before he pretended a right, abſolutely to diſpoſe of all: which was the thing which moued them to replie, *that they would not be ordered nor concluded by him.* By which it appeareth, that that anſwere of *Iulius* to the Eaſterne Biſhops, which we find in the Councels, is meerely counterfeit, ſeeing he is there made to ſpeake worſe than in the former, euen to alledge, *That in the Councell of Nice there is a Canon, which forbiddeth to call a Councell, or to condemne anie man, without the aduice of the Biſhop of Rome*, though there be there no ſuch word to be found; witneſſe

Socrat. lib. 2. c. 11. edit. lat. Greca, cap. 13. *Sozom. edit. lat. l. 3. c. 7. Græc. c. 8.* *Socrat. l. 2. edit. lat. c. 13. Græc. c. 17.* κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας κανόνα. κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας κανόνα.

the

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

Pallium.

Baron. an. 336. art. 62. 10. 3.

Neither is *Baronius* his cauſe anie jot furthered and aduanced all this while: He brought in *Sylueſter*, who, good man as he was, neuer dreamt of anie ſuch gay clothes, attyred like an Emperour, as we ſaw before; and now he telleth vs, that his ſucceſſor *Marcus* began firſt to giue the Pall to other Biſhops: *We read* (ſayth he) *in the life of* Marcus, *that he ordained, that the Biſhop of Oſtia, whoſe office it was to conſecrate the Biſhop of Rome, ſhould at the time of conſecretion vſe a Pall:* whereupon (ſayth he) *non inficias imus, we denie not that he gaue him the Pall.* Had *Baronius* beleeued it himſelfe, he would no doubt haue ſpoken it more roundly: But let that paſſe; this I aske, when he ſayth, That this is the firſt place where the Pall is mentioned, doth he not thereby acknowledge it to be a noueltie? When he giueth it to the Biſhop of Oſtia at Rome gates, is it not an argument that he ſent it not at that time to the Metropolitans and Archbiſhops of farther countries? Neither indeed is there anie mention made of this weed in all this age, nor in manie ſucceeding ages after; neither in the Eaſt, neither in the Weſt, nor yet in Italie it ſelfe; and muſt we then ſtand vnto a Legend, as to a ſufficient proofe?

Baron. an. 216. vol. 2. art. 15. & 16. Iſidor. Peluſiota. l. 1. ep. 136.

For whereas he would proue it out of *Iſidore Peluſiota*, a ſcholer of *Chryſoſtomes*, it maketh cleane againſt him: for it is there ſaid, that ὠμοφόριον, which *Baronius* interpreteth to be *Pallium*, was worne by euerie Biſhop in time of celebration, and conſequently no priuiledge of Metropolitanes, or prerogatiue of certaine Biſhops; much leſſe a preſent to be receiued, or a commoditie to be bought for readie money at the Biſhop of Rome his warehouſe: his words are theſe, *The garment which the Biſhop weareth vpon his ſhoulders, made of wooll and not of linnen, ſignifieth vnto vs the skin of the loſt ſheepe, which the Lord ſought, and hauing found him, layed him vpon his ſhoulders: For the Biſhop, bearing a type and figure of Chriſt, muſt alſo performe his office:* So farre is he from deriuing it from the High Prieſts of the Iewes, to appropriat it to the Pope, and to ſuch as he for a fauour is pleaſed to impart it.

ὠμοφόριον.

Baron. an. 340. art. 1. & ſequ.

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

Athanaſ. Apolog. 2.

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

Baron. to. 3. an. 341. art. 56.

Socrat. l. 2. c. 11.

Sozom. l. 3. c. 7.

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

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

Baron.to.3. an.346.art.50.

Sozom.l.3.c.10.

Socrat.l.2.c.16. & Græc.edit. c.20.

Theodoret.l.2. c.8.

Athanas.Apolog.2. Balsamon in præfat. Synod. Sardicens.

Epist. Liberij ad Constantium.

Athanas. Apolog.2.

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

A onely to colour one? For *Athanasius*, who was there present, and had good cause to know, reciteth their names which subscribed, in order following: *Hosius of Spaine, Iulius of Rome, by Archidamus and Philoxenus Priests, Protogenes of Sardica, &c.* Neither is it probable, that he would not haue named *Hosius* for a Legat, if he had beene such; but it is cleare, that this prerogatiue was giuen him for the worthinesse of his person. As for *Sozomene*, whom he alledgeth, he speaketh plaine in this manner: *Hosius and Protogenes, who were the chiefe and principall of those which met at Sardica, out of the West, &c.* And therefore, that reseruation of our Annalist, *Post Legatos*, i. *after the Legats*, where is it to be found? And farther, if those Priests had beene receiued in this pretended qualitie, should *Hosius*

B haue opened the Councell, and proposed all matters as he did? And if *Hosius* did this, in what qualitie did he it, if not in his owne priuat qualitie, and in regard of that great sufficiencie which the world tooke notice to be in him? Which made *Athanasius*, and after him *Theodoret* to say, *Where is that Synod, wherein Hosius hath not presided? and where is that Church which hath not the memorials of his presidencie?* Whence it is also that *Theodoret* himselfe calleth him, *The great and venerable Sire, iustly called Hosius, which is by interpretation Holie, and excellent aboue all other men. Well* (sayth *Baronius*) *yet this is euident, That if anie found himselfe wrongfully condemned by the Bishops of his owne Prouince, the partie grieued might appeale to Rome.* The words verily of the Canon are these: *Hosius the Bishop said, If any Bi-*

C *shop be condemned in anie cause, if the partie condemned thinke he haue iust cause not to stand to the sentence, if it please you let vs yeeld this honour to S. Peter: let the matter be signified by letter to Iulius Bishop of Rome, to the end that he, with other Bishops of his dioces, may enter againe into the knowledge of the cause.* And *Balsamon* vpon this place affirmeth, That the like priuiledge was graunted to the Bishop of Constantinople. But come we to the point: And first, it was *Hosius* which proposed it; and he proposed it as a new and extraordinarie antidot against a poyson, considering that the Bishops of the East were for the greatest part at that present infected with Arrianisme: and his purpose was, that if anie found himselfe oppressed and aggrieued by the Arrians, he might by vertue of this Canon haue re-

D course to Rome, and to the Bishops of Italie, who continued at that time sound in the Orthodox profession, restraining it to the person of *Iulius*, and would no doubt haue done otherwise in the person of *Liberius*, successor vnto *Iulius*, and a professed Arrian, notwithstanding that pretended chaire of S. *Peter*. And secondly note these words, *If it please you, let vs honour the memorie of S. Peter*: For had this beene an auncient right, should he not rather haue said, Let vs obserue the commaundement of the Lord, or the auncient order of the Church, or the Canon of the Nicene Councell, whereby it is ordained, That men might appeale to Rome? In stead whereof he speaketh as of a new proposall, extraordinarie and arbitrarie, at their pleasures. Thirdly, is it reason, that a Canon of a Nationall

E Councell should conclude and bind the Church in generall? Or can *Baronius* reckon this for a Generall Councell, without ouerthrowing all Histories, and inuerting the whole order of the Councels, as they are alreadie placed? For if we number this for one, where then shall those of Constantinople, of Ephesus, and of Chalcedon stand? Or because *Athanasius* calleth it a *Great Councell*, is it therefore a Generall one? Is not the first Councell of Arles called a *Great* one, because there met in it the Bishops of sundrie Prouinces, which yet was neuer numbred among the Generall Councels? And doth not the Decrete it selfe, authorized by the Popes, ranke it with the Nationals? And to conclude, seeing that his reasons

Theodor.l.2. c.15.ex Athanas.

Baron.an.341. art.28.

Concil.Sardic. c.3.& 4.

D.16.can.10. & 11.

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

ἔκκλητος. ἀναπολεῖσθαι τὴν κρίσιν. ἐκ, ἐπανακαλούμενος. τὸ κῦρος, ἵνα γνωσθέν ὑπὸ πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας τοῖς τὴν μητρόπολιν οἰκοῦσι. *Concil. Nicen. can. 4.* *Concil. Antioch. can. 4. & ſequ.* *Theodor. l. 5. c. 9.*

A *the Law or Ordinance of the Church, commaunded him to come to Rome, and citted Athanaſius to appeare there alſo*: that is (ſaith *Baronius*) a Canon of the Nicene Councell, now loſt, whereby it was enacted, that men might from all parts appeale to Rome: ſo ſmall a piece of ground will ſerue their turne to found the tyrannie of the Pope vpon; for what likelyhood thereof doe they find in anie Hiſtorie? Wherefore it is more probable to ſay, that ſeeing this was before that Canon of the Councell of Sardica, it was meant rather of the common practiſe of the Church in thoſe dayes, when one Biſhop oppreſſed, was wont to flie for reliefe to ſome other of greater dignitie, to cleare himſelfe before him; who thereupon vſed to call his aduerſarie, and to heare the cauſe betweene them, according to that vniuerſall Biſhopricke, *whereof*, as ſayth S. *Cyprian, euerie one did adminiſter his portion by himſelfe*, yet ſo, as that no man neglected the whole Bodie, or any particular member thereof, the Church being a Bodie σύμπνους, ἡ διάπνους, *i. which liued but by one and the ſelfeſame breath.* As appeareth in the example of *Ammonius* and *Iſidore*, who finding themſelues wronged by *Theophilus* Biſhop of Alexandria, fled to *Chryſoſtome*, who receiued them, and examined their cauſe; and finding them to haue a right and Orthodox opinion concerning the Deitie, wrote to *Theophilus*, to receiue them to Communion; if not, and that he would yet draw the cauſe to a farther hearing, that then he ſhould ſend ſome one or other to make himſelfe a partie in it. The like was in *Athanaſius*, flying to Pope *Iulius*. And yet did not *Chryſoſtome* C hereupon ground anie pretence, either ouer *Theophilus* in perſon, or ouer the dioces of Alexandria. The like was alſo in *Liberius*, whom, the Churches of the Eaſt aſſembled in the Syrmian Councell, recommended to Pope *Felix*, and to the Clergie of Rome, requiring them to admit him as Collegue in that See: which alſo they obtained. And thus you ſee what that pretended Appeale was, vnleſſe yet perhaps ſome man may thinke that foolerie of *Baronius* worth the anſwering, where he ſayth, that *Athanaſius* calleth the Church of Rome, *The Church*, by excellencie, without addition: The words of *Athanaſius* are theſe, *The Emperour* (ſayth he) *ſent me letters; hauing receiued them, I went vp to Rome, with purpoſe to viſit the Biſhop and Church there.* Who ſeeth not that this word *Rome* was omitted in this D laſt place, onely to auoid an vnneceſſarie repetition of what was neceſſarily implied? Now if we would vrge a ſaying of the ſame Father, where he calleth Milan *the Metropolis of all Italie*, what rejoinder would he make? Nay, we may ſay farther, that this Councell had beene ill aduiſed to draw all to one mans authoritie, ſeeing that *Hoſius*, the propoſer of this Canon, a while after fell away from the true and Orthodox doctrine, and that *Liberius*, next ſucceſſor to *Iulius*, fell vnto Arrianiſme, excommunicating *Athanaſius*, and being therefore himſelfe, without regard to his pretended ſupremacie, excommunicated by our S. *Hilarie*. *Baronius* ſeeing the conſequence which this Hiſtorie draweth with it, would faine make it trauerſable, and ſometimes flatly denieth it to be true; and which is more, enrol- E leth him in the Catalogue of Saints, as he did afterwards the good *Hildebrand*, called *Gregorie* the ſeuenth. But leaue we him to debate this queſtion with *Athanaſius* and *Hilarie*, with *Liberius* himſelfe (whoſe Epiſtles *Nicholas Faber* his truſtie friend lately publiſhed, with the fragments of *Hilarie*) with *Bellarmine*, who, as hath beene alreadie ſhewed, ſo clearely condemneth him; and laſtly with himſelfe, for as much as he vſeth theſe fragments of *Hilarie* ſo farre forth as they ſerue his own turne: for from thence taketh he a Synodicall Epiſtle, written to *Iulius* from the Councell of Sardica, and therefore ought in reaſon to admit alſo of that Epiſtle of *Liberius*, found in the ſame volume: but we need no argument in a thing which

τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπισκόπου. *Baron. an. 347. art. 25. & an. 352. art. 14. to. 3.* *Baron. an. 357. art. 26.*

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

A

B

C

D

E

ὅπερ λέγεις.

ἀναπέμπειν τῷ κρίνειν.

ὡς, ἐπιγραπτόμενος.

πᾶσιν, ἤτοι μητροπόλεσιν ἐξεῖναι τῷ ἰδίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ τῆς ἐπαρχίας Μητροπόλ. *Concil. Nicen. can.* 4.

Concil. Antioch. can. 4. *& sequ.*

Theodor. Lc. c. 9.

A *the Law or Ordinance of the Church, commaunded him to come to Rome, and cited Athanasius to appeare there also*: that is (saith *Baronius*) a Canon of the Nicene Councell, now lost, whereby it was enacted, that men might from all parts appeale to Rome: so small a piece of ground will serue their turne to found the tyrannie of the Pope vpon; for what likelyhood thereof doe they find in anie Historie? Wherefore it is more probable to say, that seeing this was before that Canon of the Councell of Sardica, it was meant rather of the common practise of the Church in those dayes, when one Bishop oppressed, was wont to flie for reliefe to some other of greater dignitie, to cleare himselfe before him; who thereupon vsed to call his aduersarie, and to heare the cause betweene them, according to that vniuersall Bishopricke, *whereof*, as sayth S. *Cyprian, euerie one did administer his portion by himselfe*, yet so, as that no man neglected the whole Bodie, or any particular member thereof, the Church being a Bodie σύμπνους, καὶ ὁμόπνους, *i. which liued but by one and the selfesame breath.* As appeareth in the example of *Ammonius* and *Isidore*, who finding themselues wronged by *Theophilus* Bishop of Alexandria, fled to *Chrysostome*, who receiued them, and examined their cause; and finding them to haue a right and Orthodox opinion concerning the Deitie, wrote to *Theophilus*, to receiue them to Communion; if not, and that he would yet draw the cause to a farther hearing, that then he should send some one or other to make himselfe a partie in it. The like was in *Athanasius*, flying to Pope *Iulius*. And yet did not *Chrysostome* hereupon ground anie pretence, either ouer *Theophilus* in person, or ouer the dioces of Alexandria. The like was also in *Liberius*, whom, the Churches of the East assembled in the Syrmian Councell, recommended to Pope *Felix*, and to the Clergie of Rome, requiring them to admit him as Collegue in that See: which also they obtained. And thus you see what that pretended Appeale was, vnlesse yet perhaps some man may thinke that foolerie of *Baronius* worth the answering, where he sayth, that *Athanasius* calleth the Church of Rome, *The Church*, by excellencie, without addition: The words of *Athanasius* are these, *The Emperour* (sayth he) *sent me letters; hauing receiued them, I went vp to Rome, with purpose to visit the Bishop and Church there.* Who seeth not that this word *Rome* was omitted in this last place, onely to auoid an vnnecessarie repetition of what was necessarily implied? Now if we would vrge a saying of the same Father, where he calleth Milan *the Metropolis of all Italie*, what rejoinder would he make? Nay, we may say farther, that this Councell had beene ill aduised to draw all to one mans authoritie, seeing that *Hosius*, the proposer of this Canon, a while after fell away from the true and Orthodox doctrine, and that *Liberius*, next successor to *Iulius*, fell vnto Arrianisme, excommunicating *Athanasius*, and being therefore himselfe, without regard to his pretended supremacie, excommunicated by our S. *Hilarie*. *Baronius* seeing the consequence which this Historie draweth with it, would faine make it trauersable, and sometimes flatly denieth it to be true; and which is more, enrolleth him in the Catalogue of Saints, as he did afterwards the good *Hildebrand*, called *Gregorie* the seuenth. But leaue we him to debate this question with *Athanasius* and *Hilarie*, with *Liberius* himselfe (whose Epistles *Nicholas Faber* his trustie friend lately published, with the fragments of *Hilarie*) with *Bellarmine*, who, as hath beene alreadie shewed, so clearely condemneth him; and lastly with himselfe, for as much as he vseth these fragments of *Hilarie* so farre forth as they serue his own turne: for from thence taketh he a Synodicall Epistle, written to *Iulius* from the Councell of Sardica, and therefore ought in reason to admit also of that Epistle of *Liberius*, found in the same volume: but we need no argument in a thing which him-

Τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐπιταγμάτων τόπων.

B

C

D

E

Socrat. l. 8. *c.* 13.

Baron. an. 349. *art.* 8.

Athanas. Apolog. 2. *idem ad solitarios.*

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

Baron. an. 357. *art.* 26.

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

Baron. vol. 4. an. 365. art. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, & sequent.

An. 362. Now *Athanasius*, in the yeare 362, held a verie famous Councell in Alexandria, whither he inuited the Bishops out of all parts, to helpe reestablish the true doctrine of the Church. Our Annalist would needs persuade vs that hee did it by order from *Liberius*; and that *Liberius* confirmed the acts of this Councell: *Which*, saith he, *he plainely expresseth* in his Epistle to *Ruffinian*. But let who will read this Epistle, and then say, whether there be in it any one word tending to that purpose: At least *Gregorie Nazianzene* vnderstood it otherwise, when as alluding to this Synod assembled by *Athanasius*, he speaketh in this maner: *He prescribed lawes to all the world, and drew euerie mans eyes vpon himselfe*. And vpon that question, Whether and how farre forth such as had fallen were to bee restored, he saith, That the same courses were taken in all the Synods which had beene assembled: *In the presence*, saith he, *of the Bishops of all forreine Prouinces, as also of Greece, and of Spaine*: but of Italie or Rome no one word spoken. Likewise in the yeare 364, there was another Synod held in Lampsacus, *where the Orthodoxe of Bythinia and Hellespont*, saith *Sozomene*, *sent Hypatianus Bishop of Heraclea, to Valentinian the Emperour, to intreat leaue to assemble themselues in councell.* The Emperour wearied with so many Councels called in the time of his predecessor *Constians*, to so little good purpose, made answer, *That it was not lawfull for him, being a lay man, to meddle with the matters of the Church.* Whence *Baronius* concludeth, That he thereby resigned all authoritie he had or could pretend in Church causes. But the Emperour addeth farther, *Let the Church-men assemble themselues where they will*: Which words they tooke for leaue, and thereupon assembled themselues. And in the end that fell out which the Emperour foresaw, which was, that being ouerborne by the aduerse faction, they could not hold themselues to the Nicene Creed. Here againe *Baronius* taketh aduantage, because they sent three Legats to *Liberius* Bishop of Rome, with a Synodall Epistle. True, but these Legats comming to him, salute him onely by the name of *Collegue* and *brother*; and to begin withall, tell him, *That they had brought letters to his Benignitie, and to all the other Bishops of Italie, and of all the regions of the West*: Who consequently were associated with him in the same letter. And what, I pray you, hath *Baronius* now gotten? Last of all, and for an vpshot, let vs not forget a good saying of *Baronius*, who, to shew the pride of *Donatus*, alledgeth a saying of *Optatus*: *Seeing*, saith he, *that there is none aboue the Emperour but God which made him, hee therein passed the state of men, esteeming himselfe now no longer a man, but a God.* Which was onely for that he refused to accept the almes and offerings of the Emperour, with whom he held not communion. Let *Baronius* lay his hand vpon his heart, and tell me truely what *Optatus* would haue said of our Pope of Rome now adayes, seeing that he so much lifteth himselfe vp aboue the Emperour, both in his decrees and in his actions, but onely this, That of a trueth he is *that man of sinne* foretold vnto vs, which lifteth himselfe vp aboue God, and causeth himselfe to be adored in the Temple of God.

Nazianz. in Athanas.

Sozom. lib. 5. c. 7 ὅτε ὅπη τῷ αὐτῷ δοκοίη συνελθεῖν.

μοι μετὰ λόγου τετιμῆσθαι τοσοῦτο πολυθεσίματον.

οὐ τοσοῦτος.

Optat. lib. 3. contra Parmen.

6. Pro-

6. Progression.

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

IN the yeare 366, in the election of *Damasus*, successour to *Liberius*, appeared plainely with what ambition and violence men aspired to the See of Rome. The booke of the Popes saith, That *Damasus* got it, *by hauing the stronger faction.* And *Ruffin* (who lined at that time) saith, *That about the choyce arose so great a tumult, or rather an open warre, whiles some maintained Damasus, and others Vrsicin, that the houses of prayer, that is, the churches, floated with mans bloud.* But *Ammianus Marcellinus* telleth vs both the historie it selfe, and also the cause thereof: *Damasus*, saith he, *and Vrsicin enraged with a desire of that Episcopall See, drew the people into factions, who thereupon grew first to blowes, and afterward to murders: So that Viuentius finding himselfe too weake either to represse, or to appease them, withdrew himselfe out of the citie: in which conflict Damasus had the vpper hand; and it is certaine, that in the Church of Sicininus, where the Christians vsed to meet at seruice, there were left in one day 137 dead bodies; and a hard matter it was, for a long time after, to asswage this enraged populace.* And thence it was that *Ruffin* called it *an open warre.* And *Marcellinus* adding the cause; *For my owne part*, saith he, *I doe not wonder, considering the braueries of that citie, if men ambitious of that place set vp their rest for the purchasing thereof: for hauing once aspired thereunto, they are sure to be enriched with the offerings of gentlewomen and ladies, and to be carried in their coaches sumptuously attired, and so magnificent in their feasts, as paseth any kings table*: Whereas *they might indeed bee truely happie, if not regarding the greatnesse of the citie, they would order their liues after the manner of other meaner Bishops, who approue themselues to the immortall God, and to his true worshippers, by puritie of life, by modestie of behauiour, by temperance in meat and drinke, poore apparell, and lowlie eyes.* Whence the reader may perceiue and iudge, wherein consisted the difference betweene the Pope and other Bishops in those dayes: yet *Baronius* glorieth in this pompe and pride of the Popes, and taketh great pleasure in these feasts, as one delighting to hold his nose ouer the pot. *Marcellinus*, saith he, *was a Heathen, and therefore enuied to see our Souerayne Pontife to surpasse their High Priest, in pompe and glorie.* But he should haue remembred, That this is a question, not yet decided among the learned, Whether he were a Pagan or a Christian; and by his words it should seeme that he was a Christian, *The moderster sort of Bishops*, saith he, *approue themselues to the immortal God, and his true worshippers, &c.* What now saith *Baronius* to all this? *Hieroſme*, saith he, in a certaine Epistle of his, telleth vs of one *Protextatus*, then Consull designed, who was wont to say vnto *Damasus*, *Make thou me Bishop of Rome, and I will quickly make my selfe a Christian*: And that in *Tertullians* time also the Pagans were wont causlesly to blame the prodigalitie of the Christians. *You accuse*, saith *Tertullian*, *our poore suppers, of prodigalitie, as if that saying of Diogenes might well fit vs, The Megarenses feast to day as if they should dye to morrow.* And what of all this? for were those *Cenule*, those little banquets which *Tertullian* speaketh of, and these profuse feasts mentioned in *Marcellinus*, all one? And for whom were those suppers which *Tertullian* speaketh of prouided? for euen poore and indigent people, not for Consuls and Gouernours, as *Baronius* reporteth. And is not this falsely to alledge Authors? But let vs see what *Hieroſme* himselfe saith concerning these times.

Liber Pontificalis quia fortior & plurima multitudo erat, Ruffin. l. 1. c. 10. Marcellin. l. 27

An. 366.

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

Tertul. Apologet. 39.

OPPOSITION.

Hieron, ad Marcell, vidaam.

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

Orbis maior eſt vrbe.
Hieron. in Epiſt. ad Euagr.
Hieron. in Epiſt. ad Heliodo. 10. 1
Baſil. Epiſt. 55.

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

Cerypheus. Baſil. Epiſt. 10.

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

Baſil. Epiſt. 70.
Idem Epiſt. 78.
Baſil. Epiſt. in Addition. Ep. 1.
Hieron. ad Euſtoch. Epiſt. 22. Ad Nepotian. 2.
Ierem. 12.
Hieron. ad Nepotian. 2.

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

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

And this contagion ſpread it ſelfe ſo farre, that the Chriſtian Emperours, *Valentinian*, *Valens*, and *Gratian*, were faine to take order by expreſſe law againſt it: which law was directed and ſent to *Damaſus*; and therein *were all Clergie men, and ſuch as made profeſſion of chaſtitie and continencie, prohibited, once to ſet foot within widowes doores, or orphanes, or to receiue any gift by teſtament or other deuiſe whatſoeuer, of any woman, with whom, vnder pretence and colour of religion, they had acquaintance or familiaritie; confiſcating whatſoeuer had beene ſo giuen, or ſhould from thence forward be ſo deuiſed, granted, and made ouer to them. This ordinance*, ſaith the text, *publiſhed and read in the Church of Rome*. And this is that which Saint *Hieroſme* ſaith in one of his Epiſtles before alledged: *I am aſhamed*, ſaith he, *to ſpeake it: But the Prieſts of Idols, common Stage Players, Carremen, and Whores, are capable of legacies and of inheritances, onely Clergie men and Monkes are forbidden to receiue legacies, or to inherit, and that not by perſecuting Tyrans, but by Chriſtian Princes: neither doe I complaine of the law, but grieue to ſee that we ſhould deſerue it. This cautere is good; but why would we be ſo wounded as to ſtand in need thereof? The diſpoſition of the law is wiſe and prouident, and yet is not our auarice reſtrained: Wee may not any longer admit of legacies in our owne perſons, therefore we take a courſe to circumuent the law, by procuring legacies and inheritances to be made ouer in truſt to others, to our vſes: And as if the lawes of the Emperour were greater than the lawes of Chriſt, we feare them, and neglect the precepts of the Goſpell.* And much after this manner ſpeaketh alſo Saint *Ambroſe* in his thirteenth Epiſtle. But *Baronius* would here perſuade vs, That the Emperours made this law at the motion of *Damaſus* himſelfe: as alſo, that *Conſtantine* long before that time paſſed another Edict at the inſtance of Pope *Sylueſter*, and of the Biſhops; by which he inhibited the gentrie of the Empire to make themſelues of the Clergie; becauſe that by reaſon of the large priuiledges and immunities belonging to that Order, the richer ſort put themſelues into the miniſtrie, and ſo left the Commonwealth vnſerued: And this he ſaith to no other end, but that Princes and States in theſe dayes ſhould not offer, by their examples, out of their owne regall authoritie, to order and reforme the Churches. But the truth is, that thoſe Emperours ordered and limited the juriſdiction of the Clergie (which euen in thoſe dayes began to encroach vpon the temporall Courts) by an expreſſe law and ordinance directed vnto them: *If there happen*, ſay they, *any ſmall contentions or offences to ariſe, touching queſtions of religion, let them be heard in the place where they ariſe, and by the Synods of the Dioceſſe*. Where note, that they ſay, *ſmall offences*, and, *about religion: excepting alwayes all ſorts of crimes which belong to the audience of the Iudges, ordinarie or extraordinarie, or gouernours of the place*. Adde wee hereunto, That about the yeare 390, vnder *Syricius* Biſhop of Rome, this diſorder of the Clergie ſtill continued; and that the Emperors, *Valentinian*, *Theodoſius*, and

L.10.de Epiſc.& Cler. in Cod.Theodoſ. *Baron.vol.4.an. 370.art.123.* *L.23.de Epiſc.& Cler.in Cod.Theodoſ.*

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

Lib.17.de Epiſc.& Cler.in Cod.Theodoſ.

7. Progreſſion.

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

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

C

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

Oppoſition.

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

D

Tbeodor.l.5.c.9

Ruffin.l.11.c.11.

E

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

An.381. *Socrat.lib.4. c.24.& 25.* *Onuphr.in Faſt.*

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

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

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

Bellarm. in Recognit. p. 46.

Bellarm. de Roman. Pontif. l. 2. c. 13.

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

Onuphr. in Faſt. an. 381.

But

A But now let vs ſee what newes with *Baronius*: Firſt he ſayth, That this Councell of Conſtantinople was called iointly by *Theodoſius* and *Damaſus* Biſhops of Rome; *and who* (ſaith he) *can doubt hereof?* May it pleaſe him, it ſhould ſeeme that *Socrates* and *Sozomene* doubted of it, when they tell vs, *That the Emperour without delay laboured as much as in him was to aſſemble a Councell of all ſorts.* So alſo, as it ſeemeth, did the Fathers themſelues of that Councell, who in their Synodall Epiſtle ſay in this manner: *Wee, here aſſembled by his commaundement, &c.* meaning the Emperour. And in that other Epiſtle of theirs, which they wrote the Summer following to *Damaſus, Britto, Ambroſe*, and other Biſhops of the Weſt, where they ſhew, that they of the Eaſt were not called to the Synod of Rome it ſelfe (which

B was at the ſame time readie to meet) by letters from *Damaſus*, but from the Emperour. So likewiſe doe all the Church Hiſtories, which tell vs, that the Emperour hauing heard the reſolution of the Orthodox Fathers in the Synod of Rome, much deſired to aſſemble another of all ſects, hoping by that means to make them fall to ſome agreement; not borrowing anie authoritie from Rome. And to conclude, the practiſe of all auncient times ſeemeth to doubt hereof, ſeeing that in that verie yeare a Councell was called at Aquileia by the Emperor *Gratian*, where *Ambroſe* himſelfe was preſent, and the deputies of the Churches of France and Aſrike, as he affirmeth; and ſeeing alſo that *Damaſus* himſelfe became an humble ſuiter to the Emperours *Theodoſius* and *Gratian*, to graunt a warrant for the calling of

C a Councell the yeare following at Rome, being much offended that *Flauianus* had ſucceeded *Paulinus* in the Church of Antioch: for how could he grant leaue to others, who asked for himſelfe? And of this verie Councell it is, that S. *Hieroſme* ſpeaketh in his Epiſtle to *Euſtochium*, *When the imperiall letters* (ſayth he) *had aſſembled at Rome the Biſhops of the Eaſt and Weſt, ſhe then ſaw verie admirable perſonages, Biſhops of Chriſt, Paulinus Biſhop of Antioch, and Epiphanius Biſhop of Salamis.* And now let *Baronius* tell me whether a man may not haue reaſon to doubt thereof. Well, ſayth *Baronius*, yet the beſt is, that *Damaſus* did at leaſt confirme this Councell. And we muſt ſee whether he did or no, and how he confirmed it, whether to authoriſe it, or elſe to ſubmit himſelfe vnto it. For the firſt, we haue a Sy-

D nodall Epiſtle directed to *Theodoſius*, with the Acts of that Synod annexed thereunto; wherein as called together by his commaund, they iointly yeelded him an account of what they had there enacted, requeſting him *by his ſeale and ſentence to confirme and ratifie their decrees. Baronius* telleth vs, that this they did onely in policie, to engage *Theodoſius* in the maintenance of their profeſſion: And what need, ſeeing the world taketh notice, that he was as zealous for religion, as was the beſt of them? And for *Damaſus*, that he approued indeed this Councell, but that he did it likewiſe for a purpoſe, which was to make the Greeke Church ſure againſt the hereſie of *Macedonius*: and I would faine know where it is that he findeth it. All a matter, ſayth *Baronius*, but ſo it is, that he did confirme it: for *Photius*

E hath it in his booke of ſeuen Synods. Surely this man did well and wiſely, not to quote the place, for feare his iugling ſhould be diſcouered: The words of *Photius* are theſe: *And a little after* (ſaith he) *they vnderſtood, that Damaſus alſo, Biſhop of Rome had confirmed them, as being of the ſame opinion with them*, meaning with the Fathers of Conſtantinople. And doth this proue that they required his authoritie to confirme their Acts? or rather that he confirmed them onely by yeelding aſſent, and ſubmitting himſelfe vnto them? And yet ſuch is his madneſſe as to ſay, that he confirmed it fraudulently and for a purpoſe onely not to auow the Canon, there made, for the place and dignitie of the Biſhop and Church of Conſtantinople,

Baron. vol. 4. an. 381. art. 20.

Socrat. l. 5. c. 10. Sozom. l. 7. c. 7.

Epiſt. Synod. in to. 1. Concil.

Theodor. l. 5. c. 8. & 9. Socrat. l. 5. c. 10. Sozom l. 7. c. 12.

Concil. Aquil. in ep. ad Gratian. Valent. & Theodoſ. in 1. Vol. Concil. Theodor. l. 5. c. 9. Sozom. l. 7. c. 9.

Hieron. ad Euſtoch. ep. 27.

To. 1. Concil.

Baron. to. 4. an. 381. art. 38.

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

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

Baron. to. 4. an. 382. art. 18.

Epiph. cont. Marcion. haer. 42.

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

Baſil. in Epiſt. ad Occident.

Nazian. in ep. ad Caledon.

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

Hieron. ep. 78. ad Pammach. & Marcell.

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

But there aroſe at this time a certaine difference betweene *Chryſoſtome* Biſhop of Conſtantinople, and this *Theophilus* of Alexandria, whereof they would ſucke no ſmall aduantage; the caſe was this: *Nectarius* Biſhop of Conſtantinople being dead, queſtion aroſe about the choice of a ſucceſſor: The Biſhops of the prouince aſſembled in Synod, *by common conſent of Clergie and People, elected Chryſoſtome*, and
B called him from Antioch to be their Biſhop. Here *Baronius* groundeth his argument: for (ſayth he) it is euident, that *Theophilus* oppoſed himſelfe againſt this election, and would haue brought in one *Iſidorus*, a Prieſt of his dioces: if therefore (ſayth he) that Canon of the Councell of Conſtantinople had bin of force, which equalleth Conſtantinople with Rome, how could *Theophilus* haue medled in this election; and thence concludeth, that it is a forged Canon, in deſpight of all Hiſtories whatſoeuer. But let this Annaliſt read the Hiſtorie once more: *To giue the greater credit and luſtre to this election* (ſayth *Socrates*) *there were alſo manie other Biſhops there aſſembled by order from the Emperour, and amongſt the reſt Theophilus of Alexandria, who did what he could to ſtaine the credit and reputation of Chryſoſtome.*
C Whence it appeareth, that he was not there but by ſpeciall order from the Emperor *Areadius*; and therefore his argument concludeth not. And here began the quarrell betweene theſe two: *Theophilus* a man of an implacable ſpirit, tooke the other to taske; the reaſon was, for that *Theophilus* had not long before excommunicated certaine Origeniſts, who preſently fled to *Chryſoſtome*, whom yet *Chryſoſtome* would not receiue to his Communion, vntill he might heare the reaſons of *Theophilus*, either by himſelfe, or by ſome others from him, concerning their excommunication: *Theophilus* alſo had this aduantage ouer him, that through his libertie of ſpeech in pulpit, he had drawne the hatred of the great ones of the Court, and of the Emperour himſelfe, but aboue all, of the Empreſſe
D vpon his head: Wherefore *Theophilus* was ſent for, to ſit vpon him; who comming to Conſtantinople, aſſembled a Synod, but for feare of the people held it without the citie; the Synod conſiſting for the moſt part of thoſe Biſhops whom *Chryſoſtome* for their demerits had formerly depoſed. Thither he cited *Chryſoſtome* to appeare before him and them, who had to the open view of all men combined themſelues againſt him. *Chryſoſtome* on the contrarie held another Synod within the walls, whither he alſo cited *Theophilus* to appeare before him: and farther, by three Biſhops and two Prieſts admoniſhed him and his adherents, not to peruert or trouble the orders of the Church, eſpecially not to violate the Canon of Nice,
by medling in other mens iuriſdictions; that he in his Synod had the greater num-
E ber of Biſhops, and aſſembled out of diuers Prouinces; that yet he refuſed not to put himſelfe vpon the triall of him and of his Synod, prouided that his profeſſed enemies were firſt remoued; if not, *that then he appealed to a Generall Councell.* Theſe are the words of *Palladius* in the life of *Chryſoſtome*: likewiſe of *Socrates* and *Sozomene* in their Hiſtories. And why then did he not appeale to Rome? or can they ſhew anie ſuch authoritie as this, for the maintenance of Appeales to the See of Rome? Which notwithſtanding, they proceeded to his depoſition, and caſt him into exile, hauing no other cauſe againſt him, but that he refuſed to appeare before them. But why then (ſayth *Baronius*) had not he rather relieued him-

F ſelfe

Socrat. l. 6. c. 2. Sozom. l. 8. c. 2. Ἰωάννης τὸν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον κατέλαβε.

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

Pallad. in vita Chryſoſt. an. 403

Pallad. in vita Chryſoſt. Socrat. l. 6. c. 4. Sozom. l. 8. c. 17. Ἐπιτιμητήριον.

selfe vpon that third Canon of Constantinople, if anie such had beene in force? A
I answere, because the Canon of the Nicene Councell was more proper for his purpose, the question not being properly of jurisdiction, but of the integritie of his person. By which Canon of Nice *Theophilus, who was set ouer the Churches of Egypt, had nothing to doe with the Churches of Thracia.* But hereupon the people began to repine and mutinie, till in the end *Chrysostome* was restored to his Chaire. Shortly after he drew more anger vpon him by like Pulpit libertie as before, and his aduersaries taking hold of this occasion, condemned him a second time, alledging, that he had returned to his Chaire, without restitution first had and obtained from them. And thereupon, the displeasure of the Empresse, joyned with the implacable hatred of *Theophilus*, they cast him into banishment, B
more grieuous than before: which while some of his friends sought to mitigate, they made it worse, till in the end he died in exile, through griefe of heart. True it is, that in this second conflict he tryed all his friends; whereupon *Baronius* is
Baron. to.5. an.404.art.20. & seq. bold, and sayth, *That he had recourse by way of Appeale to the Church of Rome as vnto her, which was onely able to correct all other Churches, and that he appealed to Innocent Bishop of Rome in person.* Which he reporteth with that confidence, as a man would thinke himselfe almost bound in conscience to beleeue him: adding farther, That all this fell out by the wonderful prouidence of God, to shew men how they ought vpon like occasions to flie to the Pope of Rome. But let vs see what proofes: for our part we are content to stand to his owne allegations, and name- C
ly to that Epistle of *Chrysostome* vnto *Innocent:* which Epistle, by his leaue, is not directed to *Innocent* alone, but jointly to all the Bishops of the West, as appeareth, in that the whole Epistle runneth in tearmes of the plurall number; neither in six whole pages, which that Epistle taketh vp, is the word of *Appeale* so much as once named: but we find there manie other things which make against them; as first, that he declareth vnto them the cause of his exile to haue beene onely, *that he would haue appealed to a Councell*, meaning a Generall Councell, as we said before; and consequently not to the Bishop of Rome. Secondly, that he prayeth their charitie *to awake, and to helpe to put some end to these his miseries*, and therefore not their pretended omnipotencie. Thirdly, *I humbly beseech you* (sayth he) D
my most reuerend Lords, to preuent this ruine; and therefore not *Innocent*, or his See alone: and what ruine was it? *For if* (saith he) *this custome take place, and it may be lawfull for one to enterprise vpon anothers Prouince, all is lost.* His meaning was, that they should helpe to order this matter by a Councell, in execution of that Canon of Nice, and therefore he entreateth them *to retract and to disannull all that which had beene practised or attempted against him:* so farre was he from requesting *Innocent*, who dwelt farther off than the other, to interpose his authoritie in the cause. Fourthly, in that he telleth them, *That he had written the same things to Venerius Bishop of Milan, and to Chromatius Bishop of Aquileia:* and so indeed had he also written to *Aurelius* Bishop of Carthage. By which appeareth, that he wrote E
to sundrie other Bishops which then were of esteeme and authoritie in the Church, as well as to *Innocentius*; whom he could not omit, in regard that he was Bishop of the first See: but he *appealed* not to one more than to another. The like also may appeare by the resolution which *Innocentius* tooke in this businesse: for hauing receiued the letters, and heard the embassages of both parties, in good discretion he admitted them both to his Communion, thereby declaring, that the
Theodor. Rom. apud Pallad. in Dialog. sentence which was giuen against *Chrysostome* was vniust: adding farther, *That it was fit in this case to call a sincere Synod, as well of the Easterne as of the Westerne Bishops,*

where

A *where neither opposites nor partisans of either of them should be present, and there giue iudgement according to the Canons of Nice:* which was nothing else in effect, but only to giue way to the Appeale, which *Chrysostome* had from the beginning put in, to a Generall Councell: which he requested *Innocentius* and others, according to the practise of the Church in those times, to procure from the Emperors *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; especially from *Arcadius*, who being offended with *Chrysostome*, would neuer haue graunted it, but at their intreatie. Which plainely appeareth in *Sozomene* by the letters of *Innocent* sent to the Clergie of Constantinople. *It is* *Sozom. l.8. c.28.*
needfull (sayth he) *that a Synod haue the hearing of this matter, for it onely is able to represse these troubles, and in the meane time it is meet to referre the cure of this maladie to*
B *the will of God, and of Iesus Christ our Lord.* And a little after, *We are verie carefull* (saith he) *to find the meanes to assemble a Generall Councell:* which he needed not to haue beene, had things beene in his owne disposition. Now that which ensued hereupon was, that the yere following, which was the yere 405, there was assem- *An.405.*
bled a Synod of the Westerne Bishops at Rome, where they entreated *the Emperor Honorius to write to his brother Arcadius, requesting him, that he would cause a Synod to be assembled at Thessalonica, to the end that the Bishops both of the East and also of the West might there meet, as in a more conuenient place*, for the finall hearing and sentencing of this cause. Whereupon *Honorius* sent vnto him, and the more to shew him the good opinion which the Bishops of the West had of *Chrysostome*, of manie let-
C ters which he had in his hands to that effect, he sent him principally two, the one of *Innocentius* Bishop of Rome, the other of *Chromatius* Bishop of Aquileia: And the author himselfe noteth, that the embassadors sent vnto *Arcadius* from his brother *Honorius*, deliuered him letters *from the Emperour his brother, from Innocentius of Rome, from Chromatius of Aquileia, from Venerius of Milan, and from sundrie others*; all which joyned in this embassage: the end whereof was, to reestablish *Chrysostome* in his place for the present, vntill a Generall Councell might be assembled. In the meane time *Chrysostome* died in banishment, and the rest of this Historie concerneth not this matter. What reason therefore hath *Baronius* so confidently to report, that *Chrysostome* did appeale to Rome? For when a Prince oppressed by one
D neighbour, flyeth for helpe and succour to another, doth he thereby make him his Lord, and himselfe his vassall? To flie to his courtesie or fauour, is it to be interpreted for an acknowledgement of his jurisdiction, or that he confesseth himselfe his tributarie? One lye more of *Baronius*, and so an end of this discourse. This grand
Baron. to.5. an.407. art.20. & an.408. art.33. Theodur. l.5. c.33. & 34. Annalist telleth vs, that *Innocent* would neuer communicat with the Easterne Churches, no not after the death of *Chrysostome*, till his name was restored to the catalogue of the Bishops of that See, and thereupon voucheth *Theodoret, lib. 5. cap.33.* Whosoeuer will take the paine to read that place, shall find no mention there made of *Innocentius*. It is said there I confesse, *that the Doctor of this Vniuerse being dead, the Bishops of the West would not communicat with the Bishops of the East, of*
E *Egypt and of Thrace, vntill they had enrolled him among the Bishops deceased of Constantinople, not vouchsafing so much as to congratulat his successor Arsacius.* Why then should he appropriat that to one, which the Author himselfe attributeth vnto all? The like care (sayth he) did *Alexander the Bishop take* in Antioch, being the first which caused his name to be registred in the writings of the Church; which is true: But *Baronius* addeth, that he did it at the instance and request of *Innocentius*, hauing no other argument for this assertion but this, that *Innocent* wrote a letter to him; for as touching anie such matter *Theodoret* speaketh not a word.

A

8. Progression.

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

THe Bishops of Rome finding no passage open to their intended Supremacie, through the constancie of the Easterne Church, bent their course backe vpon the West, especially vpon Africke, where they thought to meet with lesse opposition. *Damasus* had alreadie broken the ice vnto them, as appeareth by that
To. 1. Concil. Epistle of his written to *Stephanus* Bishop of Mauritania; wherein hee qualifieth B
the Church of Rome with the title of the *Firmament of all Bishops*, and *Top of all other Churches*: emboldened, no doubt, thereunto by letters sent before that time vnto him from the said *Stephanus*; who complained that certaine Bishops had bin deposed in Africke: adding, that this was so done, notwithstanding they all knew
Ibid. well ynough, *That censures of Bishops, and all other Church causes of moment, ought to be referred to the audience of the Bishop of Rome*, whom he there tearmeth *The Father of Fathers*: being of the verie brood and ofspring of those rebell Bishops of Africke, of whom Saint *Cyprian* complained in his dayes; who being reproued and censured for their faults, would presently crosse the seas, and run to Rome for Sanctuarie. All which to be vnderstood with this condition, If those decretall C
Epistles inserted among the Councels ought to haue any credit; which, as wee haue alreadie said, the more learned sort reiect as counterfeit, vntill the time of Pope *Syricius*, who now entreth vpon the stage: And indeed the old Roman Code leaueth them all out, vntill the time of this *Syricius*. This *Syricius*, about the yeare
An. 386. 386, in his first Epistle to *Himerius* Bishop of Arragon, is verie quicke, and saith, *That it is not lawfull for any Priest of the Lord to be ignorant of the decrees and statutes of the See Apostolike*: and therefore *requesteth him to make knowne such ordinances and decrees as he shall send vnto him, not onely to those of his owne Diocesse, but also to those of Carthagena, Andalusia, Portugall, Galeace, and others*: that is in effect, to all the Prouinces of Spaine; *Which could not*, saith he, *but bee glorious vnto him* D
Pro antiquitate sacerdotij sui. *which was a Priest of so long continuance*: purposing to vse the ambitious humor of this Prelat, onely to make himselfe and the authoritie of his See great in Spaine. And in his fourth Epistle to the Bishops of Africke, he goeth a step farther, and telleth them, *That without the priuitie of the See Apostolike, that is to say, of the Primat, none might presume to ordaine a Bishop*: And this word *Primat*, some interpret for the Bishop of Rome, in regard of the claime which was made vnto the Primacie not long before by *Damasus*, and these late presumptions of *Syricius* himselfe, in his first Epistle; the rather, because it is improbable, that hee would impart this title of *The See Apostolike* to any, saue onely to the See of Rome.

E

Opposition.

Concil. Carth. 2. ca. 12. The Africanes therefore assembled vpon this occasion a second Councell at Carthage, in the time of this *Syricius*, where they decreed in this manner: *It seemed good vnto all, that without the leaue of the Primat of euerie Prouince, no man hereafter presume, in what place soeuer, to ordaine any Bishop*: without any reference at all to the Bishop of Rome. But, say they, *if necessitie so require, any three Bishops, by order from the Primat, may consecrate a Bishop*. And it is to be noted, That in this verie Canon they call the chaire of the Metropolitan, *the First Chaire*, or *Chiefe*

A *Chiefe See*: and that *Gratian* inserting this Canon in his booke of Decrees, followed the intent of this Councell of Carthage, and not of *Syricius*; referring it to the Metropolitan Bishop, not to the Apostolike See, though he falsely report it vnder the name of *Innocent*. And in the yeare 397, the third Councell of Car- *An.* 397.
thage went a little farther, *Syricius* at that time also sitting Pope, and decreed, *Concil. Carthag. 3. ca. 26.*
That the Bishop of the first See should not be called the Prince, or Chiefe of Priests, or High Priest, or by any other such name, but onely, The Bishop of the first See. As for the name of *Vniuersall Bishop, that the Bishop of Rome it selfe should not bee called by that name.* Which last words are also in *Gratian*, though now, through the good order which *Distinct. 99. ca. prima. dis 3.*
of later times hath beene taken in these matters, they are no longer so to be found B
in the Councell it selfe: A thing not to be forgotten; for it was fit that all these things should meet, and march together, Corruption of doctrine as well as of discipline; and that *Syricius* should be the man who should first establish the forbiddance of Priests mariages, though by generall consent reiected in the Councell of Nice, and not receiued for six hundred yeares after in the West, doe what his successors could doe: Bringing in also the commemoration of Saints into the Liturgie and daily seruice of the Church; in imitation perhaps, of that *Carmen Saliare*, vsed heretofore among the Romans, wherein the names of all their gods were with much solemnitie rehearsed: For that was the disease of that age, to fashion themselues in all points after the rites and ceremonies of the Heathen.

C

9. Progression.

Of the decree of Pope Innocent concerning Appeales to Rome.

IN the yeare 401 came *Innocent*, who would not be so put backe; he, in his se- *An.* 401.
cond Epistle to *Victricius* Bishop of Roan, published this generall decree, *That Innocent. Epist. 2. ad Victric. Rothomagens. c. 3.*
the greater causes, after that they had beene censured by the Bishop, should be referred to the See of Rome; as the Synod, saith he, *hath ordained, and the laudable vse and custome of the Church requireth*. Yet haue we hitherto seene the contrarie both in the one
D and also in the other. But he goeth on, seeking to practise what he proiected, vp- *Epist. 7. ad Epise. Maced.*
on the Macedonians, and persuading them that he did the like in all other places. Let vs therefore now see whether he found any better successe in this his attempt than his predecessors had before him.

Opposition.

The question then is, as you see, about great causes. In the yeare 402 was *An.* 402.
held the Mileuitan Councell, and after that in the yere 413 another at Carthage, *An.* 413.
where no petie causes were in handling, but the maine doctrine of the Church, the schisme of *Donatus*, and the heresie of *Pelagius*: where both were condem-
E ned, and *Pelagius* (concerning whose doctrine Pope *Innocent* thought fit to suspend his judgement) was excommunicated. And all this done without consulting the Bishop of Rome, onely sentence being alreadie passed, he was entreated to joyne his authoritie and voyce with theirs; for so goe the words of those Fathers in a letter which they sent vnto him, reported by S. *Augustine*: *We haue*, say they, *Concil. Carth. ad Innocent. to. 2. pa. 469. Augus. Epist. 90*
by common consent pronounced Pelagius and Caelestius to be excommunicated, &c. for the amendment, if not of them, yet of those whom they haue seduced: which done, we haue thought good, deere brother, to signifie so much vnto thee, to the end that vnto this ordinance of our mediocritie thou shouldest ioyne the authoritie of the See Apostolike. So that

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

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

And

Concil. Milenit. in Epist. ad Innocent. to. 1. Concil. & apud Augst. Epist. 92.

Concil. Milenit. c. 3.

Apud August. Epist. 90. & to. 1 Concil. apud August. Epist. 91

Apud August. Epist. 92.

Concil. Milenit. Can. 22.

2. q. 6. c. 35.

Concil. Carthag. apud Balsam. Can. 31. ex Concil. African.

A And in like manner is this Canon read in the Greeke copies. And to conclude this point, we may not forget that Saint *Augustine* himselfe was present at this Councell. ἐν τῷ καὶ τῶν ὁσιωτάτων πολλάκις ἀρεσθέντι.

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

Concil. Carthag. 3. ca. 26. Distinct. 99. ca. primæ sedis.

Baron. an. 367. to. 5. art. 48.

Concil. Carthag. prouincial. 4. in Præfat. Concil. African.

Concil. Carthag. can. 33.

Baron. to. 5. an. 401. art. 9.

Concil. Afric. 68.

Alla Concil. 1. Tolet. Baron. an. 405. art. 52. vol. 5.

vs

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

Concil. Taurin. can. 5.

Aut Romane Ecclesiæ Sacerdotis.

10. Progression.

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

An. 417.

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

Plenarium Concilium. August. Ep. 47. Ep. Concil. African. ad Bonifac. in 10. 1. Concil. pa. 519. a. Faustin. in Commonit. ad Can. 1. Synod. Carthag. apud Balsam. ex editio Heructi. pag. 305.

Opposition.

Ibid.

This matter so proposed by the Legats, *Alypius* Bishop of Theagast protesting openly, That he intended to hold himselfe in all poynts to the Nicene Councell, began to make question of this pretended Canon: *We haue*, saith he, *alreadie promised to maintaine the Canons of the Nicene Councell: but this is that which troubleth me, that when we come to consult the Greeke copies, I know not how it should come to passe,* *In Can. 135. fub fin.* *but we find no such Canon there.* And again, *We haue seene diuers copies, and yet could neuer find this Canon in any of them, no not in the Roman copies, neither yet in the Greeke copies*

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

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

In to. 1. Cæcil. pa. 295. & pa. 300. Epist. Ægypt. ad Marcum, & Marci ad Ægyptios.

Concil. African. Can. 105. Codex Canonum Vetus Ecclesiæ Romanæ in Concil. African. 105.

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

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

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

A his vaine diſcourſe: howbeit, like a bird in a net, the more he ſtriueth, the more he is intangled, and the reader may eaſily obſerue, that he ſpendeth himſelfe in vaine talke and ſophiſtrie. And firſt, it much offendeth his patience, that we ſay, that thoſe three Popes produced the Canon of Sardica, vnder the name of the Councell of Nice: for if it were done by error, where is their infallibilitie? if of malice, where is then their ſanctitie? *But* (ſaith he) *it may be that the text was corrupted, and* *Baron. vol. 5. an. 419. art. 70. & ſequ.*
this word Nicene put for Sardican, and I am forced to beleeue, that theſe acts are not
reported truly and as they ought to be. Tell me reader, whoſoeuer thou art, will ſuch a ſhift ſerue in a matter of this importance? Secondly (ſaith he) what aduantage *Idem ib. art. 87.*
was there to be gotten, in alledging the one for the other? for was not the Sardi-
B can Councell as good as the Nicene? or are they not both Generall Councels? and we haue alreadie proued, that the Sardican Synod was neuer reckoned among the Generall: neither did *Innocent* euer plead for himſelfe other than the Canon of Nice, vnder colour of this glorious name to dazzle the eyes of men, and to abuſe the world. Thirdly (ſaith he) *what likelihood that the Africans would withſtand theſe Appeales, ſeeing they had beene vſed from all antiquitie? the onely thing which they miſliked was the forme.* What need of anſwere to this argument, more than the bare recitall of the argument it ſelfe? and who doubteth of their preſumption and arrogancie? Or who knoweth not, that euill manners giue commonly occaſion of good lawes, that vſurpations cauſe orderings, and that if in-
C juſtice were not, we ſhould not need the knowledge of the lawes? Thou telleſt vs, that *Celeſtius*, a companion and an abettor of the heretike *Pelagius*, was condemned in Afrike; that he appealed from this ſentence to *Zozimus* Biſhop of *Auguſt. contra duas Pelagij, op. l. 2. c. 3.* Rome; that he admitted of the appeale, and that this was but the yeare before: true; and *Baronius*, you may perceiue that this proceeded of that Papall humor, *Epiſtola Zoſim. ad Aurel. Carthag. epiſcop.* to admit of all plaintifes, ſuffering themſelues with flatterie and faire words to be abuſed oft times by the moſt dangerous heretikes. But ſay, I pray you, what followeth? Is it not, that the Africanes complained of theſe wrongs? that *Zozimus* carried it not farre? that he was regulated and ordered the next yere following? *Auguſtini epiſt. 261. edit. Plantin.*
Yea, but (ſaith he) *Doe you not ſee ſo and ſo manie examples of theſe Appeales mentio-*
D *ned in S. Auguſtine?* and thereupon alledgeth his 261 Epiſtle all at large. Amaliſt would be, as he is: Doth he not ſee, that all theſe examples were before the law was made, and that they were the proper occaſion and cauſe of this Decree? and doe men in Commonwealths matters ground themſelues vpon abuſes, or rather vpon Lawes? vpon that which, *de facto*, is done, or rather vpon that which of right ought to be done? The truth of the cauſe is this: *Anthonie* Biſhop of Fouſſali in Afrike being depoſed by the Biſhops of his owne Prouince, got letters of commendation from the Primat of Nicomedia to *Zozimus* Biſhop of Rome, by meanes whereof he found acceſſe to *Zozimus*, and after him to his ſucceſſor *Celeſtin*; who, bad man as he was, went about to reſtore him by force of armes.
E Whereupon S. *Auguſtine*, who was preſent at his condemnation, wrote to *Celeſtin* in this manner: *We are threatened* (ſaith he) *with a* Poſſe comitatus, *and force of armes, to put the ſentence of the Apoſtolike See in execution, and ſo ſhall we, poore Chriſtians, ſtand in greater feare of a Catholike Biſhop, than the heretikes themſelues doe of a Catholike Emperour: Let not theſe things ſo be, I doe coniure thee by the blood of Chriſt, and by the memorie of the Apoſtle S. Peter, who warneth thoſe which are ſet ouer the Chriſtian aſſemblies, not to dominiere with violence ouer their brethren.* What could this holie Biſhop doe more, to ſtay the courſe of his rage and madneſſe? but in that great Synod of Carthage, he with a multitude of other worthie perſons

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

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

Ib. art. 76.

Baron. vol. 5. an. 419. art. 92.

Concil. Carthag. Can. 47.

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

Auguſt. ep. 262.

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

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

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

Now let vs ſee what aduantages *Baronius* here taketh; and firſt, When *Neſtorius* Biſhop of Conſtantinople had broached his hereſie, againſt the vnion of two natures in Chriſt: *Cyrill* Biſhop of Alexandria tooke him to taske; and then they

E went each of them to make his partie the ſtrongeſt, and to haue a Biſhop of Rome on his ſide, was thought no ſmall aduantage; therefore they both wrote vnto him: *Neſtorius* was the firſt; *Fraternas nobis inuicem debemus colloquutiones &c.* *We owe* (ſaith he) *each to other brotherlie communications*: and *Cyrill* much after the ſame manner, *The auncient cuſtomes of the Church aduiſe and counſell vs to take inſtruction one of another &c.* And hence it is that *Baronius* concludeth, That no matter of Faith could be queſtioned without the Biſhop of Rome; yet how manie heretikes haue we alreadie ſeene condemned, ſometimes without him, and ſometimes in deſpight of him? Secondly, *Celeſtin* vpon this alarme giuen him by

An. 431.

Socrat. l. 7. c. 3.

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

Acta Concil. Epheſin. in 1. to. Concil. Θεοδοσίου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως. Τὰ ψηφίσματα τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, c. 1. to. 2. & cap. 17, 18, 19. & paſſim. Ib. pa. 99. 177. 201, 202. Bellarm. l. 1. de Concil. c. 19. Acta Concil. Epheſ. c. 17.

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

Neſtor. epiſt. ad Celeſtin. ex Co. Anto. Auguſt. apud Baron. to. 5. an. 430. art. 3. Τὰ μακρὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἔθη πάλαι ἀνανεοῦσθαι. Epiſt. Cyrilli ad Celeſt. in Act. Græc. pa. 141. Baron. vol. 5. an. 430. art. 11.

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

Epist. Cæles. ad Cyrill. in 4. to. Cyrill. & in ep. Pontif. numer. 3. extat Græc. ἐν τοῖς πρακτ. ἐκκλ. τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ συνόδ. Pag. 85.

ἐκβιβάσεις.

Ib. art. 26.

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

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

Barom. an. 431.

τα πρακτικά, pag. 197.

Cyrill. in Apolog. ad Theodos. to. 4. τοσοῦτον ἦν, ὡς τὸν τοῦτο πρᾶξαι, ὡς λέγαλος.

faith, That he sent thither *Arcadius* and *Patroclus* Bishops, and *Philippicus* a Priest, τῦς λεγάτες, *i.* his Legats: and *Baronius* himselfe produceth their letters of Credence, which they had vnto the Fathers of the Councell. Now I would know, what need of anie Legat at all, at least of so manie, if *Cyrill* had beene his Lieutenant? Or is it likely that he would haue made no mention of *Cyrill* in them, not so much as to say, We haue sent these to supplie our roome together with *Cyrill*? Now these Legats came thither a day after the fayre, when all was done, and when sentence was alreadie solemnely pronounced against *Nestorius*: and yet *Baronius* telleth vs, that they were sent to put the sentence giuen against him at Rome, in execution: and whence then was it, that the Fathers, as *Cyrill* testifieth, placed Christ as President of that Councell: for (saith he) *the Synod placed the venerable Gospell in the holie Throne, as crying in the eares of the Fathers, Iudge rightly you that are Iudges, betweene the holie Gospels and the words of Nestorius.* Was the Gospell, trow you, placed there onely to execute the sentence giuen by the Pope? or doe you call this the holie Ghost, comming from Rome in a budget? And why also doth the Councell in the preamble to that their sentence vse these words, *We haue thought it necessarie for vs to proceed to the examination of his impieties?* as taking no notice of what had passed in the Romane Synod, vnlesse you will say, that because when sentence was now readie to be giuen, there is mention made of *Cælestin*, and of his letter, (so dangerous a thing is it to our Libertie to attribute neuer so little to the Pope) therefore it was his sentence and not the sentence of the Synod. But let vs obserue the order and manner of their subscribing to this Synod, which *Baronius* hath here omitted, and is as followeth: *Cyrill Bishop of Alexandria hath subscribed, pronouncing with the Councell: Iuuenal Bishop of Ierusalem hath subscribed*, and so the rest each one according to the order of the Patriarchs; and *Cyrill* assumeth no other qualitie or title but his owne: in which qualitie, and in no other, the Synodall Epistle written to the Emperour stileth him, by the name *of the Head of the Congregation of Bishops*: and when the Popes Legats came afterward in the fourth Session (before which time sentence was alreadie giuen and signified to *Nestorius*) they tooke their place, and sat with the manie, without anie mention of prerogatiue or prioritie of place. Yea, but when *Cælestins* letters were read, the Synod cried out, *To Cælestin a second Paule*: I confesse; and did they not the like of *Cyrill*, crying out, *To Cyrill a second Paule: there is but one Cælestin, but one Cyrill.* And what other demaund, I pray you, did those Legats make, but onely that they might haue the Acts, to subscribe vnto them? a thing not to haue beene denied to anie ordinarie Bishop, which had come late as they did. And yet *Baronius* would faine haue it, that this subscription of theirs was a second sentence, confirmatorie of that which had beene giuen by the Councell; whereas they themselues writing to the Emperours, signifie only this, that they are *of the same beleefe and opinion* with the Synod. Now if *Cyrill* had beene Legat, what need of this? Or if this were needfull, then it followeth that *Cyrill* was not Legat for the Pope, but was onely requested to passe his word vnto the Councell for the Orthodox beleefe of *Cælestin*. Fourthly, *Philippicus* a Priest of Rome, and one of the Legats, in his speech said, that he rejoyced to see *that the members did so well agree with their holie Head*. And hereupon *Baronius* maketh a flourish, and because these Fathers had the patience to heare him, *Doest thou see Reader* (saith he) *how all these Fathers were content to heare him without repining?* For my owne part I know not what he would haue had them to doe in this case, vnlesse it be that they should haue made an vprore in the Synod, and haue

Ex collect. Crescon. ib. art. 9.

ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν αὐτῦ βεβήλων αὐτὸ

τα πρακτικά, Pag. 130.

Epist. Synod. ad Theodos. apud Cyrill. to. 4.

Iterata damnatio.

ὁμόψυχον.

τα πρακτικά, Pag. 195.

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

[a] τα Πρακτικα pa. 273. βασιλικὸν θεσπισμα. [a] ἐπληροφορησθη.

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

Ambrose. ad Gala. c. 2.

August. in Iohan. Tract. 124. & in Epist. Iohan. Tract. 10.

Basil. Epist. 10. 50. 52.

Chrysost. in Matth. c. 16. & in serm. de Pentecost. Euseb. Emiss. in serm. de Natiui. Chrysost. Homil. 43. in Math.

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

Idem in Epist. ad Galat. c. 2.

Socrat. l. 7. c. 10 περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ὑπὲρ τὴν συνασείαν πάλαι προηλθεν.

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

Sozom. l. 1. c. 16. edit. Grec. 17. Τῶν μεν Ἀποστολικῶν θρόνων.

Theodoret. li. 5. ca. 9.

Ruffin. li. 2. c. 1.

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

Baron. vol. 5. an. 418. art. 81. & sequent. Absoluta inquisitione: Idem an. 419. art. 2. & 3.

Ib. art. 10. & sequent.

Ib. art. 15.

Statutis cœleſtibus per me publicatis & edictis de more poſitis.

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

Syneſ. li. 57. τὰ ἀσύγκλωστα κεκλῶσθαι.

II. Progreſſion.

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

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

Leo. Serm. 2. & 3.

Idem Epiſt. 8. ad Flauia. Conſtantinop.

Idem Epiſt. 89. ad Epiſc. per Viennenſ. prouinc. conſtitut.

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

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

Idem Ep. 53. ad Pulcher. Aug. aſſt.

Oppoſition.

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

Leo. ſerm. 2. in Natali Apoſtolor. Petri & Pauli.

Flauian. apud Leon. Epiſt. 9.

Leo. Epiſt. 89. ad Epiſc. per Viennenſ. prouinc. conſtitut.

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

An. 478.
Sidon. Apollin. in Concion. quæ ſequitur Epiſt. 9.
Summum Sacerdotem.

Fourthly, this queſtion concerning the Primacie was cleerely decided by occaſion of the claime which *Leo* made thereunto in the generall Councell of Chalcedon, where he thought to haue ſet the Biſhop of Conſtantinople cleane beſide the cuſhion: and theſe are the verie words of the Canon, taken out of the Greeke copies of that Councell, *Can.* 28. *The decree of the maior part of voyces of that holie Synod, made concerning the prerogatiues and degree of the See of the moſt religious Church of Conſtantinople: Following in all poynts the decrees of the holie Fathers, and acknowledging the Canon of 320 religious Biſhops, now read in our hearing; We here aſſembled vnder Theodoſius of holie memorie, late Emperour of this royall citie of Conſtantine, called new Rome, doe ordaine by common conſent and aſſent, for the honour, degree, and prerogatiue of that moſt holie Church of Conſtantinople, called new Rome, in all things as in the ſaid Canon is contained. For thoſe Fathers did well to grant thoſe honours and prerogatiues to the See of old Rome, becauſe it was the royall or imperiall citie* (and not in regard of Saint *Peters* chaire.) *And likewiſe thoſe other hundred and fiftie Fathers moued with the ſame reaſon and conſideration, did heretofore impart like priuiledges and honours to the See of new Rome, thinking it fit in their diſcretions, that the citie which they ſaw honoured with the name of the Imperiall ſeat and preſence of the Senat, and equalled in euerie poynt of ciuile honour to the old Rome, ſhould likewiſe in matters of the Church be equally aduanced, as being next vnto her*. By which wee ſee no prerogatiue belonging to Rome by vertue of Saint *Peters* chaire, and Conſtantinople equalled in all things to her, ſaue onely in precedencie; which being a matter which reſpecteth onely place and order, is no barre to her paritie in power and iuriſdiction. Yet *Gratian*, to gratifie the Pope, hath corrupted this Canon; and where the Fathers ſay, *In matters likewiſe of the Church*, he hath ſhamelesly altered the words, and ſaith, *Non tamen in rebus Eccleſiaſticis*, i. *But not in matters of the Church*; turning vpſide downe, by the change of one word, the whole driſt and purpoſe of the Councell: yet he citeth this Canon out of the ſixt general Councell, becauſe it is there againe repeated. But ſee, I pray you, the bounds and limits which this Canon preſcribeth to him: *So that*, ſaith that Canon, *the Metropolitans*

Concil. Chalced. can. 28.
Ἦποος. χάριν τῶν πρεσβείων. ἀμφιζόμεθα.
διὰ το βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν.
τῶν ἴσων πρεσβείων.
Diſtinct. 22. c. Renouantes.

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

Gregor. in Regiſtro Epiſt. 32. & 38. lib. 4.
Concil. Chalced. Act. 16. pa. 530.
Pa. 938.
Euagr. de Euſeb. Doryl. li. 2. c. 2.

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

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

Baron. vol. 6. an. 451. art. 136, 137.

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

Liberat. in Breuia. c. 13.

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

Concil. Chalced. Act. 1.

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

Leo. ep. 9. ad Theodos. Iubeatis.

Idem ep. 12. & 17. Constituit.

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

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

Vicem presentie meæ.

Leo epist. 13. ad Pulcher. Augustam. Idem ep. 23, 24, 34, 49, 50, 51.

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

προεδρία πρωτοκαθεδρία.

Leo. ep. 12. & 49.

Idem ep. 47.

Concil. Chalced. Act. 1. Cognita.

Bellar. de Concil. & Eccles. l. 1. c. 19.

man knoweth that the argument had beene ſtronger, if they had ſpoken laſt. But A
he ſaith yet farther, *That they pronounced in the name of the Pope, and of all the Councell, the definitiue ſentence againſt Dioſcorus*, and *that they degraded him from his Prieſthood*. But he ſhould remember, that it is one thing for a man to giue his voice, as *Paſchaſin* did, and that firſt before all others, for *Leo*, and another thing to giue a ſentence. In which matter we ſhall need the leſſe proofe, becauſe *Paſ-*
Concil. Chalced. Action. 3. *chaſin* himſelfe hauing giuen his voice, addeth farther, *Let the holie Synod* (ſaith he) *now decree*; meaning of *Dioſcorus* his cauſe. Then followeth *Anatolius* Biſhop of Conſtantinople, and the reſt, euerie one in his order, which take vp ten or twelue leaues; and then in the end, and not before, was his condemnation ſigned. To conclude (ſaith *Bellarmine*) the Synodall Epiſtle it ſelfe written vnto *Leo* ſayth, B
Tu ſicut membris caput præeras, i. *Thou wert there ouer the reſt as a Head ouer the members, in the perſon of thoſe who ſupplied thy roome*. I graunt, in order of ſitting: as for the Preſidencie, read on, and thou ſhalt find toward the end of the letter,
Imperatores ad ornandum decentiſſime præſidebant. that the Emperours themſelues, to grace and honour that aſſemblie, *preſided in a comelie order*. But graunt we, that the Pope did preſide in that Councell in the perſon of his Legats; what getteth he thereby, more than this, That to his face, and in the middeſt of all his ruffe, he loſt his cauſe, condemning himſelfe by his owne mouth, and pronouncing equalitie where he pretended ſuperioritie, and that in ſo great and ſo renowmed a Councell as that of Chalcedon was?

Neither may we here forget, how that when as about this time the Biſhops C
began too licentiouſly to abuſe their authoritie, the Emperour *Valentinian* thought it fit to meet with this inconueience, by making a law againſt them: *Manie* (ſaith he) *complaine of Epiſcopall iuriſdiction, it is fit therefore to make a law*
Iurgium. *for the reſtraint thereof. If therefore there ſhall happen to fall anie brawle or debate betweene clerkes, and the parties ſhall be pleaſed to compromit the matter, let the Biſhops heare the cauſe, and determine of it. Which courſe is alſo permitted to lay men, if the parties can ſo agree vpon it, otherwiſe we no waies ſuffer them* (meaning the Biſhops)
In Cod. Theodoſ. inter Nouell. Valentinian. lib. 2. tit. 12. *to be Iudges. For it is apparent, that by the lawes, Biſhops and Prieſts haue no iuriſdiction: neither ought they to take knowledge of anie cauſes by the lawes and ordinances of Honorius and Arcadius, contained in the Theodoſian Code, ſaue onely in caſes of religion. If* D
both parties, or either of them, being Clergie, refuſe to ſtand to the iudgement of the Biſhop, then let the cauſe be decided according to the common lawes of the Empire. But if the plaintife be a lay man, and the cauſe either ciuile or criminall, then it ſhall be lawfull for him to make the defendant, being Clergie, to anſwere vnto him by courſe of law before the publike Magiſtrate: which courſe we will and commaund alſo to be obſerued in the perſon of Biſhops. But if an action of Batterie, or other enormous iniurie offered, be brought againſt a Clergie man, then let him anſwere the plaintife before the publike Magiſtrat in courſe of law by their lawfull Atturney. But becauſe this law is long, and extendeth it ſelfe to ſo manie particulars, therefore I referre the reader to the place it ſelfe, where this law is ſet downe at large. But welfare E
Baron. vol. 2. an. 452. art. 58, 59. *Baronius*, who ſayth, That the making of this law incenſed the wrath of God, and cauſed *Attila*, with the Hunnes, to come downe vpon the Empire. And why ſhould we not rather beleeue the Writers of thoſe times, who impute that calamitie to the corruption of the Church and Churchmen? witneſſe *Saluianus* Biſhop of Marſeilles.

Baron. an. 444. vol. 6. art. 30. But to returne from whence we came, *Baronius* is bold ynough to affirme, were we as forward to beleeue, that the Popedome gat ground exceedingly vnder the reigne of *Leo* the firſt. And firſt he ſaith, that *Dioſcorus*, that coile-keeper, which gaue

A gaue fire to the Eutychian hereſie in the Eaſt, ſo ſoone as he was created Biſhop of Alexandria, *according to the cuſtome* ſaith he, diſpatched away letters vnto *Leo*; which diſpatch of his *Baronius* interpreteth for no leſſe than a plaine homage. But can or will he be ignorant of this cuſtome vſed among them? namely, that Biſhops, eſpecially thoſe of the greater Sees, ſo ſoone as they were elected, were wont to ſend away their letters generall to all the Churches, at leaſt to the moſt principall among them, together with a briefe confeſſion of their faith, thereby to aduertiſe them both of their election, and alſo of their true profeſſion, for the better maintenance of that bond of peace and loue which was betweene them? How manie ſuch entercourſes and reciprocall letters haue we recorded betweene the
B Biſhops of Rome and Conſtantinople? And ſo likewiſe did *Cornelius* Biſhop of Rome aduertiſe thoſe in Afrike of his election; whereupon S. *Cyprian* and his *Ep. 42. edit. Pamel.* Collegues congratulate him; and which is more, approue of his election: for the verie Epiſtle which *Cyprian* wrote vnto him in anſwere to his letter, beareth this inſcription, *Of the election of Cornelius approued by him*, the ſaid *Cyprian*. And yet he neuer demanded Annats, by vertue of ſuch his approbation. Yea but (ſaith he) *Leo* reproued *Dioſcorus* for certaine ceremonies vſed in the Church of Alexandria, and calleth him backe to the vſages and cuſtomes of the Church of Rome, becauſe that *S. Marc was a diſciple of S. Peter*. No man can doubt but that *Leo* was *Leo. ep. 81.* euer harping vpon this ſtring: but tell me, when *Cyprian* Biſhop of Carthage ei- *Cyprian. ep. 68.*
C ther brotherly admoniſhed *Cornelius*, or ſharpely reproued *Steuen* (both Biſhops of Rome) did he thereby pretend or chalenge anie primacie ouer them? if ſo, by the like reaſon we may ſay, that S. *Paule* chalenged a ſuperioritie ouer S. *Peter*, *Paulus Ep. ad Galat. 1.* when he withſtood him to the face. Secondly, in the caſe of *Hilarie* Biſhop of Arles, *Baronius* would proue vnto vs, that *Leo* diſpoſed abſolutely of all matters in France: *For* (ſaith he) *vpon the difference which fell betweene the two Biſhops of* *Baron. an. 445. art. 9. vol. 6.*
Vienna and Arles, by petition made vnto Valentinian the Emperour, he obtained that famous Reſcript, directed to Aetius, Lieutenant Generall for the Emperour in Fraunce. It is true, and the Hiſtorie ſaith as much, that the Emperours of that age growing weake in the reines, vſed all meanes poſſible to hold in with the Biſhops of
D Rome. But what are the words themſelues of that Reſcript? namely theſe: *That* *Nouell. Valentin. in poſt Codic. Theodoſ. tit. 24. de Epiſco. & clin.* *no man preſume or attempt to doe anie vnlawfull act againſt the authoritie of this See.* Item, *that he ſhall be beleeued concerning this variance now in queſtion.* Item, *that whatſoeuer the Pope of the eternall Citie of Rome ſhall decree in this caſe, ſhall be taken, reputed, and held as a law*. I could wiſh that this man would but remember a ſaying of his owne, ſo often reiterated by him, and with ſo vehement exclamations: *O how dangerous a thing is it for Princes to meddle with matters of the Church*, for *Idem, an. 448. art. 47.*
E they wreſt them to their owne purpoſes: which words he vſeth of this verie Emperour *Valentinian*. But I wonder, that he obſerueth not in this verie Reſcript, that the Emperour there teſtifieth, that theſe pretended ſucceſſors of S. *Peter*, held their prerogatiues from the dignitie of their Citie, from the bountie and liberalitie of the Emperors, from cuſtome, and not from anie ordinance of God, where he ſaith, That *the worthineſſe and deſerts of S. Peter, the glorie of the Citie, and the authoritie of the Synod, haue eſtabliſhed this Primacie of the Popes*: Of what Synod, ſaue onely as they made him to beleeue of that of Nice? Now if the law of God ordained it, what needed the honour and dignitie of the Citie? But his words are plaine, where he willeth them to *obſerue in all points what the Fathers haue granted to the Church of Rome*. But in doubts and queſtions of this nature, I would know who is moſt to be credited, *Valentinian* or *Hilarie*? *Hilarie* I ſay, who (as *Ba-*

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

Gennad. de Script. Eccleſ. c. 69.

Martyrolog. Rom. 5. May.

Leo. ep. 93. c. 17.

Concil. Bracaren. 1. in præfat.

Epiſt. Flauia. ad Leon. poſt ep. 8.

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

Epiſt. Flauia. poſt epiſt. 9.

A take heed. And who can ſay, that this is to requeſt ratification, or rather to acknowledge it as due without contradiction, as *Baronius* falſely ſeeketh to perſuade vs? Fifthly it is to be noted, that *Eutyches*, old fox as he was, fell in firſt with *Leo*, and knowing his humor, told him, That he had appealed vnto him, but that *Flauian* would not giue way thereunto. Whereupon *Baronius* inferreth, that ſuch Appeales were ordinarie and vſuall in thoſe times; and yet hitherto we find not one. True it is, that in the ſecond Councell of Conſtantinople, which enſued ſhortly after, *Leo* made inſtant ſuit for it, and was earneſt to ſee the Acts, where he found it thus written, *Conſtantine a reuerend Deacon ſayth, Eutyches when his condemnation was read vnto him, appealed to the Councell of the Biſhops of Rome, of Egypt, and of Ieruſalem, and of Theſſalonica.* I would aske now, Whether this Appeale ſeemeth to haue beene made to the Biſhop of Rome, or to a Generall Councell? and it followeth, *Florens ſaid, The aſſemblie being broken vp, in the middeſt of the preaſe, he told me in my eare, that he appealed to the Councell of Rome, of Egypt, and of Ieruſalem. Baſil* Biſhop of Seleucia addeth farther, *Eutyches the Abbot, while the companie was yet ſitting, ſaid, That if the Fathers of Rome and of Alexandria ſhould tell him, that he ought to confeſſe that there were two natures in Chriſt inſeperable, though not confounded, no not after the vnion, then he will confeſſe it: but he ſpake not theſe words by way of Appeale.* But this is it which I would know, Whether by vertue of this ſurmiſed Appeale the Biſhop of Alexandria might not alſo take as much vpon him? and yet *Leo* himſelfe, as he confeſſeth in his Epiſtles, was almoſt ſurpriſed by this ſtrageme. Sixtly, *Theodoſius* the Emperour, by occaſion of this trouble in the Church, aſſembled another Councell at Epheſus: he called thither *Leo* Biſhop of Rome, *Knowing well* (ſaith *Baronius*) *that a Generall Councell could not be aſſembled without his authoritie: a thing* (ſaith he) *deepely to be grauen in the readers memorie.* But now what proofe? *Leo* (ſaith he) *in the beginning of his Epiſtle to the Synod of Epheſus telleth them in this manner: The religious Emperour hath yeelded this reſpect and reuerence to the diuine ordinances, to vſe the authoritie of the Apoſtolike See, for the bringing of his holie intents and purpoſes to paſſe.* All which I confeſſe, was fit and requiſit to be done: but is there no difference whether the Emperour call *Leo* to the Councell, or *Leo* him; or whether the Emperor by his authoritie call a Councell? And he addeth theſe words, *As if the Emperor had beene deſirous to haue that now declared by Peter himſelfe, which was once ſo highly commended in his confeſſion*: and thereupon he falleth to ruffling with his *Tu es Petrus*; as if theſe words had beene ſpoken not by *Leo*, but by the Emperor himſelfe. But ſee the frothineſſe and vanitie of this man, who neuer conſidereth, that this verie *Theodoſius* wrot in like manner to *Dioſcorus* Biſhop of Alexandria, and to all other Biſhops, threatning them, *That for default in appearance they ſhould not be held excuſed either before God or him, becauſe no man could now abſent himſelfe, but ſuch as was wounded with a guiltie conſcience.* Neither doth he regard, that the Emperor was purpoſed to make *Dioſcorus* himſelfe Preſident of that Councell: *We* (ſaith the Emperour) *according to the Canons of the holie Fathers, do giue and grant vnto him the authoritie and Primacie &c.* The reaſon was, becauſe he thought (as well he might) that the Biſhop of Rome would not be there in perſon, no more than he had beene in the former Synods, and held *Flauian* Biſhop of Conſtantinople as a partie in this quarrell: *wherein* (ſaith *Baronius*) *the Emperor vſurped the authoritie of the Pope, ſeeing that Oſius preſided in the Councell of Nice, and Cyrill at Epheſus, both of them as Legats from the Pope.* All which are meere ſurmiſes, and as we call them, demands of Principals, taking thoſe things for granted, which are principally in queſtion, and moſt contradicted.

Extant in concil. Chalced. Act. 1.

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

In Concil. Chalced. act. 1.

Petitio principij

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

ἀνυποδότως ἀπεστάλη. — *Liberat. in Breuia. c. 12.*

Epiſt. Synod. Ad omnes Epiſcopos. — *Extant in Concil. Chalced. act. 1.*

A this was no legall and formall Appeale, nor made vnto the Pope, otherwiſe than as to a promoter and furtherer of the calling of this Councell: And it is worth the remembrance, that in theſe verie Epiſtles which *Baronius* maketh ſo much account of, *Valentinian* ſpeaking of the Biſhop of Rome, ſaith, as hath beene alreadie alledged, *That Antiquitie was it which gaue him the Primacie, or chiefe place among the Prieſts*. And *Galla* in her Epiſtle: *It is fit*, ſaith ſhe, *that we reſerue in all poynts that reſpect which is due vnto this citie, as to the Ladie of all other cities*. And like tearmes vſeth ſhe vnto *Pulcheria*, whence it followeth, that this Primacie was taken as founded vpon the poſitiue law of man, and that the claime from S. *Peter* commeth but as acceſſarie to the principall. *An.* 451.

B And that *Flauian* had no other purpoſe, appeareth by the proceeding of this cauſe; for the yeare following, at the ſuit of *Leo*, *Martian* the Emperour appointed a generall Councell to be held at Chalcedon; wherein are to bee ſeene the traces of the former Synod, and the whole cauſe opened in a ſecond hearing, to the confuſion of *Eutyches*, and ſhame of all his partakers and abettors, and to the iuſtifying of *Flauian*, and of his memoriall after him in the preſence of the Popes Legats; who there ſaw the Church of Conſtantinople before their face equalled with that of Rome, by an expreſſe Canon, made in confirmation of that other of Conſtantinople. And let our aduerſaries now ſhew vs any one Appeale after this made from Conſtantinople to Rome. Eightly, *Baronius* is faine to make the beſt

C of a bad cauſe: He now telleth vs, *that this Canon was made vnder the correction and good leaue of Leo*: Grant it were ſo: *and that the Synod in their Epiſtle required his confirmation*: and thereupon, after his manner, maketh a great flourith: *Seeſt thou, O Reader*, ſaith he, *how theſe ſix hundred Fathers thought this Canon, though reſolued on in two generall Councels, yet to be of no force and vertue, without the authoritie of Leo?* and indeed a man not acquainted with his trickes might haply ſuffer himſelfe to be lead away with his diſcourſes: but the Canon it ſelfe is too plaine, and the continuall practiſe of the Church ſheweth, that the validitie of that Canon neuer depended of his confirmation. True it is, that they were willing to draw *Leo* to ſome reaſon by faire words and remonſtrances which they made vnto him; and *Baron. vol. 6. an. 451. art. 149.*

D this was the drift and purpoſe of that Epiſtle. But, as we haue often ſaid, tearmes of courteſie and of honour vſed to the Pope, were euer by them drawne to ſome farther tye of ſeruice. And yet this verie Epiſtle determineth and decideth the queſtion in many places, though *Baronius*, who commonly ſpareth for no paper to ſet downe things in the largeſt ſize, concealeth one part thereof: but thus run the words of the inſcription, *The holie Oecumenicall Synod aſſembled by the grace of God, and by the commaundement of the moſt religious Emperours, at Chalcedon, to Leo Archbiſhop of the Romans*. Whence it appeareth, that this Synod was not called by his authoritie, neither was he accompted for Vniuerſall Biſhop by that Synod, as *Baronius* would make the world to beleeue: and as for the prerogatiue of the

E Church of Conſtantinople, the words vſed in that Canon are preciſe and formall: *We haue*, ſay they, *confirmed the Canon of* 150 *Biſhops*, meaning of the ſecond generall Councell: and therefore after this confirmation of 600 Biſhops, *Baronius* ſhould a little bluſh to bring ſuch cold coniectures. And againe, *We haue ſo defined*, ſay they, *thereby to cut off all confuſion, and to eſtabliſh the order of the Church*. And in the end they vſe theſe tearmes, *Vouchſafe holie Father ſo to imbrace this our decree, as it is fit and ſeemly for the loue that ought to be betweene vs*. And what reaſon then hath *Baronius* of a ſentence definitiue to make an interlocutorie, eſpecially ſeeing that they ſo often repeat the ſame thing? *We beleeue*, ſay they, *that the honour of the* *Baron. ib. confirmauimus.*

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

Martianus apud Palladium.

Per nostra precepta stabilita sunt.

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

Extat inter Epist.Illustr. Concil.Chalced.

THE PROGRESSION.

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

AFter this Canon of Chalcedon there was euer debate continuing betweene the two Churches of Rome and Constantinople; the one refusing a superiour, the other not admitting of an equall; the one seeking to stretch the wings of his authoritie and iurisdiction ouer the East, the other ouer all. And this was the cause why the Bishops of Antioch and of Alexandria, seeking to crosse the attempts of the Bishop of Constantinople, who was lately start vp to this authoritie, and was therefore the more obnoxious to hate and enuie, had recourse oftentimes to him of Rome, and as it had beene in despight of the one, subiected themselues to the tyrannie of the other. Whence the Pope himselfe, and *Baronius* his champion for him, take no small aduantage; for if we will beleeue them, *Simplicius* hereupon gaue confirmation to *Calendinus* Bishop of Antioch: hauing no other proofe or ground than this, That *Simplicius* in a certaine Epistle of his to *Acatius* Bishop of Constantinople, saith, *That he had receiued vnder the wing of the See Apostolike, the Priesthood of Calendius.* But *Euagrius* an Historian of that time, saith simply without any reference vnto any, *That Calendius vndertooke the sterne of that See, and perswaded all which came vnto him, to pronounce Anathema against Timotheus, as against one which troubled the Church of Alexandria, and whose predecessor Stephen*

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

Simplicius Epist.14.

Euagrius li.3. c.10.

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

Simplic.Epist.17 Deliberatum vbi minus attendis sensus tuos piudenter attolle.

Acatius in Epist. ad Simplic.

Simplic.Epist.1.

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

Liberatus in Breuiar.c.18.

Euagr.Histor. Eccles.c.12.& 15

Ad eundem confugerint.

OPPOSITION.

All these contentions about iurisdiction proceeded from the Canon of Chal- *An.472.*

cedon,

cedon, to which the Popes would by no meanes ſtand; and yet they neuer talke A
vnto vs but of Councels, eſpecially of thoſe foure firſt generall Synods, which
they vſe commonly to paralell with the holie Scriptures. But in the meane time
Leo Imperat. l.16.c.de Sanct. Eccleſ. came forth a certaine Edict from *Leo* the Emperor, in this maner: *We decree and ordain, That the holie Church of this moſt religious citie, Mother of our pietie, and of all Chriſtians whatſoeuer, of the Orthodox religion, and the moſt holie See of this royall citie* (meaning Conſtantinople) *in regard that ſhe is the royall citie, ſhall haue all priuiledges and honours, concerning the creation of Biſhops, and taking of place before all others, and all other poynts whatſoeuer, which they now haue, or at any time heretofore haue had.* Ba-
Baron. an. 472. art. 3, 4, 5. *ronius* ſaith, *That the good Emperour was ouertaken by the wiles and ſubtilties of Acatius:* and indeed it were hard if he ſhould haue nothing to ſay. But in vaine did B
Simplicius oppoſe againſt it, whether before *Leo*, or before *Baſiliſcus*: and there-
An. 493. fore *Gelaſius*, which came after, changed his ſtile, and not alledging for himſelfe either the Nicene Canon, as *Leo* did, or the ancient obſeruation of the Church, as
Gelaſ. in Epiſt. ad Dardanos. others, held himſelfe faſt to his *Tues Petrus: This goeth not*, ſaith he, *by any Synodall conſtitutions, but by the verie voyce of the Goſpell, Tu es Petrus, &c.* And why then did his predeceſſors, eſpecially *Leo*, make their verie throats hoarſe with crying out, and alledging alwayes the Nicene Councell? But *Gelaſius* hereupon depriued Conſtantinople of the right of Patriarchſhip; and hauing ſo done, pronounced openly, That *the See of Rome might without a Synod, of himſelfe, either abſolue thoſe whom a Synod had wrongfully condemned, or condemne ſuch as had deſerued it*; and C
Ib. ſo ſetteth his See vp aboue all Councels. And againe, *The Canon*, ſaith he, *hath ſo ordained, that all Churches ought to appeale to this See, and from this See to none; becauſe this See iudgeth of all Churches, and no Church of it, as being without ſpot or wrinkle:* and yet as much without ſpot or wrinkle as ſhe was, his verie next ſucceſſor *Anaſtaſius* (ſee, I pray you, whither this pretended prerogatiue caried the Church) was defamed, for the hereſie of *Acatius*, which was oppugned by *Gelaſius*; and he was indeed a meere Acatian, doe *Baronius* what he can to free him from this imputation. For the Pontificall booke, in expreſſe tearmes ſaith, *That many Prieſts,*
Liber Pontificalis. *and others of the Clergie, withdrew themſelues from his communion, for that without the priuitie or knowledge of the Biſhops, Prieſts, and Clergie of the Catholike Church, he had ſecretly entertained comunion with a certaine Deacon of Theſſalonica, called Photinus, who was of communion with Acatius; and becauſe he ſought meanes vnder hand to call home Acatius:* which yet he could not effect, being preuented by God, and ſtroken by his dreadfull iudgement. By theſe Maximes therefore of *Gelaſius*, it appeareth what a large ſtep he had made into this tyrannie ouer the Church; but yet he forbore to meddle with the ciuil gouernment: and it ſeemeth he propheſied to vs, as
Gelaſius de Anathematis vinculo. ſometimes *Caiphas* did, when he gaue vs this rule following: *There were*, ſaith he, *before the comming of Chriſt, ſome in figure appointed ouer temporall affaires, who were both Kings and Prieſts, as was Melchiſedech: which manner the diuell alſo imitated in* E
ſome of his ſeruants (as his cuſtome is euer to attribute to himſelfe thoſe things which properly belong to diuine worſhip) in that ſome of the Heathen Kings were alſo Prieſts: But ſince the true Prieſt and King came into the world, there hath not beene found an Emperour which hath taken vpon him the Title of a Prieſt, nor yet a Prieſt which vſurped the regall dignitie, &c. But Chriſt remembring well mans frailtie, for his elect ſake, hath diſtinguiſhed theſe two authorities, by ſeuerall offices properly appertaining to either of them: ſo that the Chriſtian Emperours haue need of the Prieſts, for their ſoules health, and the Prieſts of them, for the courſe of worldlie matters: ſo that the ſpirituall profeſſion is ſeperated from the world, and a ſouldier of Chriſt may not buſie himſelfe in the affaires of

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

C [illegible] PROGRESSVS

What wicked and vnlaw full meanes men vſed about this time, to aſpire vnto the Popedome.

An. 500. ABout the yeare 500 Italie was all waſted by the Northerne nations, who ſwarmed there in great numbers, which had been ynough to haue ſuppreſſed their ambition, had it not paſſed the bounds of all humanitie: But it was ſuch, that euerie day it attempted ſomething; and for want of worke abroad, would ſometimes buſie it ſelfe at home: Inſomuch that it grew an ordinarie matter, to purin for the Popedome many yeares before the Pope was dead; to get voyces
D before hand, by word of mouth, and ſometime by dead inducted, and ſo procure them by preſents and other meanes; as appeareth by the Synod which was held *Synod. Roma. ſub Symmach. can. 2. &c.* at Rome vnder *Symmachus*. Whereof enſued commonly ſeditions, murders, and ſlaughters; inſomuch that it was neceſſarie for the Emperours, euen ſuch as they called and accounted barbarous, to preuent the miſchiefes which vſually enſued of their factious combinations. Wherein thoſe holie men would neuer haue beene ſo eagre as they were, had they not heeded ſomething elſe more than they did the ſheepe of Chriſt. And yet, if we may beleeue *Gratian*, in the middeſt of all theſe villanies *Symmachus* auoided the ſuſpition of ſimonie, as he ſaith, *that Saint Peter had tranſmitted* D. 40. c. *and paſſed ouer to his ſucceſſors, not other vnlawfull inheritance of his innocencie, a perpe-* non nos. *tuall gift of well beſeeming; and what was granted to him for the brightneſſe and beau-* Ennod. in Apol. p. Symmach. E *tie of his deeds, belonged to them, whoſoeuer embraced with the like holineſſe of conuerſation. For who can doubt, ſaith he, but that he is holy, whom he ſee now exalted to ſo high a degree of honour, who (perhaps he was not in the fame, yet is he ſure to be well furniſhed with the merits of him which went before him in that place: for he either prouideth, that none ſhall be preferred, but ſuch as are worthie, or if any other happen to be preferred, he maketh them worthie ſo ſoone as they are preferred.* Gregorie in our time tooke the paine to reuiew the Canon Law, and taking eſpeciall notice of this Canon, is bold to equall it with the Apoſtolike Decrees. And I feare, that

ere

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

D. 192. Anaſtaſius.

Anaſtaſ. Bibliot. in Pontific.

OPPOSITION.

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

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

Caſſiodor. in Chron.

Sigon. de Occident. Imperio, l. 15. & 16. Synod. Rom. 3. ſub Symmacho, an. 498.

Theodor. Collectan. l. 2.

Synod. Rom. 3. ſub Symmach.

Paul. Diacon. l. 15. Nicephor. l. 16. c. 35. Sabell. Enn. 8. l. 2.

Ennod. in Epiſt. ad Fauſtum.

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

Euſeb. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. l. 6. c. 37.

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

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

Here *Baronius* putteth on his brazen face: *He knew well* (ſaith he) *that to aſſemble a Synod of Orthodox Biſhops appertained not to him, and therefore treading the ſteps of his predeceſſors, he aſſembled it by the authoritie of Pope Symmachus, and the verie Acts of the Councell teſtifie as much.* And then falleth he to his accuſtomed acclamations: *A memorable matter* (ſaith he) *that a Prince, a Barbarian, a Goth by nation, a ſtranger, an heretike, and an Arrian, do the ſchiſmatikes what they could by importuning him to the contrarie, ſhould yet yeeld ſuch reſpect and reuerence to the See Apoſtolike.* But what if the whole proceedings and the Acts themſelues of this Synod ſhew the contrarie? It is therefore to be vnderſtood, that the yeare before, *Theodoric* at the inſtance of the aduerſe part, had ſent *Peter* Biſhop of Altin to Rome, in qualitie of a Viſitor, to informe himſelfe of the crimes which were layed to *Symmachus* his charge. And ſo it ſeemeth, that *Theodoric* and *Ennodius* were not both of the ſame mind; when *Ennodius* ſaith, That *the Pope is accountable to none but vnto Heauen.* Afterward *Theodoric* gaue order, that this difference ſhould be taken vp, or

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

C

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

D ended in a lawfull Synod: which Synod was held the yeare following at Rome, in the Acts whereof we find it thus written. *The Synod here aſſembled out of diuers countries, by the commandement of the moſt religious King Theodoric &c.* And againe, *The Royall authoritie hauing ſo commaunded, that the Biſhops ſhould aſſemble here at Rome out of diuers Prouinces &c.* The reaſon is, for that one Metropolitan hath no power ouer another: and therefore when Biſhops of diuers Prouinces had occaſion to aſſemble themſelues in a Synod, it could not be done without the Kings authoritie: and in this Synod were preſent the Biſhops of Liguria, Emilia, and Venice, to decide this cauſe, wherein the Biſhop of Rome was defendant. Yea, but ſaith *Baronius*, the Biſhops told him, that it belonged not vnto him; true: but

Synod. Roma. 4. Palmaria d. 82.

E read on, and you ſhall find that he replied, *That the Pope himſelfe had by his letters declared his will touching the calling of this Synod:* which was, that *Theodoric* ſhould call it; and thereupon *thanketh him for ſo doing*, as hauing thereby giuen him the meanes to juſtifie and to cleare himſelfe. And it followeth afterward, *That this Synod preſumed not to decree anie thing without making the King firſt acquainted therewith.* And againe it is there ſaid, *That Symmachus was forced by the Emperour to enter the liſts againſt his aduerſaries, and that before the Fathers aſſembled in this Synod, as before his lawfull Delegates or Commiſſioners: For* (ſaith he) *he would neuer haue committed this cauſe to them as a new cauſe, had he held him as alreadie conuict.*

Nunquam commiſſet.

Then

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

An. 509.

Acta Concil. Agath.

An. 512. Acta Concil. Aurelian. 1. in 1. to. Concilior.

A B C D E

14. Progreſſion.

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

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

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

B C

Opposition.

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

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

Epiſt. epiſc. Gal. & German. ad Anaſtaſ. 2. in collectia. Autun.

D E

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

D. 19. c. Anastasius.

Anast. Bibliot. in Pontific.

Opposition.

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

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

Cassiodor. in Chron.

Sigon. de Occident. Imperio, l. 15. & 16. Synod. Rom. 3. sub Symmacho, an. 498.

Theodor. Cabtellan, l. 2.

Synod. Rom. 3. sub Symmach.

Paul. Diacon. l. 15. Nicephor. l. 16. c. 35. Sabell. Enn. 8. l. 2.

Ennod. in Epist. ad Faustum.

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

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

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

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

Here *Baronius* putteth on his brazen face: *He knew well* (saith he) *that to assemble a Synod of Orthodox Bishops appertained not to him, and therefore treading the steps of his predecessors, he assembled it by the authoritie of Pope Symmachus, and the verie Acts of the Councell testifie as much*. And then falleth he to his accustomed accla-

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

C mations: *A memorable matter* (saith he) *that a Prince, a Barbarian, a Goth by nation, a stranger, an heretike, and an Arrian, do the schismatikes what they could by importuning him to the contrarie, should yet yeeld such respect and reuerence to the See Apostolike*. But what if the whole proceedings and the Acts themselues of this Synod shew the contrarie? It is therefore to be vnderstood, that the yeare before, *Theoderic* at the instance of the aduerse part, had sent *Peter* Bishop of Altin to Rome, in qualitie of a Visitor, to informe himselfe of the crimes which were layed to *Symmachus* his charge. And so it seemeth, that *Theoderic* and *Ennodius* were not both of the same mind; when *Ennodius* saith, That *the Pope is accountable to none but vnto Heauen*. Afterward *Theoderic* gaue order, that this difference should be taken vp, or

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

D ended in a lawfull Synod: which Synod was held the yeare following at Rome, in the Acts whereof we find it thus written. *The Synod here assembled out of diuers countries, by the commaundement of the most religious King Theoderic &c.* And againe, *The Royall authoritie hauing so commaunded, that the Bishops should assemble here at Rome out of diuers Prouinces &c.* The reason is, for that one Metropolitan hath no power ouer another: and therefore when Bishops of diuers Prouinces had occasion to assemble themselues in a Synod, it could not be done without the Kings authoritie: and in this Synod were present the Bishops of Liguria, Emilia, and Venice, to decide this cause, wherein the Bishop of Rome was defendant. Yea, but saith *Baronius*, the Bishops told him, that it belonged not vnto him; true: but

Synod. Roma. 4. Palmeria di Ita.

E read on, and you shall find that he replied, *That the Pope himselfe had by his letters declared his will touching the calling of this Synod*: which was, that *Theoderic* should call it; and thereupon *thanketh him for so doing*, as hauing thereby giuen him the meanes to iustifie and to cleare himselfe. And it followeth afterward, *That this Synod presumed not to decree anie thing without making the King first acquainted therewith*. And againe it is there said, *That Symmachus was forced by the Emperour to enter the lists against his aduersaries, and that before the Fathers assembled in this Synod, as before his lawfull Delegates or Commissioners: For* (saith he) *he would neuer haue committed this cause to them as a new cause, had he held him as already conuict.*

Nunquam commisisset.

Then

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

An. 509. *Acta Concil. Agath.* An. 512. *Acta Concil. Aurelian. 1. in tom. Concilior.*

14. Progression.

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

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

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

Opposition.

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

Symmach. in ep. ad Presbyt. Illyr. Dardaniæ, & Daciæ.

Epiſt. epiſc. Gal. & German. ad Anaſtaſ. 2. in Collecta. Aucutin.

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

D

15. Progression.

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

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

ced

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

Opposition.

Theſe Legats therefore comming to Conſtantinople, were verie honourably receiued by the Emperour *Anaſtaſius*: but becauſe they came as minding to com-
C maund rather than to conferre about matters of Religion, therefore *Iohn* the ſecond, Patriarch of Conſtantinople, as *Baſilides* reporteth, made head againſt them: *I know* (ſaith he) *that it is fit for an Emperour to commaund, not for a Biſhop: But if there be cauſe why, and if he which hath charge of ſpirituall things muſt needs commaund, it is fitter a great deale, that in this place I ſhould commaund rather than be commaunded.* The Pontificall Booke here addeth, That the Emperour (no doubt offended with both their behauiors) *ſent them out at a backe dore, and ſhipped them in a rotten veſſell, commaunding the Maſter of the Ship not to land them at any Citie.* And ſo in this buſineſſe we find ill dealing on all hands. After *Anaſtaſius* ſucceeded *Iuſtin* in the Empire, an vndoubted Orthodox, who called a Synod at Con-
D ſtantinople vpon the ſame occaſion as before: in the Acts whereof we may obſerue, that notwithſtanding the friuolous coniectures of *Baronius*, the Biſhop of Conſtantinople, as it were in deſpight of the Pope, is euer qualified by the name of *Vniuerſall Patriarch*; ſo farre were the Biſhops of the Eaſt from yeelding this authoritie to the See of Rome. And yet in the reigne of this *Iuſtine*, *Baronius* *Baron. an. 518. art. 90. vol. 7.*
ſilbeth for ſome thing, which he may make to ſerue for his owne aduantage: he ſaith therefore, That the Biſhops of the Eaſt ſaw that they laboured in no ſort without the Biſhop of Rome, and that therefore they treated with him: That the Emperour *Iuſtin* ſent an ambaſſage vnto him: that the Synod and the Patriarch wrote vnto him to ſend ſome thither in his behalfe, for the maintenance of the
E common peace: That they gaue him to vnderſtand of their Orthodox beleefe, to the end that hereafter they might haue Communion each with other. And what of all this? For is this a doing of homage, or is it not rather a profeſſion of brotherlie loue and kindneſſe? Or doth this proue the Popes ſuperioritie, when they inuite him to come vnto their Synod, when the Patriarch writeth vnto him in this manner, *To Hormiſda our religious brother, and companion in ſeruice?* When *Hormiſda* himſelfe vſeth no other ſtile but this, *The Biſhop Hormiſda to Iohn Biſhop of Conſtan-* *ouuiii

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

Baron. an. 519. vol. 7.

πεπαίδια ἐν πρεσβύτερα ἐν Νέα Ρώμη.

Indiuiſibilem adunationem.

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

τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.

Baron. vol. 7. an. 519. ſect. 140.

Ib. art. 98.

Ib. an. 522. art. 13, 14.

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

16. Progression.

That Iohn Bishop of Rome was sent embassador from Theodoric to the Emperour Iustine; and What honour the Emperour there did vnto him.

An. 524. About the yeare 524, when *Iustine* the Emperour had depriued the Arrians of those Churches which they had in Constantinople, *Theodoric* then king of Italie, and a professed Arrian, tooke offence thereat, and sent *Iohn* Bishop of Rome his embassadour vnto him (The Popes now vse to send kings in their errands) assisted with certaine Senators, to intreat him to restore them to their Churches; if not, to tell him, That he purposed to serue the Catholikes throughout Italie with the same sauce. And the Pontificall booke saith, That they entreated the Emperour with many salt teares, and that in the end they obtained their request. Which he repeateth two seuerall times, howsoeuer *Baronius* would faine disguise the matter. And *Nicephorus* reporteth, That when *Iohn* Bishop of Rome was brought *into equall seat where Epiphanius Bishop of Constantinople was to sit side by side with him* (for he neuer contested with him for the precedencie) *he was not therewith content, but required to bee placed vp aboue Epiphanius, in a throne by himselfe:* which perhaps was granted vnto him, in regard of his qualitie of embassadour. And *Marcellinus* speaking hereof, saith, That *dexter dextero Ecclesiæ assedit solio:* meaning, that *Epiphanius gaue him the right* hand; which, if we will credit *Baronius* in many places of his booke, is the lesse honourable place. But the Pontificall booke maketh sure worke, and saith, That the *Emperour Iustine, in honour vnto God, prostrated himselfe before the Pope, and adored him.*

Liber Pontif. in Iohan. 1.

B

C

Opposition.

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

Paul. Diac. l. 15

Anastas. in Iohan. 1. Greg. Turonig. de gloria Martyr. c. 40.

D

E

An. 525. So likewise it was a meere matter of State which moued *Theodoric*, when hee saw

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

Athalar. Epist. ad Senat. Roma. apud Cassiod. li. 8. Epist.

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

Idem li. 9. Variar. Epist. 15

L. 14. Cod. de Episc. & Cler.

L. 42. Cod. de Episc. & Cler. Novell. 123.

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

17. Progression.

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

An. 530. About the yeare 530, vpon the death of *Felix*, successour vnto *Iohn* the first, new strifes arose about the election of a Pope, some standing for *Boniface*, and others for *Dioscorus*: but *Dioscorus* happening to dye about eighteene dayes after, left the roome voyd for *Boniface* the second of that name; who, vnder colour of preuenting the like inconuenience in time to come, called a Councell, where he passed a Decree, That a successor should there present bee created; and thereupon he nominated to it *Vigilius* the Deacon: but finding him to be a man of more sufficiencie than he thought for, hee called another Synod, wherein he declared *Vigilius* to *be guiltie of treason*; and thereupon burnt the nomination which was made of him: So well was this new forme of election alreadie ordered by the holie Ghost. And yet this man in a certaine Epistle of his to *Eulalius* Bishop of Alexandria, vaunteth, That *he had receiued authoritie from Saint Peter to be a helpe to the Vniuersall Church*; and that he ought to haue a superioritie ouer other Priests and Pastors of the Church, as the Archangels haue ouer the ordinarie sort of Angels. Which comparison ferueth well for Archbishops; but vnlesse he will compare himselfe to God, how will he find a Pope among the Angels. And it followeth in that Epistle, That *by vertue of this authoritie hee had by his Legats restored the Church of Carthage to the Communion of the Church*: Which Church of Carthage the Popes had excommunicated long before, for that those 227 Fathers of Afrike, assembled in the sixt Councell of Carthage, had decreed, as hath beene alreadie declared, That they had no need of their Legats, *à Latere*, nor yet of Appeales to Rome: and that they were able ynough, by the grace of God, and by the assistance of his holie Spirit, to decide their owne controuersies by themselues at home: For, saith he, *Aurelius Bishop of Carthage* (that was he which presided in the said sixt Councell of Carthage) *with his Collegues* (so many great personages as there were, and among them Saint *Augustine* himselfe) *by the instigation of the diuell, in the time of our predecessors Boniface and Caelestine, began to exalt themselues against the Church of Rome: But Eulalius now Bishop of Carthage, seeing himselfe, through the sin of Aurelius, to stand separated from the communion of the Roman Church, hath repented him therof, intreating to be receiued to peace and communion with her: And by a certaine writting signed by himselfe and his Collegues, hath condemned by the Apostolike authoritie all and euery such bookes written, by what spirit soeuer, against the priuiledges of the Church of Rome.* This poore *Eulalius* brought to this extremitie by the eagre pursuit of these holie Fathers of Rome, who would neuer let goe their hold, but tooke their aduantage of the miserable estate which those poore Churches were in, being spoyled by the Vandals, and oppressed by the Arrians, so that they were neuer after able to hold vp their head. *Bellarmine* therefore, who would needs persuade vs, that the variance betweene those Popes and these poore Africans, was not such as the world taketh it to haue bin, let him tell me, seeing that by occasion of that variance Rome did excommunicat them, whether they could esteeme it as a light occasion: and if it were, or if they so esteemed of it, what conscience then to excommunicat them for it, such multitudes of people, so many worthie Bishops, and Saint *Augustine* himselfe, being all dead in state of excommunication, which was thundered out against them in a time when they were alreadie vexed with the heresie of the Pelagians, and oppressed with the schisme of the Donatists, and wholly ouerrun with that inundation and deluge of the Hunnes and Vandals, and other barbarous nations? *Baronius* to saue themselues from this scandal of excommunicating Saint *Augustine*, condemneth this Epistle as forged, and consequently staineth the credit of him which compiled all their Councels: his reason is onely this, That it is directed to *Eulalius* Bishop of Alexandria, whereas *Timotheus* was at that time Bishop of that See, and not *Eulalius*. But *Harding*, one of his strongest pillars, answereth for vs, That it was directed to *Eulalius* at that time Bishop of Thessalonica. Wherefore let them agree among themselues as they will, it is ynough for vs that wee haue it from them, though indeed to iustifie this Epistle we may farther say, That it is taken in among their owne Decrees, and standeth for good in the late edition of *Gregorie* the thirteenth, *ca. Ad hoc. 7.* with these words, *This chapter is read word for word in the Epistles of Boniface to Eulalius, then Bishop of Thessalonica*: which may serue for an answer to all these friuolous coniectures of *Baronius*. Moreouer, *Baronius* thinketh that he hath gotten a great catch, in that the Emperor *Iustine*, and after him *Iustinian*, sent vnto the Pope a confession of their faith; which was a custome vsed by the Emperours, vpon their installation in the Empire; and not onely to the Pope, but also to sundrie other Bishops of the better sort: to the end that they should publish to the people, That they were of the Orthodox faith; because there had beene many Arrian, Nestorian, and Eutychian Emperors elected, who had caused no small trouble in the Church.

Reum maiestatis

Boniface. in Epist. ad Eulaliũ in 1. to. Concil.

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

Lib. Pontif. in Bonifac. 2.

Harding. de prima Papæ sede, 28.

Opposition.

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

An. 533.

Nouell. 131.

Cassiod. li. 9. Epist. 15.

election of a Biſhop of Rome, ſome men making their benefit of the neceſſitie of the time, A
by an vngodlie practiſe had ſo ſurcharged the meanes of the poore by extorted promiſes, that the verie veſſels of the Church was by that occaſion ſet to ſale. But the more cruell and vngodlie this act is, the more religious and holie is our purpoſe to cut it off by due courſe of law. And a little after, hauing mentioned the aboue named decree, he addeth, *For this cauſe, all that which is contained in that decree, we commaund to be obſerued and kept to all effects and purpoſes, againſt all perſons which either by themſelues, or others ſhall haue anie part or portion in thoſe execrable bargaines.* What a pitie was it, that the Defendor of the Church ſhould be conſtrained to
Baron.vol.7. an.533. art.32. & ſeq. lay open this filthie nakedneſſe of the Church vnto an Arrian? But *Baronius* to make the beſt of a bad cauſe, ſayth, That he did it by the exhortation of Pope B
Iohn: but the Reader may obſerue, that neither in the Hiſtorie, neither yet in the ordinance it ſelfe, there is anie ſuch mention made. The concluſion is as fol-
Caſſio. lib. 9. variar. epiſt. ep. 16. loweth, *Our will and pleaſure is, that this our Ordinance be intimated to the Senat and people by the gouernour of the Citie, to the end that all may know, that we are deſirous to find out thoſe who run a courſe ſo contrarie and repugnant to the Maieſtie of God: and you alſo* (ſaith he) *ſhall intimate the ſame to all Biſhops, which by the grace of God are vnder your commaund and gouernment.* Which words are plainely directed to the perſon of *Iohn*: but in that which he wrote to the gouernour of the Citie he ad-
deth farther and ſayth, *To the end that this benefit of ours may continue firme and* C
ſtedfaſt in time to come, we ordaine, That as well this our Ordinance as the ſaid Decree of the Senat be deepely grauen in tables of Marble, and ſet vp as a publike teſtimonie before the Porch of S. Peters Church. A great honour, no doubt, vnto the Prince himſelfe, but an euerlaſting blemiſh and reproach to the Clergie of the time.

L. 8. Co. de ſumma Trinit. But in the vſages of *Iuſtinian* the Emperour towards *Iohn* the ſecond, *Baronius* imagineth, that he findeth much for the Popes aduantage. It is certaine, and we haue often ſaid as much, that the Emperours being now retyred into the Eaſt, had need to hold intelligence with the Popes of Rome, by their meanes to find alwaies a dore open into Italie. Wherefore this Emperour being newly come vnto his Crowne, ſent an honourable embaſſage vnto him, to D
aſſure him of his true faith and Orthodox religion. And *Baronius* obſerueth in his Epiſtle, that he ſayth in this manner: *We are all carefull to aduertiſe your Holineſſe of all ſuch things as concerne the eſtate of the Church*: with thoſe other words following, *To ſubmit and to vnite to your Holineſſe all the Biſhops of the Eaſt &c.* Your Holineſſe, *which is the Head of all the holie Churches.* And thence he concludeth, that the Emperour acknowledged this full and abſolute authoritie of the Pope; and conſequently, that all the Churches of the Eaſt did the like; not caring how manie pages he filleth with this argument. But to let paſſe, that the moſt learned Ciuilians of our time hold this Conſtitution as neither lawfull nor legitimate, it would trouble his conſcience to haue all this Epiſtle E
conſtrued according to the letter: For firſt the inſcription is onely this, *To the holie Iohn, Archbiſhop of Rome and Patriarch*, as the Emperour *Iuſtin* his predeceſſor had ſtiled him before. Doth this title, I would know, import an vniuerſall charge and authoritie ouer all? But what then ſhall we ſay, when we ſee this verie Emperour, writing to *Epiphanius* Biſhop of Conſtantinople, to vſe
L. 9. & 8. Co. de ſumm. Trinit. theſe tearmes following, *To the moſt holie Archbiſhop of this royall Citie, and Oecumenicall*, that is to ſay, *Vniuerſall Patriarch*? What would *Baronius* haue ſaid, had the Emperour ſo written to the Biſhop of Rome? And farther, doth he not

A not vſe the ſame tearmes vnto him which he doth vnto the other? *We will* (ſayth he) *that your Holineſſe know all matters which belong to the State Eccleſiaſticall: and we haue written to the ſame effect to the Pope of old Rome.* And all this we read in an Epiſtle, which *Baronius* himſelfe acknowledgeth to haue paſſed in nature of a publike Edict. Wherefore *Baronius* hath nothing to ſtand vpon but this, that the Emperour ſaith, *We endeuour to ſubmit and to vnite vnto your Holineſſe all the Biſhops of the Eaſt.* Which words Pope *Iohn* layed hold on with both his hands in his anſwer to this letter: where he telleth him, that among other his vertues this was moſt eminent, that he *ſubiected all things to the See of Rome.* And tell me I pray you, when he expoundeth this word *ſubijcere* by that other word *vnire*, doth he not ſufficiently explaine his meaning, which was to reduce them, not vnder the ſame dioces, but vnder the vnion of the ſame faith and true doctrine which the Church of Rome had kept: and ſuch is the drift of this whole Epiſtle. Yea, but he calleth it *the Head of all the holie Churches*; true: but ſo doth he likewiſe, and that not by letter onely, but by an expreſſe law, pronounce the Church of Conſtantinople the Head of all other Churches: and *Zeno* the Emperour doth the like. But had *Caput. l. 16. Co. de ſacroſ. eccleſ. & l. 24. ibid.* either of theſe therefore anie purpoſe to ſubject the Church of Rome to that of *Baron. vol. 7. an. 534. art. 36.* Conſtantinople? And if *Baronius* replie, that their meaning was of all the Churches of the Eaſt, Why may not I as well ſay, that the other was likewiſe meant of all the Churches in the Weſt? And becauſe he will needs interpret this place by the 131 Nouell, I would know what he can thence gather more than this, that *Nouel. 131.* the Biſhop of old Rome ſhould hold the firſt place, and he of Conſtantinople the ſecond? which we denie not: but it followeth not that therefore the one is ſubject to the other. But both of them ſtand vpon equall ground by the Canons of Conſtantinople and of Chalcedon, to the which the Emperour from the beginning promiſed to hold himſelfe. For whereas he farther alledgeth the ninth Nouell, directed to *Iohn* the ſecond, wherein he graunteth this priuiledge to the Church of Rome, that ſhe ſhall not be preſcribed but by an hundred yeares, calling that Citie *the Foundation of Lawes, and Fountaine of the Prieſthood*, not to ſay, *Nouel. 10. in ed. Holoan.* that this Nouell is not found in the Greeke, he ſhould rather haue obſerued, that he is there called onely, *The Patriarch of the Citie of Rome*; that he diſtinguiſheth in expreſſe tearmes betweene the Churches of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, and graunteth the ſame priuiledge to them both, and had graunted into the Church of Conſtantinople ſeuen yeares before the other. Likewiſe, that which he enforceth out of the 42 Nouell, directed to *Mennas* Patriarch of Conſtantinople, *Nouel. 42.* (which he here alledgeth before the time) That Pope *Agapete* had depoſed the Patriarch *Antymus*, becauſe he agreed not with the Church of Rome, is not truly alledged, and therefore it is that he doth not alledge the text it ſelfe. The truth is, that *Agapete* being then at Conſtantinople, preſided in the Councell wherein *Antymus* was depoſed. And this is that which the Emperour meaneth when he ſaith, That he was put from his See *by Agapete, who then held the firſt See in the old Rome.* But how was he depoſed? it is there ſaid, *By the common ſuffrage of him and of the Synod there aſſembled.* And the reaſon is alſo added, for that he vſurped the place, contrarie to the holie Canon, and had departed away from the ſound doctrines of the holie Councels. And this depoſition of him was alſo authorized by the Emperour in his 42 Nouell directed to the ſaid *Mennas*, who is there againe qualified with the name of *Vniuerſall Patriarch*: which place *Holoander*, for feare of the Popes diſpleaſure, hath tranſlated, *Patriarch of all that quarter*; whereas the word there vſed, οἰκουμένη, ſignifieth all the habitable earth.

μάχαι Ἀγαπητοῦ, τοῦ τηνικαῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης ἱερατεύσαντος τὴν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἁγιωτάτην ἐκκλησίαν. χ) μετὰ τὴν τοῦτου ἐνδημίαν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἀνέδειξε θρόνον.

Where-

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

L.7. Co. de ſum. Trinitat.

18. Progression.

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

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

Anaſtaſ. in Agapeto.

Sine deliberatione Decreti. An. 536.

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

2 *Liberatus in Breuiario, c. 22.*

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

Centenaria ſeptem.

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

Baron.vol.7. an.538. art.20. 4 *Baronius* to defend the matter, saith, That the like schisme was neuer seene in that Church: (and yet we may remember that his predecessors had their errors) *A Pope* (saith he) *thrust into the Chaire by a secular authoritie, a theefe in at the window, a Wolfe amongst the Sheepe, a false Bishop amongst the true, an Antichrist against Christ: The impietie of Nouatus, the obstinacie of Vrsicin, the presumption of Lawrence, all these put together seeme as nothing in comparison of him.* And yet shortly after, when he had murdered *Syluerius*, he maketh him a Saint, and a Vicar of Christ, excellent, beyond comparison. He laboureth by all meanes to proue, that this Epistle in *Liberatus* sinelleth of the forge: for, What probabilitie (sayth he) that in his inscription he should call the Emperour and the Empresse *Lords and Fathers*? But he is egregiously mistaken, not seeing, that this Epistle was not directed to them, but to the *chiefe heretikes, Theodosius, Anthymius, and Seuerus, according to the promise which he had formerly made vnto the Empresse.* And *Liberatus* in the end of that discourse saith, That *Vigilius* writing priuily as he did, continued in his See. Looke now and see what is become of these men, of their vndoubted succession, and infallibilitie in points of faith, who the worse they are, the more they crie out *Tues Petrus.*

Ib.art.19.

Dominos & Patres.

Libera. c.22.

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

Opposition.

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

of the Synod. Where *Baronius*, by occasion of this word *First*, will needs shew a tricke of wit, and thence inferreth, that he was *first* deposed *by Agapete, who vsed* (saith he) *therein the falsnesse of his power.* Whereas the Emperours meaning was onely to shew a legall proceeding in the cause, and that nothing was done by violence against him; as the word πρώτων doth properly signifie, not *first*, but *before*, with relation to that which followeth: as also those words, *By the common suffrage of Agapete*, what sence haue they, vnlesse they be joyned with that which followeth, *and of the Synod*? And so hath *Holoander* himselfe translated it. For how can the suffrage of one alone be termed *common* but onely in relation to some other man? Moreouer, if he by his full and absolute authoritie had deposed him, what need was there then of a Synod? And when they had done all, yet was the confirmation of the Emperour necessarie thereunto, which he expresseth in the 42 Nouell in these words, *Though this be a matter vnusuall to the Maiestie of a King, yet we also now set our hand to the making of this Decree and Ordinance: For so often as the generall suffrage of Priests and Bishops hath deprined anie of their Priestly Seés, as vnworthie of their place and calling (such as were Nestorius, Eutyches, Arrius, Macedonius, Eunomius, and others not inferior to them in wickednesse and malice) so often hath the Regall dignitie contributed the vigor of her authoritie with the authoritie of sacred persons:* Which termes expresse and declare, that the confirmation depended of him, not of *Agapete*, which had alreadie passed his sentence of him: *To the end* (saith he) *that both the diuine and secular authoritie may concurre, for the establishing of lawfull and iust decrees.* But if perhaps the Emperors credit be not good, we can, for a need, produce the testimonie of *Agapete* himselfe, whose Synodall Epistle we find registred in the Acts of the fifth Generall Councell, written by him to all Bishops in the name of the Synod: where speaking in the name of the companie, he saith, *We haue pronounced him vnworthie of all holie function*: and speaking of the placing of *Mennas* in his roome, *Though the Emperour* (saith he) *elected him, yet the whole Clergie and people gaue also their consent, so that he may well seeme to haue beene elected by all.* What therefore doe we find in all this to proue the Popes authoritie, but onely a bare consecration, which anie other Metropolitan or Bishop might haue done as well as he? onely being present, he was pleased himselfe to grace him with that office. Here *Baronius* alledgeth a certaine writing taken out of the Vatican, as he sayth, and which containeth the Acts of *Agapete*, during his abode at Constantinople; where he sayth simply, That *Agapete thrust Anthymus out of the Church, and enioyned him his penance.* But to goe no farther, he might as well haue obserued out of that Script which he alledgeth, that he is there onely called *Antistes primæ sedis*, i. *Priest or Bishop of the first See*, and not *Vniuersall Pope*: as also that when *Iustinian* and he met, it is not there said as in the Pontificall Booke, That the Emperour adored him: but onely thus, *The King and the Bishop kissed each other with a holie kisse, and each did reuerence to the other*; naming the Emperour as first in order. And againe, he might haue obserued, that the See of Constantinople is there called an *Apostolike Throne*, as well as that other of Rome. And of the ordination of *Mennas* it is there said, *That the Ministers of the Church, to the great reioycing of the Catholike Emperour, tooke counsell to preferre him to that place, and recommended him to the Bishop Agapete, to ordaine him their Bishop: That Mennas then deliuered his confession to Pope Agapete*, who meant to present *it with his owne hands to S. Peter at Rome*: and that, this being done, he then obtained the *vniuersall Bishopricke, by the imposition of hands of the Prince of all Bishops*; whom a little before he called only the Bishop of

πρώτων. *Primus, non primum.*

ὁ ἁγιώτατος τῶν ἱερέων.

σὺν ἁγιωτάτου τε τῶν ἱερέων συνόδου.

Concil. vniuers. quintum, act. 1. vbi ep. Synod. Agapeti.

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

Rex & Pontifex sancta deliberans osculo, & alter alterum veneratus.

Præsuli.

Principe.

Subiectarum ſibi prouinciarum.

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

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

Now followeth *Vigilius*, whom *Baronius* immediatly after the murder of *Syluerius*, of an Antichriſt, as he tearmed him before, now maketh Chriſts Vicar, and which is more, a verie Saint. He was no ſooner ſet in his chaire, but preſently he became a new man: Whereupon our Annaliſt crieth out, What a myracle is this from God vpon this chaire, which thus transformeth a bad man into a good! And yet by all the particulars which himſelfe deduceth at large in his election, it ſhould ſeeme that God had no finger in it: All was of pure man, the authoritie of the Empreſſe, the force and violence of *Belſarius*, gained before hand by money, the feare of a preſent vprore in the citie if they had preſumed to elect any other, which made them in this election to leape ouer all Lawes and Canons of the Church: for theſe are his verie words. But let vs ſee whether there were any greater myracles wrought vpon him after his election. *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius*, not a flatterer, but a verie Idolater of the Popes, in the life of *Vigilius*, telleth vs, That he was no ſooner eſtabliſhed in his See, but the Romans preſently accuſed him before the Emperour: *We make it knowne*, ſay they, *vnto your Maieſtie, that he dealeth ill with your ſeruants and people of Rome, and that we here accuſe him of murder: He is growne ſo furious, that he gaue his Notarie a blow on the eare, which made him to fall downe dead at his feet: Alſo he commaunded a nephew of his, and his owne ſiſters ſonne, to be beaten vnto death.* And are theſe the myracles which this chaire worketh? Now vpon theſe complaints the Empreſſe, as it is there reported, ſent *Anthemius* the Scribe to apprehend him by maine force, yea though he found him in the Church, and to bring him by ſea ſure priſoner to Conſtantinople: who following his commiſſion, ſeiſed on him in Saint Cecils Church, and carried him away forth with to ſhip him vpon the Tiber; the people following him with curſings, and caſting ſtones at him, and crying out, *Hunger and peſtilence goe with thee: Euill haſt thou done vnto vs, and euill mayeſt thou find where euer thou commeſt.* *Baronius* beleeueth nothing of all this which *Anaſtaſius* reporteth; his reaſon is, becauſe *Procopius* ſaith nothing of it: And no maruell, ſeeing that the ſcope of *Procopius* was to write the warres of the Gothes, not the liues of the Popes. Now when he was brought to Conſtantinople the Empreſſe chalenged him of his promiſe, which was, to reſtore *Anthymus*. Whereupon *Baronius* would faine canonize him for a Martyr, and preſumeth to affirme, *That in this man, when he now ſat in Saint Peters chaire, Chriſt himſelfe, not onely as he was man, but alſo as he was God and man, ſat alſo with him.* Now whether this was the true cauſe, or onely a colour, I cannot ſay. But *Anaſtaſius* reporteth, That they reproached him with the murder of *Syluerius*, and of his owne Notarie, and of his ſiſters ſonne, *haling him along the ſtreets with a rope about his necke.* *Nicephorus* addeth farther, That he had excommunicated the Patriarch *Mennas*, whom his predeceſſor *Agapete* had himſelfe conſecrated in the roome of *Anthymus* the Heretike, who excommunicated him againe, and could not forbeare his wonted violence: So that in the end, to ſtint theſe ſtrifes, there was a Councell called at Chalcedon. *Baronius* here obſerueth, That *Eutychius*, who was choſen in the roome of *Mennas*, tendered the profeſſion of his faith vnto *Vigilius*: and we on the contrary haue already ſhewed, that

Anaſtaſ. in Vigilio.

Procop. de bello Gothico. li. 3.

Baron. ib. an. 552. art. 11.

Ib. an. 553.

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

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

Ib. art. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. Euagr. li. 4. c. 37

Nicephor. li. 17. ca. 27.

To. 2. Concil. act. 1.

Synod. Conſtantic quin. vniuerſa. actio. 4.

Bellar. li. 1. de Concil. ca. 19.

Zonar. to. 3. pa. 55. & 74.

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

Explanatio Sanctor. & venerabil. Conciliorum &c. Ann. 1553.

Zonar. to. 3. pa. 30.

Iuni. Controuerſ. 4. pa. 186.

Concil. Matiſco. 2. & paſſim.

προεδρεύοντες & πρόεδροι.

Concil. Conſtant. 5. act. 3.

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

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

Onuphr. in Pelag. to. 2.

In Comitijs Pontificalibus.

More maiorum.

19. Progression.

That Pelagius the firſt cauſed the fift generall Councell of Conſtantinople to be receiued in Italie.

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

Opposition.

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

Sigon. de Imper. Occident. l. 20.

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

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

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

Iuxta conniuentiam.

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

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

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

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

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

Sigon. de Regno Italiæ li. 2.

Guiciard. Hiſtor. li. 4.

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

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

Explanatio Sanctar. & venerabil. Concilio-rum &c. Ian. 1553.

Zonar. to. 3. pa. 30.

Iuni. Controuerſ. 4. pa. 186.

Concil. Matiſco. 2. & paſſim.

προηγούμενης & προεδρίας.

Concil. Conſtant. 5. act. 5.

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

Onuphr. in Pelag. 1. o. 2.

In Comitijs Pontificalibus.

More maiorum.

19. Progression.

That Pelagius the firſt cauſed the fift generall Councell of Conſtantinople to be receiued in Italie.

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

Opposition.

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

Sigon. de Imper. Occident. l. 20.

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

Neither was that his power at all acknowledged at Aquileia and Milan, where *Sigon. de Regno Italie li. 1.* the Archbiſhops pretended, That they held not of the See of Rome: not at Aquileia, becauſe as Rome gloried in Saint *Peter*, ſo did ſhe in the Euangeliſt Saint *Marke*, as firſt founder of her Church, which had ſince that time beene ennobled with ſundrie holie Biſhops and Martyrs: Not at Milan, becauſe her Church was
E firſt founded by *Barnabas* the Apoſtle, and after that honoured by the Biſhoprick of Saint *Ambroſe*; and had either of them a multitude of Suffragant Biſhops vnder them: and peraduenture they thought that tradition of Saint *Peters* chaire not to be all of the trueſt, and eaſier to be ſaid than proued. And this is that which *Sigonius* reporteth, though a writer of their owne: and which *Guicciardine* alſo deliuereth in theſe words, *In this time* (ſaith he, meaning of the Exarchat) *the Biſhops of Rome had nothing to doe in matters temporal: and becauſe the beautie of their ancient maners and pietie was now decayed, men had them not in ſuch admiration and reuerence as before; but they liued vnder the commaund and ſubiection of the*
Guicciard. Hiſtor. li. 4.

Synod. Pariſ. ca. 8. 30. Concil. Satisfaciendum 25. q. 1.

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

Empe-

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

20. Progression.

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

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

An. 580.

Ieuinator.

Plat. in Pelag. 2.

Opposition.

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

2. Tom. Concil. in decret. Pelag. 2.

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

D. 99. c. Nullus 4.

Vniuerſa & omnia quæ ſibi vni capiti cohærent videlicet Chriſto.

Gregor. li. 4. ep. 38. & li. 7. ep. 69.

Propter nefandum elationis vocabulum.

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

An. 580. Moreouer we may obſerue, that about this time, when *Chilperic* King of France had aſſembled a Synod of Biſhops at Paris, to iudge of the cauſe of *Pretextatus*, Biſhop of Rouen (whom he had formerly exiled, vntill the next Synod which ſhould be called) he declared openly vnto them, that he had cauſe ynought to condemne him for the enormities of his crimes, that yet he brought him forth, there to be heard and iudged by them, that he might not ſeeme to doe anie thing contrarie to the Canons. And then *Gregorie* Biſhop of Cahors (though fauouring the perſon of *Pretextatus*) ſtood vp and ſaid, *If anie of vs offend, it is in thy power, O King, to puniſh vs.* Whereupon, notwithſtanding the earneſt ſuit that was made for him, they proceeded againſt him, vpon his confeſſion condemned him, and caſt him into baniſhment. So likewiſe King *Gontran* commaunded a Synod to be called at Chaalons, vpon the riuer of Saoſne (or as *Gregorie* of Tours reporteth, at Lions) againſt *Salonin* Biſhop of Ambrun, and *Sagittarius* of Gap; where there were manie crimes of high nature layed vnto their charge, for which they were degraded and depoſed from their charges: in which Synod *Nicetius* Biſhop of Lions preſided, whom *Gregorie* of Tours calleth by the name of a Patriarch. It fell out after a time, that theſe complained of injuſtice and wrong done vnto them, and thereupon became petitioners to the King, That the Biſhop of Rome might review their cauſe; which he graunted: and to that effect, at the inſtance of their friends in Court, wrot vnto him; yet not as of a matter of right belonging to his iuriſdiction, but as *Conſtantine* long before wrote vnto *Miltiades* Biſhop of Rome, and others, in the caſe of the Donatiſts. The words of *Gregorie* of Tours are theſe, *They knowing that the King was fauourably inclined towards them, asked leaue to goe to the Pope of the Citie of Rome, which by his letters he permitted them to doe.* Now vpon this example *Baronius* inferreth, that it was belonging to the Popes ordinarie iuriſdiction to appeale from the Synods in France to Rome: but had it beene ſo, they would no doubt, immediatly vpon ſentence giuen, haue put in their Appeale to Rome, and not haue gone by way of requeſt vnto the Prince. And as for authoritie of calling Nationall Councels, we find another Synod called about the ſame time at Valentia, in the 24 yeare of the reigne of *Gontran*, wherein the Fathers ſpeake in this manner, *We* (ſay they) *here aſſembled in the Citie of Valencia, by the commaundement of the glorious and renowmed King Gontran:* And the Biſhops of thoſe other Synods of Maſcon and Chaalons ſpeake in like manner, ſaying, *That they were aſſembled by the commaundement of Prince Gontran.* And *Gregorie* of Tours ſpeaketh of them after the ſame faſhion. And in the third Synod of Toledo, *when as* (ſay they) *the renowmed King Reciared had commaunded all the Pontifes or Biſhops to aſſemble themſelues &c.* And *Reccared* himſelfe in his letter to them, *We* (ſayth he) *haue commaunded you to aſſemble in this Synod.* But becauſe this Councell is famous, by reaſon of the conuerſion both of the King and alſo of the people of the Gothes, which was there wrought, *Baronius* chalengeth this honour as due vnto *Pelagius* the ſecond: For *this Generall Councell* (ſayth he) *was not held without the priuitie, conſent, and authoritie of Pelagius.* And farther he addeth, That *Leander* Biſhop of Seuille was there in qualitie of Legat from the Pope. But when as the Fathers of that Councell, and when *Leander* himſelfe ſaith, *The King hath commaunded vs*, what hath he to replie? Seeing alſo, that we find no mention made of *Leander* in anie ſuch qualitie, nor yet of the Pope himſelfe: and ſeeing that *Leander* himſelfe in that Oration which he

Antiquit. de Fauchet, to. 1. fol. 212. & 218.

Gregor. Turon. l. 5. c. 18. Aimon. Monach. l. 3. c. 26, 27, 28.

Gregor. Turon. l. 5. c. 20.

Baron. vol. 7. an. 570. art. 23. & 24.

An. 589.

Ex imperio.

Ex iuſſu.

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

Baron. vol. 8. an. 598. art. 30. extra locum.

Pelag. ep. 1. ad Epiſcopos Iſtriæ.

Paul. Diacon. l. 3. de geſtis Longobard. c. 27.

E

21. Progreſſion.

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

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

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

A

B

Opposition.

Gregor. li. 4. ep. 34.

Gregorie much offended with those letters, wrote presently both to the Emperour *Maurice* himselfe, and to *Constantia* the Empresse: To the Empresse, that *Maurice* indeed had done like a godlie and religious Prince, in commaunding the obseruance of such Christian duties to men of the Church, *But farre be it* (saith he)

ὑπεραιρόμενος

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

Consacerdos meus Iohannes.

Epist. 32.

Epist. 36.

C

D

E

A *called* (saith he) *to the office of a Bishop, thou saidst, that thou wert not worthie to be called a Bishop, and now thou wouldest haue none a Bishop but thy selfe &c. What wilt thou answer vnto Christ, who is the true Head of the Vniuersall Church, in that day of iudgement, seeing that by this name of Vniuersall thou seekest to enthrall all the members of his Bodie vnto thy selfe? whom doest thou imitate herein, saue onely him, who in contempt of those Legions of Angels which were his fellowes, sought to mount aloft to the top of singularitie, where he might be subiect to none, and all others subiect vnto him:* that is to say, *Lucifer:* And he doubteth not to applie vnto him that which is said in the 14 of *Esay. Verily* (saith he) *the Apostle Peter was the principall member of the Vniuersall Church: as for Paule, Andrew, Iohn, and the rest, what were they but onely the chiefe of their particular*

B *assemblies, and yet all they members of the Church vnder one Head &c. yet would none of those presume to call himselfe Vniuersall, neither doth anie other assume that name vnto himselfe, who is truly holie &c.* and consequently, neither S. *Peter* himselfe, nor the Bishop of Rome, who claimeth from him. But heare what followeth, *My little children* (saith he) *this is the later time, which Christ himselfe foretold: the pestilence and the sword now deuoure the earth &c. all prophesies are now fulfilled, the King of Pride is at the gates, and which I dread to speake, an armie of Priests or Bishops standeth readie to receiue him: for they who were appointed to chalke out the way of meekenesse and of humilitie, are now in pay vnder that necke of Pride which lifteth it selfe vp:* meaning by the King of Pride Antichrist, who relieth vpon the strength of his garde, which are the

Sacerdotum.

cernici militant elationis.

C Clergie, of whose eleuation S. *Paule* had spoken in the second to the Thessalonians, *cap. 2.* and *Gregorie* in this and sundrie other places speaketh after him, and by warrant from him. And we must here note, that he charged his Deacon *Sabinian* not to communicate with *John*, if he renounced not this pretended title of Vniuersall Bishop. And when *Cyriacus*, who succeeded vnto *John*, persisted in the waies of his predecessor, he wrote againe to *Anastasius* Bishop of Antioch in this manner: *I haue receiued* (saith he) *his Synodall Epistle, wherein he requireth vs not to trouble the peace of the Church; and I haue likewise aduertised him of that superstitious and haughtie name of Vniuersall Bishop, that he could haue no peace with vs, vnlesse he did reforme the haughtinesse of this word &c. otherwise* (saith he) *we corrupt the faith of the Vniuer-*

Greg. li. 6. Epist. 30.

Eleuationem.

D *sall Church &c. and not to speake of the wrong which he doth vnto vs, if there be one called Vniuersall Bishop, then must the Vniuersall Church goe to the ground, if he which is Vniuersall happen to fall: but neuer may such foolerie befall vs, neuer may this weakneſse come vnto my eares.* But to *Cyriacus* himselfe he wrot, requesting him, *at his first entrie to abolish that word of pride, by which there was so great scandale giuen in the Church: for whosoeuer* (saith he) *is desirous of honour contrarie to the honour of God, shall neuer be accounted honourable by me*; teatming this title of Vniuersalitie a thing contrarie to God and to his honour: *And because Antichrist, that enemie of the Almightie, is now at hand, my earnest desire* (saith he) *is, that he may find nothing of his owne, or anie waies appertaining to him, either in the manners, or in the names of the Priests.* And

Epist. 28.

E when the Emperour *Maurice* commanded, that for a friuolous name there should no such scandale arise betweene them, *Consider* (saith he) *vnto the Emperour, that when Antichrist shall call himselfe God, the matter it selfe is but small and friuolous, yet most pernitious: if you looke to the qualitie of the word, it consisteth only of two sillables; but if you regard the weight of iniquitie which dependeth thereon, you shall see an vniuersall enemie. Wherefore I speake it boldly, that whosoeuer calleth himselfe, or desireth to be called by others, the Vniuersall Priest or Bishop, is in his elation of mind the forerunner of Antichrist, because that in like pride he preferreth himselfe before others: like, I say, for that as that wicked one would seeme as God aboue all men, so will this man exalt himselfe aboue all Bishops.*

Epiſt. 30. And in like manner writeth he to *Eulogius* Biſhop of Alexandria. And that no man may ſay, That *Gregorie* went to take away that from another, which he yet reſerued as due vnto himſelfe, in his Epiſtle to the ſame *Eulogius*, he thus writeth: *You haue beene carefull*, ſaith he, *to aduertiſe me, That you forbeare now to write vnto any, by thoſe proud names which ſpring meerely from the root of vanitie; and yet ſpeaking to me, you ſay, Sicut iuſſiſtis*, i. *As you commaunded. Let me, I pray you, heare no more of this word Commaund: for I know well ynough both what I am, and what you are. In degree you are my Brethren, and in maners you are my Fathers. Wherefore I commaunded you nothing, onely I aduiſed you what I thought fitteſt to be done. And yet I do not find that you haue perfectly obſerued that which I deſired to leaue deepeſt grauen in your beſt remembrance; for I told you, That you ſhould not write in any ſuch manner either to me, or to any other, and yet in the verie Preface of your Epiſtle you call me by that name of pride and vanitie, Vniuerſall Pope; which I would intreat you to forbeare hereafter, ſeeing that your ſelues loſe whatſoeuer you giue vnduely to another. For my owne part, I ſeeke to encreaſe in vertue, and not in vanitie of Titles. That addeth nothing to my honour, which I ſee taken from my brethren; my honour is the honour of the Vniuerſall Church, and the ſound vigour of my brethren. Then am I truely honoured, when my brethren haue euerie man his due. For if you call me Vniuerſall Pope, you denie your ſelues to bee that which indeed you are, in that you call me Vniuerſall: but God forbid, let vs rather put farre from vs theſe words, which puffe vs vp to pride and vanitie, and woundeth charitie to the death.* All which part of his Epiſtle is inſerted in the Decret; which *Gregorie* the thirteenth, in his Reformation of the Canon Law, knew not how to redreſſe, but onely by giuing S. *Gregorie* the flat lye.

Diſtinct. 99. c. Exce. in præfatio. 5.

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

Greg. li. 4. Epiſt. 51. & 52.

Idem ad Interrog. Auguſtin. ca. 9.

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

It remaineth now, that we ſee what *Baronius* replieth to all this. Saint *Gregorie*, ſaith he, *imitated our Sauiour, who ſtroue not with Sathan in his diuine Maieſtie, but in the humble and low eſtate of his fleſh.* A weake ward to beare off ſo great a blow: for did Chriſt, to ouerthrow Sathan, play Sathan himſelfe? For what elſe did *Gregorie*, when he called euerie man the forerunner of Antichriſt, and Sathan himſelfe, if in the meane time he reſerued this high Title and prerogatiue to himſelfe? Secondly he ſaith, That *Gregorie* would not indeed be called Vniuerſall, as *Father of all the world*, becauſe the other Biſhops were not his children, but his brethren. But in another ſence, ſaith he, he doth not refuſe it, namely, that they remaining his brethren and fellow Biſhops, he might yet bee reputed and taken as ſuperiour vnto all. In which ſence he calleth himſelfe by that Title in his Epiſtle *Of the Priuiledges of Saint Medard, to all Biſhops*. But I would learne, where they can find a ground for this diſtinction in Saint *Gregories* owne words, ſeeing that he ſo often repeateth theſe and the like words, *That none would euer be called by that name:* and taketh offence that his brethren the Patriarches call him ſo, and reckoneth thereof as of a great wrong done vnto him. Me thinke ſo great an Annaliſt ſhould haue brought ſome better proofe than that priuiledge of S. *Medard*, which who ſo doth but ſee it, condemneth preſently as a fable, and which himſelfe confeſſeth to be ſubſcribed by thoſe Biſhops which were not at that time created Biſhops, namely, by *Auguſtine* Biſhop of Canterburie, and *Mellitus* Biſhop of London, whereas they were not yet paſſed ouer into England. And how came *Eulogius* Biſhop of Alexandria to ſubſcribe this priuiledge? Neither did *Theodoric* at that time raigne in France, as *Baronius* himſelfe confeſſeth, but *Childebert* and *Gontran*. And who can warrant vs, that there is more truth in the priuiledge it ſelfe than there is in the ſubſcription? or is not the falſhood of the ſubſcription ynough to ouerthrow the inſtrument it ſelfe? And yet is he not aſhamed of this falſe coyne, clipt by himſelfe, and rounded at his pleaſure, but vſeth this forged inſtrument not onely as a law to bind vs poore men withall, but euen as a definitiue ſentence againſt the liues and Crownes of Princes: For, ſaith hee, *Gregorie*

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

Ib. art. 32, 33, 34

Ib. art. 81. an. 593.

Epist. 30. And in like manner writeth he to *Eulogius* Bishop of Alexandria. And that no man may say, That *Gregorie* went to take away that from another, which he yet reserued as due vnto himselfe, in his Epistle to the same *Eulogius*, he thus writeth: *You haue beene carefull*, saith he, *to aduertise me, That you forbeare now to write vnto any, by those proud names which spring meerely from the root of vanitie; and yet speaking to me, you say, Sicut iussistis*, i. *As you commaunded. Let me, I pray you, heare no more of this word Commaund: for I know well ynough both what I am, and what you are. In degree you are my Brethren, and in maners you are my Fathers. Wherefore I commaunded you nothing, onely I aduised you what I thought fittest to be done. And yet I do not find that you haue perfectly obserued that which I desired to leaue deepest grauen in your best remembrance; for I told you, That you should not write in any such manner either to me, or to any other, and yet in the verie Preface of your Epistle you call me by that name of pride and vanitie, Vniuersall Pope; which I would intreat you to forbeare hereafter, seeing that your selues lose whatsoeuer you giue vnduely to another. For my owne part, I seeke to encrease in vertue, and not in vanitie of Titles. That addeth nothing to my honour, which I see taken from my brethren; my honour is the honour of the Vniuersall Church, and the sound vigour of my brethren. Then am I truely honoured, when my brethren haue euerie man his due. For if you call me Vniuersall Pope, you denie your selues to bee that which indeed you are, in that you call me Vniuersall: but God forbid, let vs rather put farre from vs these words, which puffe vs vp to pride and vanitie, and wounde th charitie to the death.* All which part of his Epistle is inserted in the Decret; Distinct. 99. c. Eccle. in præfatio. 5. which *Gregorie* the thirteenth, in his Reformation of the Canon Law, knew not how to redresse, but onely by giuing S. *Gregorie* the flat lye.

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

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

Epiſt.37.li.2.

Pela,2.Epiſt.1. ad vniuerſ. Epiſc.

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

Greg Epiſt.52. & 64.li.2.

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

Conſingit.

Pallium pro Commodo.

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

Baron.vol.8.an. 590.art.2,3,4. & ſequent.

Greg.li.2. Epiſt. 62.& 65.

Meos Sacerdotes.

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

Greg. li. 2. Epiſt. 64. — Idem Epiſt. 52. — Baron. an. 593. art. 15. — Greg. li. 7. Epiſt. 11. — Baron. to. 8. an. 593. art. 22. & 23. — Baron. ib. art. 49

22. Progression.

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

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

Zonar. li. 3. pa. 64, 65. & ſequent.

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

Paul. Aemil. li. 2. li. 17. — Greg. Epiſt. 36. li. 11. — Epiſt. 44. — An. 605. — Platina in Bonifacio.

Opposition.

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

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

Bellar. de Rom. Pontif. l. 2. c. 17. Non instituendo, sed asserendo.

Lib. 4. de Gest. Longobard. c. 37.

Otto Frisinghens. l. 5. c. 8. Chron.

Ipsius authoritate.

Iustin. L in ep. ad Johan. 2.

Idem Co. de sacrof. eccles. l. 24.

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

Iustin. Co. de Summa Trinit. l. 7. Co. de episcop. audientia. L. Certissime, & Nouel. 3, 5, 7. Idem Nouel. 2. & seq. Concil. Chalced. act. 2. passim. Concil. Nicen. 2. Act. 2.

But now come we to *Baronius*, to see what he saith to all this: First therefore he extenuateth that wicked parricide and those other butcheries of *Phocas*, the more to defame the Emperour *Maurice*. But what may not be said of a Prince in so tickle a State as he liued in, or what on the contrarie can be added to those praises and commendations which Historians haue giuen of him? Or who can but tremble when he readeth what S. *Gregorie* in cold bloud writeth to bchalf of another? *Phocas* (saith he) *and Leontia his wife were crowned in the Palace called Germadianas, and the Emperor Maurice murthered with all his male children, namely Theodosius, who was alreadie crowned, and Theodosius, Tiberius, Paulus, and Justinian: also Peter, who was brother vnto Maurice, with other great personages whom they slew vnto him, as Constantine a chiefe Senator, and Placidius, and George, who was Vicar in vnto him*: and all this done in pure treason as could be deuised. Secondly he telleth vs, that *Phocas* was a good Catholike: for (saith he) *it is very likely that he sent his confession to Gregorie out of hand.* But if that be not, this is certaine, that he sent his owne and his wiues Images vnto him, which he caused presently to be erected within the Palace, in the Oratorie of S. *Cæsarius* the Martyr. And what? is this the way to expiat so horrible a murther? Or can he, which was so much offended with *Gregorie* his humble and lowly behauior towards *Maurice*, be well pleased with

Gregor. epist. 7. indict. 6.

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

with this toward *Phocas*; vnder colour that he complained, that at his comming A
Gregor. lib. 11. ep. 43. he found no *Apocriſiarius*, for ſo they called him, or *Reſponſalis*, that is, no Deputie
or Solicitor for the Romane Church Lieger and reſident at Conſtantinople?
Hincmar. Rhemen. ep. 3. c. 13. Which were thoſe, as *Hincmar* deſcribeth them, *who after the tranſlation of the Imperiall Seat to Conſtantinople, ſolicited the Church cauſes at the Emperours Court, as well for the Church of Rome, as for the other Prime Sees.* And therefore in this the Popes could not chalenge it as due from the Emperours, neither had they in this anie prerogatiue aboue other Biſhops. But *Gregorie* goeth on, *what thankes* (ſaith he) *owe we to God, that we are now come to ſit vnder the pleaſant ſhade of your gracious Empire, and are brought from the day of ſorrow and ſadneſſe into this time of libertie and gladneſſe*? Poore Heathenish creature as thou wert *Papinian*, O how ſhalt B
thou one day riſe in judgement againſt this holie man? But read a little farther,
Ad veſtra vefligia. *Thoſe* (ſaith he) *who heretofore feared to goe vnto the Court, now run with ioy vnto thy feet*: meaning to reſide there in qualitie of Deputie or Solicitor for him. And ſeeing that *Gregorie* here vſeth the ſame terme of ſubmiſſion vnto *Phocas*, which before he vſed to *Maurice*, will *Baronius* ſay (as he did in hatred of *Maurice*) that it was feare, or that it was reſpect and reuerence which made him ſo to ſpeake? And yet this *Phocas*, for whom this Saint ſummoneth the holie Angels to rejoice, what was he but *a drunkard, a whoremaſter, bloudie, cruell, violent, brutiſh, and hereticall*, and ſo was his wife alſo, as *Cedrenas* reporteth of them: and which is more,
Cedren. in Cinon. he was the man vnder whom the Romane Empire ſuffered more calamities than C
euer it had done before, *The Aire grew peſtilent, the Earth became barren, the Sea was frozen with yce, with a generall mortalitie of men, beaſts, and fiſhes.* When as therefore all Elements mourned, and all creatures groaned vnder the burthen of ſuch a monſter, was it well done of *Gregorie* to rejoice alone? Thirdly, *Baronius* deduceth this Decree of *Phocas*, made in fauour of the See of Rome, in this manner: *Gregorie* (ſaith he) had done what he could to obtaine this Decree of *Maurice*, but could not preuaile: afterward vpon ſummons from *Phocas* he ſent *Boniface* to reſide in qualitie of Solicitor neere vnto the Emperours perſon. This *Boniface* continued there vntill the death of *Gregorie*, and became verie gracious with the Emperour: ſo that when *Sabinian* happened alſo ſhortly after to die, he thought good to put D
him in his place. Now this *Boniface* made good vſe of the hatred which *Phocas* bare vnto *Cyriacus* the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, and made it ſerue for his owne aduancement to the title of Vniuerſall Biſhop. But what was the ground of this hatred? *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* (whom *Baronius* himſelfe alledgeth) tell vs, That one *Scholaſticus* an Eunuch, in the fourth yeare of the reigne of *Phocas*, hauing ſaued the old Empreſſe *Conſtantina* and her three daughters, and hid them ſecretly in the Church, at the length *Phocas* hauing notice thereof, ſent ſome of his guard to make them away: *Cyriacus* withſtood them, and before he would deliuer them, tooke an oath of the Tyran (ſo ſpeake they) that he ſhould doe no violence to their perſons: who indeed for the preſent thruſt them into a Monaſterie; but E
at the end of one yeare cauſed them all foure to be murthered. Now what was this in *Boniface*, but onely to abuſe *Phocas* his tyrannicall paſſions, to the quenching of that greedie thirſt of his owne ambition? And what reaſon then haue they to be offended with vs, when we ſay, that the firſt founder of their Vniuerſalitie was a Parricide, or rather a monſter of all Parricides that euer were? For whereas he ſaith, That he gaue not this priuiledge to the Biſhop of Rome, but onely decided the controuerſie betweene him and the Biſhop of Conſtantinople, when they contended for it; beſides that we haue alreadie ſhewed, that all Hiſtorians

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

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

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

lib. ep. 8.

Facta Synodo.

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

lib. ep. 54.

Concil. Toletan. ſub Rege Gondemaro.

Baron. an. 610. art. 14.

Brixia, ep. 57. lib. 3.

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

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

23. Progression.

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

THe Lumbards at that time lying heauie vpon Italie on the one side, and the B
Exarchs of Rauenna for the Emperour on the other, caused the Popes to pull
in their hornes, and to make little vse or shew of their new title, purchased from
Phocas; though in the meane time their ambitious humor, and desire of sou-
raignetie and power, neuer ceased to put forth vpon all occasions. *Honorius* there-
fore Bishop of Rome, about the yeare 623, tooke his aduantage vpon a lamen-
table and wretched accident. The Bishops of Istria, Venetia, and Lumbardie (as
we haue alreadie said) held no good correspondencie with the Bishop of Rome:
and it came to passe that *Adelwaldus*, first King of Lumbards, fell somewhat di-
stracted in mind; whether by force of a poyson which is said to haue beene giuen
Sigonius de Reg. Ital. lib. 2. him by *Eusebius* the Emperours embassador, at his comming out of the Bath, or C
otherwise, it is a thing hard to say: but in this case he made away twelue of the
most principall men of charge in the kingdome, and grew dangerous to the rest:
The Lumbards to preuent a mischiefe, called a Councell and deposed him, pla-
cing *Adoaldus* his brother in law in his roome: yet was the kingdome hereupon
drawne into factions; some holding for the old King, some for the new: and a-
mong others, they beyond the Po held for the new election, as well clerkes as lay
men. Which *Honorius* perceiuing, tooke presently part with the aduerse faction,
and dealt with the Exarch to reestablish *Adelwaldus*; but aboue all, to apprehend
those Bishops, and to send them safe to Rome, to answere there for their offences:
to the end (saith he) that this their wickednesse may not escape vnpunished. But D
the worst was, that the Exarch was too weake a partie, and not able to performe
what he vndertooke; and thereupon those Bishops persisted in their former reso-
lution, being now more incensed against him than before.

Opposition.

If that Decree of *Phocas*, made in fauour of *Boniface* the third, found such op-
position at home, We may easily conceiue what light regard was had thereof in
more remote Prouinces and Churches; especially in that point which *Boniface* so
much enforced, That no prouision of a Bishop was good in law, without his au-
thoritie: for the fourth and sixt Councels of Toledo, as also the first and second E
of Bracara, which were all held vnder *Honorius*, make open show thereof, seeing
that the Bishops assembled in these Councels openly professe, that they were as-
Ritus imperij et ipsis communis. Chintille salutaribus hortamentis. sembled by the care and industrie of *Sisinandus* their King, *who roused them vp by his commandels to the due handling of matters concerning the discipline of the Church*: as
likewise speake the fift and sixt, *By the wholesome exhortations of King Chintilla*:
and the first of Bracara, *By the commaundement of King Arimire*. Moreouer, we
find the Chapter of the Greeke Synods translated by *Martin* Bishop of Bracara,
as we find them in the second Tome of the Councels, authorised in that Synod:
for

A for the Bishops are there prouided in full Synod by their Metropolitan, who yet
did nothing without the aduice of the other Bishops. As for running to Rome
for Buls or Pals, not a word there to be found: if the Pope sent it to anie, it was
his kindnesse, but no man was bound of necessitie to accept it: and if it happened
vpon the accusation of anie Bishop that the Synod could not agree, they neuer
sent to Rome for a resolution, but *for a finall definition* (say they) *of this dissention,
this holie Synod hath thought fit that another Metropolitan of some bordering Prouince
should be sent for, to confirme and ratifie that opinion which he should thinke most a-
greeable to the Canons.* But here is to be noted, that not long after this ordinance
of *Phocas*, made in fauour of the See of Rome, the Church might plainely see, in
B the person of this *Honorius* whom we now speake of, how dangerous a thing it
was that she should depend of one man: Which *Gregorie* well foresaw when he
said, *That if there should be one Vniuersall Bishop, and he should happen to fall, the
whole Church must needs vnto the ground.* For the heresie of the Monothelites then
rising in the Church, *Honorius* with the first fell into it, and was conuicted thereof
by his owne hand writing, which he had sent to *Sergius* Bishop of Constantino-
ple: neither was this a small heresie, or of anie meane consequence, for that not
to acknowledge two wils in Christ, is consequently to denie two natures in him
also. His letters were produced in the sixt Generall Councell, *Action.* 12. & 13. *2. To. Concil. Act. 12. & 13. Concil. Vniuers. 6.*
and were there by generall consent condemned to the fire: the summe of them
C was this, That neither Gospell nor Epistle, neither yet the Synods, did euer teach
vs these two faculties or powers in Christ; That these were words inuented by
some to famble with children, but ought not to be drawne in consequence of do-
ctrine in the Church; That in such matters euerie one might abound in his owne
sence; and to conclude, That he was just of opinion with *Sergius*, that is to say, a
pure Monothelite. Yet *Bellarmine*, *Onuphrius*, and others of that whet, seeke to
justifie him: but alas they cannot, vnlesse they will first condemne this Councell.
If they say that the copies were corrupted by the Greekes, we answere, that we
take them as we find them in the Latine: where we farther find, that the copies of
his letter were compared with the Originall it selfe, taken out of the Librarie of
D Constantinople: and the sentence passed vpon that letter saith, That it swarued
from the doctrines of the Apostles, and holie Synods, and that they contained
hereticall positions, and as such are worthie of execration, That they execrated
and accursed the authors of all such doctrines, and cast their names out of the
Church, and for that cause they there pronounce Anathema against *Honorius*, as
following in euerie point the drifts and purposes of *Sergius*, *Cyrus*, and other com-
plices in this Heresie: all which is to be seene more at large in the Bodie of that
Councell. But which is more, *Honorius* for this verie Heresie was afterward againe
excommunicated in the seuenth Generall Councell and last Action, and in the *Synod. Nicen. 2. act. vlt. & 3. Synod. Constant. 8. Vniuers. act. 7. & 3. & 6. Beda de sex aetatib. Liber Pontific. in vita Leonis. Pselli us de sep-tem Synodis.*
eight by Pope *Adrian* the second himselfe, and by diuers others. And of this *Beda*
E and the Pontificall Booke for the Westerne Churches, and for those of the East
Psellus, and for these later times *Melchior Canus* (though our aduersarie) beareth
record: and is all this so easily puffed off, by saying, That the Greekes perhaps did
corrupt the copies? or that I know not who hath thrust these words into *Beda*?
Had Pope *Agatho* known the contrarie, or had the least doubt thereof, what consci-
ence had he had to hold his peace? Is it ynough to say, that he did it to auoid far-
ther brable? Or should not the zeale of his See rather haue moued him to speake?
For whereas they tell vs a tale of one *Maximus*, out of the Popes Librarie, we an-
swere, That such a domesticke witnesse ought not to be admitted without better

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

Concil. Tolet. 4. Can. 16.

An. 633. & 680. art. 17.

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

Ib. art. 17. an. 680.

Gratulabor mihi tibique.

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

Blond. lib. 9. Dec. 1.

Platina in Seuerino.

Summe omnium Præsulum Pontifici.

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

An. 649.

Martinus in Epist. ad Theodor. 14.

Sanctus Audœnus in vita Sancti Eligij. Sacerdotalem Concilium.

Ex conuocatione & ordinatione Domini Cloduæi Regis.

Synod. Epist. ad Theodo. Arelat.

Ib. can. 10.

Sanctissimo Voto.

Imperante Principe gloriosa.

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

Petrum sententia.

24. Progression.

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

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

Beda l.1.c.20. 26.29. Histor. Eccl. & l.4.c.1. 2. 16.19. Gaffri. Monumet.l.3.c.40.

Malmesbu.de gest. Anglo. li.1.c.50.

Opposition.

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

2. To. Concil. Epist. Vitalian. 2,3,4. Sigo. de Reg. Italiæ l.2. Blond. Dec. 1. l.9. An. 680.

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

Causa primatus.

Lib. Pontif. in Vitalian. & Domno.

25. Progression.

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

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

D. 19. c. sic omnes 2.

Ivo l.4.pa.122.

Concil. 6. vniuers. Sess. 4. Concil. 6. vniuers. Act. 18. in Exempla. Iustin. diuisi. Dom. Constant. circ.

Opposition.

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

Zonar. to. 3. in Const. 4. C. Habeo librum. & Can. sexta Synod. Dist. 16. Lib. Pontif. in Agatho. Concil. vniuers. 6. Action. 18. Epist. Leo. ad Constant.

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

Ab.2.4. *Confamulos suos*

Flexo mentis poplite.

De familiari Clero. *Ab.4.* *Act.17.*

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

Act.18.

Lib.Pontif.in Agatho.

ἐγγύσιλο.

Action.12.13. 17.& 18.

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

τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαβεῖν πρεσβειων.

Concil.Constant. vniuers.6.in Trullo.Can.36. C.Habeo librum & C. Placuit. D.16.

Concil.Nicæ.2. vniuers.7. Action.2.& 4.

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

Lib. Pontifical. in Agatho.

D. 63. c. Agath. 21.

Concil. Tolet. 12. Ca. 6.

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

Baron. tom. 8. an. 681. art. 47, 48.

Aduis. 17. sub finem Anast. in Agatho.

Baron. ib. art. 49.

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

Concil. Tolet. 14. c. 3. An. 683.

An. 681.

26. Progression.

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

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

Lib. Pontific. in Leo. 2.

Sigon. de Reg. Ital. l. 2.

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

Ill. at. in Leo. 2. Benedict. 2. Iohan. 5. Conone, Sergio.

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

Blondus, Dec. 1. l. 9.

Anaſtaſ. in Sergio.

Opposition.

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

Sigon. l. 2. an. 692.

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

Lib. Pontif. in Conone.

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

Anaſtaſ. in Sergio.

Anaſtaſ. in Sergio.

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

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

Baronius ſeeketh to diſcredit and to annihilate the Canons of this Councell, but we haue ſufficiently juſtified them elſewhere: he calleth it *a falſe and erronious Synod*, grieuing to ſee his Head bounded and limited by law and reaſon, as if all the members ſhould thereby fare the worſe: But let him thanke thoſe Fathers for it, and the Popes Legats themſelues, who were preſent at it. But aboue all, *Tharaſius* Patriarch of Conſtantinople is he which offendeth him, for that in the ſecond Councell of Nice he ſayth, *What ignorance is this of ſome which trouble themſelues about theſe Canons? It is a ſcandale to doubt whether they are of the ſixt Generall Councell or no: Know all men therefore, that that Councell was firſt aſſembled vnder Conſtantine &c. And afterwards the ſame Fathers aſſembled themſelues vnder Iuſtinian his ſonne, and then made theſe Canons, and that therefore no man ſhould doubt thereof.* And is it ynough now to find ſome little error in the date, thereby to reject all theſe Canons? And *Balſamon* Biſhop of Antioch pleaſeth him as little, *Becauſe* (ſayth he) *that the fift and this ſixt Synod had made no Canons, this therefore came in ſupplement vnto them &c. and is alſo reckoned as Generall. For although the Weſterne Biſhops, to wit, Italians and Latines, becauſe they are there touched, ſay it is no Councell, and that the Popes Legats were not there &c. yet I find, looking ouer the old Nomocanon, that Baſill Biſhop of Gortyna, Metropolitan of Candie, and another Biſhop of Candie were there as Lieutenants of the whole Synod of the Church of Rome; and not they onely, but alſo the Biſhops of Theſſalonica, Sardana, Heraclea in Thrace, and Corynth, as ſpeciall Legats from the Pope, and were called Legats à facie, who alſo had particular iuriſdiction, as appeareth by the ſecond title of the fift booke Imperiall.* What ſponge can wipe this out? or who can thinke that this can be controlled by giuing *Balſamon* the lye, or by ſaying that he was an heretike? Can *Gratian* endure this injurie, who hath canonized theſe Canons? Or the ſecond Councell of Nice, or the Popes *Gregorie* the ſecond, and *Adrian*, who haue cited them for good proofe, alledging the 83 Canon to juſtifie their vſe of Images? Or is it ynough for *Baronius* to ſay, that theſe Popes kill the Greekes with their owne ſwords, when as by approuing them they rather cut the throat of their owne cauſe? What ſpeake I of their approuing hereof, when they receiue it as one of the ſix ſacred Synods? and that in theſe words: *This picture* (meaning of the Lambe) *is receiued by the Canons of the ſixt Synod, publiſhed by humane and diuine ordinance &c.* As for that which he ſayth, That *Anaſtaſius* in his tranſlation of the ſeuenth Synod teſtifieth, That none of the Patriarchall Sees receiued them, beſides his proper qualitie, as vaſſall to the Popes; this author maketh himſelfe otherwiſe too too much ſuſpect in this buſineſſe, when in his Epiſtle Dedicatorie to *Iohn* he ſticketh not to ſay, *That in this Synod* (meaning the ſecond of Nice) *there are manie things of the Canons of the Apoſtles, and of the ſixt Generall Councell found, which with vs* (ſaith he) *are not found*

Baron. vol. 8. an. 692. art. 1, 2. Pſeudoſynodum.

Syno. Nice. Act. 2.

Balſamon in Nomocanone.

Actio 2, & 3.

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

26. Progression.

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

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

Anaſtaſ. in Iob. 7. Paul. Diacon. l. 6. c. 28. Blond. Dec. 1. l. 10.

Sigon. de Reg. Ital. l. 2.

Plat. in Iob. 7.

Paul. Diaco. de geſt. Longobard. l. 6. c. 31.

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

Anaſtaſ. in Conſtanti.

Opposition.

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

Anaſtaſ. & Plat. in Conſtanti. Blond. lib. 10. Dec. 1.

Blond. ib.

Sigon. de Reg. Ital. l. 2.

Hieronym. Rubens. *Paul. Diacon. l.6. c.29.* *Anastas. in Constanti.*

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

27. Progression.

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

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

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

Seruice: which was in effect, as much as in him lay, to depose him from the Empire. Whereupon shortly after there arose against him one *Artheminus*, who pulled out his eyes, and thrust him from the Empire. So that *Onuphrius* in his Annotations vpon *Platina*, in the life of this *Constantine*, had reason to say, *That he was the first which durst resist the Greek Emperor to his face, because he was fallen into the Heresie of Iconomachie, which forbad the vse of Images*; not for that he was a Monothelite, not that he denied either two natures or two wils in Christ, but only vpo the difference concerning Images in Churches: And *Sigonius* giueth the same reason, and none other. So small an occasion tooke they to depose the Emperours, whose roome they had so long desired to enioy. But *Gregorie* the second, who succeeded after him, went a little farther: being that *Gregorie* who, as *Sigonius* reporteth, for his excellent veine in that kind, was surnamed the Dialogist, and it may be that hee meant, that this *Gregorie* was the author of those fabulous Dialogues which goe vnder the name of *Gregorie* the first. *Leo* the third, surnamed *Isauricus*, in the yeare 717 was called to the Empire: This *Leo*, so soone as he was quietly seated in his throne, ratified the Edict formerly published against the vse of Images: for other Heresie than this his greatest enemies lay not to his charge. *And thence*, saith *Sigonius*, *tooke their beginning those great seditions, by meanes whereof that huge Dominion of the Church in Italie was established.* Some Historians say, That he attempted against the life and libertie of Pope *Gregorie*, as well knowing that hee could neuer bring his purposes to passe, so long as he stood vpright: yet *Zonaras*, though a Monke, and a great maintainer of Images, saith no such matter; no more doth *Cedrenus*. But the Popes must haue some colour for so haut an enterprise. *Gregorie* hereupon stirred in the Lombards against the Exarch, who poasted to Rome in all haste, but was repulsed by the Lombards, and faine to returne vnto Rauenna; and there brake off the peace betweene the Exarches and the Lombards (which had continued euer since *Rhotharis* his time) to the finall ruine of both Estates, and first of that of the Exarches, whose chiefe seat and citie Rauenna, *Luitprand* king of the Lombards tooke and sacked. But *Gregorie* liked not this sudden encrease of the Lombards power, and therefore altered his course, and carrying the matter verie closely, got aid of the Venetians, and thereby suddenly reestablished *Paul* in the Exarchat of Rauenna. In the meane time the Emperor *Leo* ceased not to exhort *Gregorie* to forbeare the maintenance and support of Images in the Church. *Gregorie* replied, That *it belonged not to the Emperour to innouat any thing in matters of faith* (for so he tearmed the vse of Images.) Neither staied he here, but farther, as the Histories report, he solicited the Venetians, and the inhabitants of Rauenna, to rise in armes against the Emperour and his Exarch, caused cities and townes to thrust out their lawfull magistrats, and to put others of their owne choyce in their roomes, perswaded the citizens of Rome to abandon him as an Heretike, if he perssited in those his opinions, and in the end absolued the people of Italie from their oath and allegeance to him, freed their conscience, forbad them to pay their tribute, or to yeeld him obedience in any kind. The people feeling the reines to lye loosse vpon their neckes, presently murdered *Paul* Exarch of Rauenna, pulled out *Peters* eyes, who was Duke of Rome, killed *Exhilarate* Duke of Campania, and his sonne, filled euerie corner of Italie with sedition and bloud. And in conclusion, finding themselues so farre ingaged in these disorders, that they saw no hope of reconciliation left them with the Emperour, they shooke off, and first of all the citizens of Rome, the yoke of the Emperour, *taking a solemne oath to become liege seruants, obedient in all points, and to all*

Anastas. & Liutprand. in Constant. *Onuphr. in Annotat. in Plat. in vit. Constant.* *Sigon. de Reg. Ital. li.3.* *An. 716.* *An. 717.* *An. 718.* *Blond. Dec. 1. li. 10.* *Sigon. de Reg. Ital. li. 3.* *Zonar. p. 8. 8.* *to. 3.* *Cedren. p. 373. 1*

Baron.9.an.726 art.34. purpoſes, to the Pope. *And here,* ſaith *Baronius, was an end of thoſe Dukes and Gouernours which the Emperours were wont to ſend to commaund in Rome, and places neere adioyning.* This reuolt would be faine juſtifie, vnder colour of conſpiracies made a- A

Onuphr. in Anast. ad Plat. in Constant. gainſt the Pope, which no Author reporteth but *Anaſtaſius*, a domeſtike of the Popes. And therefore *Sigonius* ſaith alſo, That *Rome, and the dukedome of Rome, were tranſlated from the Grecians to the Pope of Rome, by reaſon of their wicked Hereſie and impietie.* What impietie, ſaue onely that pretended ſinne againſt the vſe of Images? But he goeth on, and ſetteth downe a beadroll of places which came to

Zonar. to. 3. in Leo. 3. p. 85. the Pope by this new conqueſt; Rome, with her caſtles and borough townes in Tuſcanie, Port, Centocella, Cere, Bleda, Matuta, Sutri, Nepet, Caſtelgaleſi, Orta, Polimarte, Ameria, Tuderta, Peruſia, Narni, Oricoli; and in Campania di Roma, Signia, Anagnia, Ferentino, Alatrio, Patrico, Fruſigno, Tiuoli; and in Terra di

Cedren. pa. 373. Lauoro, Sora, Arces, Aquino, Teano, and Capua: whereunto we may adde, That *Luitprand* king of Lombards, who at his entrie vnto his kingdome redemanded the Cottian Alpes, as a part of his demaines, reſtored them againe, and confirmed the grant of *Aripert*; hauing as good right the one as the other, to grant away that which belonged to neither of them. And thus by the Biſhops of Rome were the Emperours thruſt out of Italie, whither they neuer after looked but with a ſigh. *Onuphrius* ſpeaking of *Gregorie* and this his fact, ſaith in plaine tearmes, *That he was more hardie than his predeceſſor Conſtantine, and that he lawfully reft out of Leo the third his hands all the Empire of Italie, which was not poſſeſſed by the Lombards,* in the yeare 729. Thus haue we ſeene the ruine of the **Exarches.** It remaineth now, that we ſhew how they ſuppreſſed the kingdome of **the Lombards,** of whom *Gregorie* ſtood in bodily feare, becauſe *Luitprand* their **king comming** with his armie before Rome gates, had alreadie forced him to intreat for peace: moreouer, *Gregorie* ſaw that he was linked with *Charles Martell,* **at** that time Maior of the kings houſe in France, who had ſent vnto him his ſon *Pepin,* with requeſt that he would adopt him as his owne, and in token thereof, after the manner of the Lombards, to cut off his lockes; which *Luitprand* accordingly had done: though *Aimonius* ſaith, He did it *as his godfather, and after the manner of the Chriſtians.* Wherefore to preuent a miſchiefe, he ſent vnto *Charles* a ſolemne embaſſage, the Keyes of the holie Sepulchre, and Saint *Peters* Chaines, with other rich preſents, which, as *Aimonius* ſaith, *had neuer beene heard of, nor ſeene before; vpon condition, That he ſhould free the Church of Rome from the preſent tyrannie of the Lombards, and preferring heauenlie rewards before earthlie and tranſitorie reſpects, ſhould breake off all alliance and confederacie which he had with them. Charles* hereupon diſpatched another embaſſage to Rome, to ratifie an accord with the Pope; whereof enſued the deliue-

Appendix Greg. Turonenſ. c. 110. rance of the Pope out of that imminent danger wherein he was, and the vtter ruine of the Lombard State in Italie. *Gregorie* in his Epiſtle vnto *Charles* bringeth in the Lombards ſpeaking in this wiſe, *Let Charles now come with his French men and helpe thee if he can, &c.* And againe, *Saint Peter could doe well enough of himſelfe, but his purpoſe is to trie the courage of his children, &c.* Howbeit *Baronius* would attribute this Epiſtle to *Gregorie* the third, his ſucceſſor.

Gregorie the ſecond died in the yeare 731, and after him ſucceeded *Gregorie* the

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

A rebell againſt *Luitprand,* and for that purpoſe made alliance with *Gregorie,* and to oblige him the more, becauſe his power was great in Italie, hee ſurrendred vnto *Gregorie* certaine places which had beene formerly litigious betweene them, and thereupon riſe in open rebellion. *Luitprand* preſently came downe vpon him, and forced to crie to *Gregorie* for helpe, *Gregorie,* according to their articles, receiued and defended him. *Luitprand* ſummoned *Gregorie* to deliuer him into his hands, if An. 739. not, threatened to take him for an open enemie; and when *Gregorie* refuſed to doe according to his ſummons, *Luitprand* moued from Spoletum, where he lay, tooke by the way ſundrie places of the Popes dominion, and at length came and encamped before Rome gates. Sundrie gentlemen of the citie, growen wearie, and ſcorB ning this new Church gouernment, came ouer to *Luitprand,* and offered him their ſeruice. France was too farre off to helpe in time, yet *Charles* intreated *Luitprand,* by an embaſſador ſent vnto him, to raiſe his ſiege; which he did, holding onely in his hand what he had alreadie taken. *Luitprand* was no ſooner returned to Pauia, but *Thraſamond,* ſupported by *Gregorie,* tooke the field againe, ſurpriſing many of thoſe cities and places which he had loſt. But ſhortly after, all in one yeare, died the Emperour *Leo, Charles Martel,* and *Gregorie* the Pope. After *Gre-* An. 741. *gorie* ſucceeded *Zacharie,* who redemaunded his places of *Luitprand,* and tooke part, as his predeceſſors had done, with the rebels: but ſeeing himſelfe in danger, entreated a parley, and there got of this vertuous prince (for ſo they tearme him)

C what euer he deſired; who was contented, at the Popes entreatie, to giue ouer the action which he intended againſt the Exarch of Rauenna. In like ſort dealt hee with *Rachis,* ſucceſſor vnto *Luitprand,* ſometimes trying his patience, and otherwhiles flying to his mercie, but ſtill abuſing his deuotion; vntill at length, building vpon the foundation which his predeceſſors had laid, hee reſolued to ruine this ouer powerfull neighbouring Eſtate of the Lombards, by a forreine power, which though greater in it ſelfe, yet was leſſe dangerous to him, and of leſſe annoyance to his proceedings. And the ambition of the French eaſily hearkened to ſuch a motion. *Pepin* ſucceeded his father *Martel* in his Mairaltie of the houſhold, and vnder this name in the royall authoritie. But not content with the thing

D vnleſſe he might alſo haue the Title, ſent to conſult *Zacharie,* Whether it were not reaſon that he which tooke all the paines in adminiſtration of all affaires of the *Aimon. l. 4. c. 61. Sigon. li. 3. Blond. Dec. 2. li. 1.* kingdome, ſhould be king, rather than he, who contenting himſelfe with the Title, tooke care of nothing, but onely in pleaſures and paſtimes? poinſing at *Chilperic* his Lord and Soueraigne, whom he would faine haue pulled from his throne by force, onely he wanted authoritie, cloaked with deuotion. *Zacharie,* who vnderſtoood by the halfe what the whole meant, preſently *commaunded,* as ſaith *Aimonius, by his authoritie, That Pepin ſhould be created king, who was accordingly that ſame yeare ſacred,* by the Archbiſhop *Boniface,* the ſubiects diſcharged of their allegeance, and *Chilperic* degraded. Pope *Zacharie,* ſaith *Sigonius, interpoſing his*

E *Decree, out of the greatneſſe of his authoritie.* What authoritie? but that which was 2. Theſſal. 2. 4. foretold vs by the Apoſtle, *of that ſonne of perdition, placed in the Temple of God, exalting himſelfe aboue all that is called God, and carrying himſelfe as if he were God:* God, ſaith the Prophet, to whom alone it apperraineth to ſet vp and to pull downe kings, to continue kingdomes, or to tranſlate them from one ſtocke vnto another. And *Sigonius* cannot hold, but muſt needs ſay, *That he dyed, hauing carried matters more for the behoofe of the Church and of the Apoſtolike See, than according to rules of true pietie and religion.* And this fell out in the yeare 750. An. 750.

Pepin now owed *Zacharie* a good turne, and quickly had occaſion to requite his kind-

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

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

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

Conſortium nequiſſimæ adinuentionis.

An. 772.

A B C D E

A raignetie of them. And thus came the kingdome of the Lumbards to an end by the practiſes of the Popes; whereas yet their Kings haue this teſtimonie affoorded them, euen by the Hiſtorians of their greateſt enemies, *That from the time they receiued the Chriſtian Religion and Catholike Faith, they had euer beene great laſtiters, and deuoutly giuen, witneſſe* (ſaith *Sigonius*) *their good lawes, which ſo ſeuerely puniſhed theſts, robberies, rapes, murders, and adulteries, carefully preſeruing euerie man in his owne eſtate, goods, and libertie; witneſſe alſo the ſumptuous Temples and ample Monaſteries with which they beautified and adorned Italie, the faire and goodlie Cities which they either built or repaired, the honours they did to holie perſons, the Lordſhips and riches which they beſtowed vpon the Popes, with the great reuerence they vſed to-*

B *wards them: inſomuch that ſome of them, at the Popes perſuaſions, left Crowne and Kingdome to confine themſelues within a cloiſter.* But the Popes ambition was great, and the Lumbards payed the price of their deuotion towards that See, by the finall ruine of their ſtate and kingdome. Neither is *Onuphrius* aſhamed to vaunt, that *Gregorie* the ſecond had chaſed the Emperour out of Italie: That *Gregorie* the third, by the helpe of *Pepin*, had begun the warre vpon the Lumbards, *which being purſued by his ſucceſſors, muſt needs, as it did, end in the ruine of that Kingdome:* And this fell vpon the yeare 773. Where note alſo, for the more perfect view of theſe proceedings, that about the yeare 740 the King of Weſt Saxons in England purpoſing to take the Frocke vpon him, firſt made his realme tributa-

C rie to the Pope, binding it to pay yerely a pennie for euerie chimney in the land: So likewiſe in the ſame Iſland did *Offa* King of Northumberland, vnder *Adrian* the firſt. The Author ſetteth downe the cauſe, which was, *the feare he had to be puniſhed for his ſinnes, as thinking he ſhould neuer be able to make ſufficient ſatisfaction to God for them* (though he had alreadie giuen the tenth of all his goods) vnleſſe he gaue other mens goods alſo, and made the kingdome to beare the penaltie of his offences; ſo well did the inuention of Purgatorie ſuit alreadie with their ambition. But *Gregorie* the ſeuenth, called *Hildebrand*, would make the world beleeue, That *Charlemaigne*, in humble acknowledgement of S. *Peters* helpe in his

D victories vpon the Saxons, had giuen the countrey of Saxonie as an offering to the Church of Rome; and that he commaunded ſmoake pence to be payed throughout Fraunce vnto the Pope: but he alledgeth no author ſaue onely his pretended Charters, by vertue whereof he commaunded *Peter* Biſhop of Albe, and *G.* Prince of Saleme, his Legats, to make demaund of thoſe ſaid pence in Fraunce: But the French euer laughed at ſuch claimes, and *Charlemaigne* was too wiſe to fall into ſuch a trap.

Onuphr. in Conſtant.

An. 773.

Gregor. 7. in ep. ad Pet. Alban. & G. Principem Salernitanum.

About this time alſo was it, that *Boniface*, falſely ſurnamed the Martyr, a great champion of the Popes, and Pope himſelfe, publiſhed the Decree *Si Papa*, containing, *That if the Pope happen to neglect his owne ſaluation and others &c. he euer drawe th with him multitudes of ſoules to hell.* A great miſchiefe: but what remedie? for it followeth, *That no mortall wight may preſume to reprooue him for his faults, becauſe he himſelfe iudgeth all men, and is iudged of none, vnleſſe he be found erring in*

E *faith.* Which doctrine once layed for a ground, what wonder if Popes haue alwaies run ſo headlong to all manner of impietie? And the better to ſee how the Apoſtaſie from true doctrine hath alwaies encreaſed with the Tyrannie of the Papacie, we muſt further note, that the moſt groſſe abuſes grew vp in this latter table time. We haue ſaid before, that *Gregorie* the firſt altered the Liturgie of Rome: this was now receiued in Italie by the meanes of *Adrian* the firſt, in Germanie by the diligence of *Boniface*, and in Fraunce by the authoritie of *Charles*;

Diſtinct. 40.

and

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

Concil. Turoni. An. 813. ſub Carlo. Magno. Concil. Nicæ. 2.

Oppoſition.

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

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

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

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

Aimon. lib. 4. c. 62.

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

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

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

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

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

Sigon. de Reg. Ital. l. 4.

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

An. 796. In the yeare *796* died *Adrian*, in whose roume succeeded *Leo* the third, by the election of the Clergie and people of Rome: who presently vpon his election dispatched an embassadour vnto *Charlemaigne*, to aduertise him of his election, and to present vnto him the keyes of the Confession, *i.* of the Sepulchre of S. *Peter*, with the maine Standard of the Citie, and manie other honourable presents, in token of fealtie and homage; requesting him to send some principall man of his Court, to minister the oath of Allegeance to the people of Rome, thereby to hold them in their dutie and subiection vnto him, as *Aimonius* in his Historie reporteth: whereupon *Angilbert*, Abbot of S. *Richarius*, was dispatched thither to that effect. Shortly after, the nobilitie of Rome growne wearie of the Popes yoke, and willing to shake it off, set vpon *Leo* as he went in solemne procession, threw him from his horse, and left him there halfe dead: his followers tooke him vp, and carried him to the Vatican. It is reported, that they pulled out his eyes, but that God by miracle put them into his head again. We may well doubt of this miracle, seeing that *Aimonius* reporting it, addeth, *as some thought*. But *Zonaras* speaketh plainely and sayth, *That they who were put in trust to pull them out, scared them, and onely beat him about the eyes, without perishing his sight*: and yet these men crie out, *A miracle*. *Leo* hereupon tooke a iourney into Germanie as farre as Westfalia, where *Charlemaigne* then was, to craue iustice, telling him, That the Romanes, who had long since taken their Bishop for their Lord, seeking now to returne to their ancient libertie, and not able to oppresse him with false criminations, had attempted vpon his life. Whereupon *Charlemaigne* resolued in the yeare 800 to make a voyage into Italie. Vpon his arriuall at Rome he assembled a multitude of Italian and French Bishops, commanding *the accusers and the accused*, *i. Leo* the Pope, *to appeare before them*, himselfe presiding and sitting in the middest of

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

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

An. 800.

of them. *Anastasius* the Popes Historian sayth, That the Bishops then and there declared openly, that they might not iudge the See Apostolike: but *Aimonius* a great deale more sincerely reporteth, *That there being none found that would come forth and charge him with his crimes, he purged himselfe by oath*. And vpon this sedition tooke *Charlemaigne* occasion to seise into his owne hands all authoritie ouer the Citie of Rome: for as an Italian Author of that time reporteth, *He thereupon resolued to make all the great ones of Rome, as well Bishops as Laics, to become vassales of the Empire: That they and the whole people should sweare fealtie to the Emperor: That the Emperour should alwaies haue his L. Deputie residing within Rome in the Palace of Saint Peter, at a certaine stipend by the day, to void all contentions arising among them: and this Deputie carried matters so, that the least in the Citie had alwaies iustice against the greatest; though neuer so neere kinsman to the Pope; all fines leuied to the vse of the Emperor, who onely could dispense and pardon. And this order continued* (saith that Author) *vnto the time of Lewis the second, sonne of Lotharius*. This is certaine, that vpon a Christmas day (as *Ado Viennensis* writeth) Pope *Leo* set the crowne vpon his head before S. *Peters* altar, all the people crying out, *To Charles Augustus, crowned of God, great and peaceable Emperour of the Romans, life and victories. After which salutations he was adorned by the Pope himselfe, after the manner of the ancient Princes*: and from that time leauing the name of Prince, he tooke the title of Emperour and *Augustus*. And if you would know what is meant *by the manner of ancient Princes*, *Salustian* telleth vs, That the manner was, *for seruants to kisse their Lords and Masters feet*. And in such qualitie did they acknowledge *Charlemaigne*, euen as liege Lord of the Citie of Rome: as *Paulus Diaconus* speaking to him saith, *You shall find expressed the names of the streets, gates, bridges, places, and Tribes, of your Romulean Citie*, that is, of Rome. And thus did *Charlemaigne* make the Bishop of Rome know himselfe, euē in Italie and in the proper place of their magnificence. And this was the cause of his comming thither at that time, not as they would haue it, *to kisse the Popes pantofle, or to visit S. Peters threshold*: for we find euen at this very time one *Claudius* Bishop of Turin crying out against those Rome-wandrings, or Pilgrimages made to Rome, That it was a follie to run thither for penance, or there to seeke remission of their sinnes: That the saying of our Lord, Vpon this stone will I build my Church, was meant of the Confession, not of the Person of S. *Peter*: That the keies & power of binding and losing had another meaning: That none but ideots had recourse to Saints and relikes: That the place and See was nothing: That he was not to be deemed Apostolicall, who sat in the Chaire of an Apostle, but he that did the office of an Apostle. And more no doubt should we learne of him, if we had his books themselues, for now we haue no more of them than we find in the inuectiues of those that write against him: and no marueil, since the Councell of Tours before mentioned complained of these abuses, and faine would haue found a remedie against them.

Aimoni. li. 4. c. 90.

Author quidam Ital. apud Vignerium.

Missum sunm.

Ado Viennens. in Chroni. an. 798.

Ab eudem Pontifice adoratus est.

Salust. in ep. ad parent.

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

Jonas, l. 3. aduers. Claudi. Turinens.

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

Concil. Nicen. 2. in princ. to. 2. Ib. in epist. ad Iohan. Presby.

Zonar. to. 3. pag. 95.

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

Concil. Nicæn. 2. Act. 3.

Zonar. to. 3. pa. 95.

Adrianus in Epist. ad Tharas. in Synod. Nicæn. 2. Action. 2.

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

Concil. 7. vniuers. Action. 1. Aperiat Ianuam

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

Iussimus.

D. Gr. c. Adrianus.

A which he held at Rome, wherein were condemned *Adelbert, Godescale,* and *Clement,* bearing date, *Imperante Domino Pissimo, Augusto, Constantino Imperatore, anno 26 Imperij eius, &c.* so did they certaine ages after. To be short, at this time Princes euery where according to the exigencies and necessities of their seueral Churches, assembled Synods by their owne authoritie: which Synods, if need then were, prouided for the vacancies, reseruing alwayes to the Prince the right of consent and approbation of them, in regard of the great possessions & lordships which euen thē they stood seised of: So that where it is said in that Synod of Rome, That *the Bishops should receiue inuestiture from the Emperour,* it was no nouell constitution, but onely a renouation of an old ordinance, of long time suppressed by the

B Popes, but vsed in France and Germanie since the time of their first Christian Princes. *Waltram* Bishop of Naumbourg to this purpose speaking, *Gregorie the Great,* saith he, *wrot to Theodoric, and to Brunichild, To grant inuestitures of Bishops without simonie:* so that this right began in the first race of the kings of France. And it followeth, *That long time before that decree of Adrian and his successors, the kings once annointed, and the Grand Master of their household, granted inuestitures of Bishoprickes, as did Dagobert, Theodobert, and Sigebert; by whom were inthroned Remaclus, Amandus, Audomarus, Antpertus, Eligius, Lampertus, and other holie Bishops, &c.* We also find in histories, how the *Bishops of Spaine, Scotland, England, and Hungarie, came in alwayes by the authoritie of the kings, following the ancient custome, vntill this*

C *present noueltie,* meaning, which the Popes brought in about the yeare 1100. So that where we read, That about the yeare 779, *Charlemaine* would haue *Turpin,* or *Tilpin,* Archbishop of Reims, to accept of the Pall at Pope *Adrians* hands, we must take it for a speciall fauour which he meant to doe him at that present, and which he knew well how to restraine, when he saw himselfe ar an end of his purposes which he had in hand. Adde we hereunto, That both *Pepin* and *Charles* made lawes meerely Ecclesiasticall, not concerning Church gouernment onely, but also concerning points of doctrine; whereof we haue the articles to this day; and *Capitularia.* at Modena, saith *Sigonius,* are those lawes yet kept, *by which he fashioned the State of the Church after a new order,* whereof he alledgeth the proeme and end: but there-

D by appeareth, that he purposed seriously to execute his power mentioned in the chapter *Hadrianus,* in reforming the Church and the whole state of the Clergie. But no cable could hold the violent ruine and corruption of that Church; and all his diligence serued onely to their greater condemnation: for the Scripture must needs be fulfilled, That this ambition must raise it selfe vpon the ruines of whatsoeuer was good, just, or holy: As indeed their vsurpations, and whatsoeuer seemed in them to participat most of the spirit, had euer reference to some worldly respect and purpose. *Gregorie* the second and third sent *Boniface* into Germanie, where they found Christian Churches of long continuance; yet they call *Boniface* the Apostle of the Germans, as if he had first conuerted them to Christ: For

E what his chiefe drift and purpose was, we may learne by the oath which he tooke to *Gregorie* the second at his going, in these words, *I doe promise to S. Peter, and to you his Vicar, &c. that with all integritie I will serue and bend my course to the bellooe and profit of thy Church &c. If I shall otherwise do, let me in the day of iudgement incurre the punishment of Ananias and Saphira:* and he deliuered him this oath signed with his owne hand. And yet *Gregorie* writing to the Germans, saith, That he sent him *for the illumination of the Gentiles:* promising to whomsoeuer that should assist him, *place with the blessed Martyrs;* and threatning euerie one that should re- *2. To. Concil. in Decret. Greg. 2.*

sist him, *with Anathema:* who yet preached nought vnto them but the authoritie

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

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

Ib. in Epist. ad Epist. Presbyt. Diacon.

To. 2. concil. in Epist. 2. ad Bonifac.

Ib. Epist. Decret. Zachar.

Ib. Epist. Greg. ad Bonifac.

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

Auenti. Annal. Boior. li. 3.

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

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

Now from this coronation of *Charlemaine* at Rome by Pope *Leo*, *Baronius*, after his accustomed boldnesse in this kind, draweth in consequence a cruel and a bloudie doctrine, wherein all Christian Princes haue their interest, namely, *That the Bishop of Rome hath authoritie and power to translate Empires and kingdomes*; filling with this argument six or eight pages. *Leo set the Crowne vpon Charlemaines head.* We grant, what followeth? *Ergo*, saith he, *Leo collated the Empire vpon him, translated it from the Greekes to the French, did it, and had right so to doe.* What Reader can endure such a *non sequitur* as this? For when the Patriarch of Constantinople was wont to crowne the Emperour, or when Archbishops in other places crowne their kings, doe they bestow the Empire or kingdome on them? or because they are instruments vsed for the performance of this ceremonie, doth it implie a power or right in them, of conferring kingdomes, whether hereditarie or elective? No doubt, neither he that did consecrate, nor he that was consecrated, had euer any such opinion. And therefore the Emperors crowned by the Patriarches, and *Charlemaine* by the Pope, were neuertheless teermed *θεοστεῖς*, *i.* crowned of God; as appeared in *Charles*, by the acclamation before mentioned of the people, made at his coronation, *Carolo à Deo coronato, &c.* But peraduenture his authorities are better than his reasons: *All this*, saith he, *was according as it is written, The most high ruleth ouer the kingdomes of men, and he giueth it to whom it pleaseth him.* True, but how doth he proue that the Pope is God, or that the most high hath surrendred his place to him? And againe, *By me kings raigne, and by me princes beare rule*: which words *Salomon* spake of the eternall wisedome of God. And where doth he proue that this wisedome was hypostatically and essentially residing in the person of the Pope? And yet, as if he had deliuered some high point of doctrine, *Reader*, saith he, *consider well this matter, &c.* and what I pray you followeth of this wide gaping, but meere gullerie and cogging? Secondly, *who doubteth*, saith he, *but God hath giuen so great authoritie to his Church, as heretofore he gaue to the Iewish Synagogues? And doe we not see how Samuel translated the kingdome of Saul to Dauid; Elias and Elisæus from the house of Achab to the stocke of Iehu?* Nothing but trickes againe: for where readeth he that the Synagogue had euer right to translate the kingdome, that euer it did it, or medled with it? And if the Pope for this purpose will needs be master of the Synagogue, and circumcise himselfe, yet how will he proue vnto vs, that vnto this decayed Synagogue of the Iewes the Church of Rome hath now succeeded, rather than that of Ierusalem, of Alexandria, or of Antioch? or which is more, where will he shew vs, That God hath spoken to him, and giuen him any speciall commaund, either by Oracle, or by myracle, or by any other way? Doth he not see that this worke was altogether extraordinarie, wherein the High Priest was not wed, but a Prophet, and vessell elected of God for this speciall purpose? which should not haue beene, if the office had beene properly affected to the Synagogue: And shall these men be euer suffered thus to abuse the world? *Thirdly*, saith he, *it was said to Ieremie, I haue set thee this day ouer nations and kingdomes,*

Baron. tom. 9. an. 800. art. 6, 7, 8, & sequent.

Dan. 4.

Prouerb. 8.

Ierem. 1.

domes, to plucke vp and to deſtroy, to plant and to build. And it was alſo ſaid by the Prophet *Haggei, The glorie of this houſe, i.* of the ſecond Temple, *ſhall bee greater than the glorie of the firſt.* And Saint *Paul* ſaith, *If the miniſtration of condemnation, i.* the Law, *was glorious, much more ſhall the miniſtrie of righteouſneſſe exceed in glorie,* meaning the miniſtrie of juſtification by faith in Chriſt: *Ergo,* ſaith *Baronius, much more hath the Pope power to plucke vp and to pull downe, to collate and to tranſlate kingdomes.* Who can but grind his teeth to heare ſuch prophane abuſe and blaſphemie of the word of God? For was *Ieremie* either Synogogue or High Prieſt? or was he to denounce and threaten the ruine of the Iewiſh Eſtate by the Babylonians, as a Prieſt of Anatoth, or as a Prophet? and was it not ſaid vnto him, when
Ierem. 2.6.& 9. he would haue excuſed himſelfe, *Before thou cameſt out of the womb I ſanctified thee, and ordained thee a Prophet for the nations?* And did not the Lord put forth his hand and touch his mouth, ſaying, *Behold I haue put my words into thy mouth?* What can *Leo* and the reſt of ſuch companions alledge for themſelues like vnto this? And laſt of all, doth he make no difference betweene denouncing the judgements of God, as they were reuealed vnto him by ſpeciall commaund from him, and the intruding himſelfe without commiſſion to the depoſing of one king and inſtalling of another? *Ieremie,* though founded as you ſee vpon a greater power, yet, did he preſume to depoſe *Sedechias,* or to annoint *Nabuchadnezzer* in his roome? Saint *Ierome* truely was of another mind concerning this place of Scripture, who expoundeth it by another in the fiue & twentieth of the ſame Prophet, where God deliuered to the Prophet a cup to make drunke all nations with the wine of his wrath; all which are there ſpecified by their names, that is, to forwarne them of the plagues which God was redie to powre out vpon them: And yet doe we any where find that the Prophet intermedleth with the affaires of thoſe ſeuerall nations? And when Saint *Ierome* will goe a little farther, and allegoriſe this peece of Scripture, he expoundeth theſe words of *planting* and *pulling vp,* the one of bad doctrines, which are plucked vp; the other of good, which are planted by the word of God: as alſo thoſe other of *pulling downe and ſetting vp,* of the efficacie of the ſpirit of his mouth. Yea but the glorie of the ſecond Temple ſhould be greater than the glorie of the firſt: What ſecond Temple, caitiſe diuine as he is, but the Temple of Ieruſalem? And what was that greater glorie, according to all interpreters both Iewes and Chriſtians, old and moderne, but the redemption of mankind by Chriſt crucified for our ſinnes, vnder the ſecond Temple? Or if by the ſecond Temple he will needs vnderſtand the Church of Rome, what followeth thereof, but this, That the Biſhop of Rome be either *Caiphas* or *Herod*; or, becauſe he chalengeth both juriſdictions, *Caiphas* and *Herod* all in one? And what is meant
2. Cor. 3. by that glorie of the miniſtrie of the Goſpell which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of, but Chriſt raigning powerfully in vs by his ſpirit: Which the Apoſtle alſo in that ſame place tearmeth the miniſterie of the Spirit, not of the letter: oppoſing the Law grauen in ſtones vnto condemnation, againſt the faith of Chriſt written in our hearts vnto ſaluation? And what fellowſhip, I would know, hath this miniſterie with the others pretended magiſterie? This miniſtyer, I ſay, of the ſpirit, with that magiſterie which is ſimply carnall and worldly, breathing out ambition, and
In 2. Corinth. 3. Homil. 7. conſpiring nought but tyrannie. Saint *Chryſoſtome* vpon this place, *The glorie,* ſaith he, *of Moſes was outward to the ſence, for they ſaw it with their eyes; but the glorie of the New Teſtament is not to be diſcerned but by the eyes of the Spirit.* Wherefore they that ſeeke for glorie in temporall and carnall things, doe not they renounce this other glorie? And againe, *He hath oppoſed,* ſaith he, *the ſtone to the heart, and the letter*

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

Baron. to. 9. an. 806 art. 26. *Arbitrio Romani Pontificis electionem.*

Regni vel Imperij noſtri.

28. Progression.

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

Charlemaine kept his temporall power ſafe ynough from the intruſion of the Popes, leauing ſometimes the ſpirituall as a prey vnto them: for by his law it was, that the Biſhops of France finding themſelues agrieued with the judgements of their Metropolitans, or comprouinciall Biſhops, were permitted to run to Rome: Yet his words are carefully to be noted, *When a Biſhop,* ſaith he, *hath had ſentence againſt him, it ſhall be lawfull for him to demaund a reuiew, and if need be, to goe freely to the Biſhop of Rome:* where this word *licear,* as alſo in another place *placuit,* import a nouell grace and fauour granted by the Prince: not that the
E Churches of France were anciently tied to any ſuch obſeruation. And yet is it ſet alſo with an alternatiue, *Let him,* ſaith he, *be iudged either by the Biſhop of the Diœceſſe, or by the Biſhop of Rome.* And this was tearmed a *Proclamation,* or an *Appellation,* the ſource of ſo many debates and quarels which enſued between the Popes and the Biſhops of France. *Charles* had treated with the Emperour of the Eaſt, *An.* 816. and particularly agreed aboue the partage of Italie betweene them two, each of them retaining the Title of Emperor, the one of the Eaſt, the other of the Weſt: Which he did the rather, to ſet himſelfe ſafe from that raging ambition of the Popes. But when *Charles* was dead, though he vſed his power with ſuch moderation,

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

Electus & ordinatus.

Aimoni. lib. 4. c. 103. Thega. de gestis Ludoui. c. 16, 17, 18.

D. 53. c. 28. Deo autore.

Canonico ritu.

Baron. vol. 9. an. 816. art. 101

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

Hostien. li. 1. c. 18.

Anastas. in Adriano.

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

Diploma Othonis 3.

Anastas. in Valentin.

Helmold. in hist. Sclauor. l. 1. c. 9.

OPPOSITION.

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

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

Aimoni. de facultate S. Petri.

An. 823. *Iusticias facere.*

Aimoni. lib. 4. c. 112.

Author vitæ Ludoui.

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

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

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

Simoneta, c. 5.

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

Sigon. lib. 4. de Reg. Ital.

Author vitæ Ludouici. An. 833.

Aimoni. lib. 5. c. 14.

Thegan. de gest. Ludoui. Chronichon Dionysian.

Purpura vestiuit te & pallio.

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

Flodoard. in Hist. Rhemensi. Idem, l. 4. c. 16.

Chron. Dionys.

farre different from this course. And when *Lewis* was fully reestablished in his kingdome, not by the authoritie of *Gregorie*, but as the Historian of the Church of Rheimes reporteth, *by the common consent of the Bishops, Gregorie* vnable to maintaine those Bishops whom he had drawne into this practise, they were glad (though vnder a most gracious Soueraigne) yet to saue themselues in Italie from the rigor of the lawes: the others were faine to confesse the action, and plead guiltie, acknowledging themselues vnworthie of the place they held, and in effect to be deposed, especially *Hebo* Archbishop of Rheimes, and *Agobard* of Lions. And this was in those dayes all the feare that the Bishops of Fraunce had of the Popes excommunications. And in this time it was, That *Claud* of Turin taught openly both by tongue and pen, *That he was not Apostolicall who sat in the Chaire of an Apostle, but he that did the office of an Apostle.* And this reacheth vnto the death of *Lewis*, which fell in the yeare 839. *An.*839. Adde we hereunto, that the Emperour *Lewis* treading the path of *Charlemaigne* and other his predecessors, with the aduise and counsell of the Prelates and the rest of the learned of his kingdomes, enacted lawes for the better ordering of the Churches of his dominions; not onely concerning their policie and gouernment, but also touching Faith, without asking leaue, or expecting a *Mandamus* from the Pope, whatsoeuer *Baronius* and his *Benedict* the Leuite prate vnto vs, as may appeare by the Articles of *Lewis*; and the Abbot *Andegisus*, who collected those Lawes, maketh *Capitularia.* no mention of the Pope in the Preface to them. Also he assembled Councels within his owne Estates at Thionuille, at Aix, and Pauia, where you shall euer find, *By the commaund, By the wholesome commaund of the glorious Prince, By the grace or gift of God, Emperour &c.* making bookes of this subiect. And in the *Extat ante Concil. Paris. To. 3. Concil.* Councell of Aix la Chapella, the Bodie of the people speaketh of the Clergie in generall, and sayth, *By them are we made Christians, who hauing the keyes of the kingdome of heauen in their hands, iudge in a sort before the day of iudgement*: and so *An.*828. had no need to be beholding to Rome for the keyes. But in the yeare 828 we find a particular Edict of *Lewis*, whereby, to appease the wrath of God incensed at that time against him and his people, for the manie corruptions growne in among them, he commaunded a fast to be held throughout his kingdomes. And besides sundrie other Councels, he called foure seuerall Synods for the reformation properly of the Church of Fraunce; namely, at Mence, at Paris, at Lions, and at Tolousa, there *to handle, discusse, and find out things belonging to Christian Religion: what the Prince, what the people held, either answerable or contrarie* *Concil. Aquisgra. 3. to. Concil.* *to the reuealed will of God: what had beene retained, what omitted, either in part or in whole: how the Clergie behaued themselues; wherein they erred and departed away from the rule of holie Scripture*: And in all this no mention made of the Popes authoritie.

Baronius maketh much of certaine Epistles, written about this time by a Monke of Greece, named *Theodorus*, with his complices in Idolatrie, to the Pope of Rome, by reason of the haut titles which he giueth him, magnifying him aboue all other Bishops. It were a verie sufficient answere to say, That this was a Monke, offended with his Patriarch of Constantinople for taking away his Images, and therefore no matter what he sayth. But yet examine we *Baron. an.* 819. *art.* 21, 22. *& sequent.* his letters: First he calleth the Pope, *Equall to the Angels*; Will *Baronius* abet *Coæquandum Angelis.* this flatterie? seeing that the Apostle to the Hebrewes, after the Psalmist, speaking of our Lord and Sauior Christ, saith, *Thou hast made him little lesser than the Angels*? How can he make the Pope equall to them, but as he is more than a man,

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

E

29. Progression.

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

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

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

Empire: So that of all the children, the Pope had eſpecially to deale with *Lotharius*, and his eldeſt ſonne *Lewis* whom he aſſociated in the Empire in the yeare
*An.*844. 844, and proclaimed king of *Italie*. In this yeare died *Gregorie* the fourth, who had alreadie begun to make his profit of their diſſentions. The Clergie and Senat of Rome immediatly after his death elected *Sergius* the ſecond, & conſecrated him,
Anaſtaſ. in Leo. 4. without expecting the Mandat of the Emperour: Though *Anaſtaſius* their owne Hiſtorian, in the life of *Leo* the fourth, ſucceſſor vnto *Sergius*, ſaith in expreſſe tearmes, *That the Romans durſt not conſecrate a Pope without authoritie from the Emperour*: Which he would neuer haue written, if that pretended Renunciation of *Lewis* the firſt, Emperor, had taken place. But *Sergius* making his hay in the Sunſhine of their diuiſion, went through with it. This is he, as *Platina* reporteth, that first altered his name; though *Onuphrius* attributeth it to *Iohn* the twelfth: alſo who firſt ordained, That no Biſhop might be conuicted but in the mouth of ſeuentie two witneſſes; and yet himſelfe put to death a certaine Cardinall Prieſt, and an enemie of his, called *Athanaſius*, vpon the teſtimonie of farre fewer witneſſes. Alſo this is he whoſe raigne is ſo foulely ſtained and blotted with deteſtable ſimonie: *He had*, ſaith a certaine Author of that time, *a brother called Benedict, and ſurnamed Brute, being indeed of brute behauiour, who growing vpon the weakeneſſe of the Pope, vſurped the execution and adminiſtration of all affaires, as well Eccleſiaſticall as Ciuile, and had by briberie and corruption obtained of the Emperour Primatum & dominium Romæ*, that is, as we interpret, *the chiefe place and gouernement of Rome*: *Shortly after he ſeiſed into his hands the Biſhopricke of Alba, marring all in euery place by his auarice and vaine behauiours. Aboue all, vnder this Pope and his brother Simonie grew monſtrous; Biſhoprickes were openly ſet to ſale, and they carried them who could giue moſt for them. Neither was there any Biſhop or other who led with the zeale of God, would deale with the Emperour for the reſtraint and reformation of this horrible abuſe. And this was the cauſe, why, ſeeing no Chriſtian ſought to redreſſe this ſinne, God ſent in Pagans to puniſh their tranſgreſſions. The Saraſens comming ſuddenly and vnawares vpon them, ſlew infinit multitudes of men, ſet fire on townes and caſtles.* And the Hiſtories from hence forward, are full of theſe calamities. But let vs looke backe and ſee what the Emperour *Lotharius* did.

Author. Coetaneus apud Vignerium pa. 214. & 215.

A B C D

Opposition.

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

Baron. vol. 10. an. 844. art. 5.

Oſculum ſanctæ pedis infixit. Anaſtaſ. in Sergio 2. Plat. ib.

A *ſhall not be opened vnto thee*. And when *Lewis* had graciouſly aſſured him of his good meaning, he cauſed the doores to be ſet open to him, and to the great ones that were about him: Yet did the whole armie alſo ruſh into the citie, to ſee it, and to viſit the Churches. So much had the Clergie of Rome alreadie preuailed by their diſſentions. The iſſue of all was, That *Sergius* anneled, crowned, and proclaimed *Lewis*; *Anaſtaſius* ſaith, *King of Lombards*; *Ado* and *Leo Hoſtienſis* ſay, *King of Italie, and Emperour*, with a joyfull acclamation of the people; and both *Platina* and *Sigonius* ſpeake after the ſame manner. And *Anaſtaſius* ſaith farther, That the Pope would not ſuffer the Romans to ſweare fealtie to *Lewis*, but only to the Emperor *Lotharius*: whereof other Authors make no difference. And a certaine Author of that time, in an abridgement of the hiſtorie, ſaith in expreſſe words, *That after many miſchiefes done vpon the people of Rome, they made them ſweare fealtie to the Emperour, and confirmed Sergius in his See againe*: as not holding his Title of the Popedome for good before, much leſſe of the Seigneurie of Rome. And *Anaſtaſius* doth not ſticke to tell vs, That the Popes authoritie was then and there queſtioned and debated: for, ſaith he, *Drogo Archbiſhop of Metz, and other Archbiſhops and Biſhops gathered together againſt this Vniuerſall Church, and Head of all other Churches, without the leaue of their Metropolitan, and did euerie day make new quarels againſt our moſt holie Pope and his Biſhops*. And if you aske who they were that joyned with *Drogo*, he telleth you, That they were *Gregorie Archbiſhop of Rauenna, Anguilbert of Milan, Ioſeph Biſhop of Iuree, Agin of Verona, Almaric of Coma, Norchauld of Verſeils, Saufredus of Rhegium, Tortingar of Concorda, Odelbert of Aqui, Ambroſe of Luques, Iohn of Piſa, Peter of Volaterra, Gauſpran of Piſtoria, Cancio of Sienna, Lupus of Textina, Siſimond of Apruſia, Pico of Scolana, Fratellus of Camerin, Giſus of Ferma, Racipert of Nocera, Amadis of Pinna, Donate of Friſoli, and others*; *and with them the Counts Boſo, Adelgiſus, Iohn, Guido, Vernard, Wifrid, Maurinus, and others*; that is, the better part of the Biſhops of all Italie. Inſomuch that *Anguilbert* Archbiſhop of Milan ſeparated himſelfe wholly from the Roman Church, which one of his predeceſſors had newly acknowledged ſome ſixty yeres before. And this ſeparation dured, as the ſequell of this hiſtorie will declare, two hundred yeres. *Sigonius* obſerueth this ſeparation, but concealeth the cauſe, which was the pride of that See, Simonie, & other diſorders there vſed in the time of *Sergius*. Beſides that, *Theodorus* Abbot of Fulden reporteth of this *Anguilbert*, That he was *much affectioned to the memorie of good S. Ambroſe*, whoſe liturgie continued in the Church of Milan at that day, and long after.

Ado Viennen. in Chron. Leo Hoſtien.

Anthor. Coetaneus apud Vignier. pa. 214.

B C D

To go on with the time, *Baronius* vpon the yere 839, produceth out of the Vatican a certaine Epiſtle of *Gregorie* the fourth, written to the *Biſhops of France, Germanie, of Europe, and of all Prouinces*: (he might haue made ſhorter work, and haue written to all the world:) wherein vpon the complaint of *Aldric* Biſhop of Mans, made of the wrongs done vnto him by the other Biſhops, he giueth them to vnderſtand, That according to the ancient Canons, an Appeale from them lay to Rome, or to his Legat *à Latere*; exhorting them in all haſt to take horſe and come away to him. This pretence of the Popes was no newes to them; and wee haue ſaid alreadie, That *Charlemaigne* was content to ſooth the Popes in their humor. But *Baronius* telleth vs not what became of this letter, or whether the Biſhops of France gaue way to this Appeale, or no: and it is verie likely, that no; for had there beene any thing for his purpoſe, or not ſomething againſt it, we ſhould haue beene ſure to haue heard of it.

*An.*839.

E

Baronius told vs before, That *Charlemaigne* diſpoſed not of the Empire, as proper-

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

Thegan. de geſt. Ludouici.

Namen & Imperium. Nitard. l. 1.

Helmold. l. 1. c. 4

30. Progression.

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

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

Anaſtaſ. in Leo. 4.

Opposition.

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

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

De Iuriſdictione Comitum.

Sigon. de Reg. Ital. lib. 5.

B And whereas there was one *Gratian*, a Maſter of the campe, and a man of great credit and authoritie, who ſought to ſow diſcord betweene the Temporall Eſtate and the Clergie, practiſing vnder hand to tranſlate the whole Empire backe vnto Greece againe; *Lotharius* hearing hereof, ſent to his ſonne *Lewis*, to march immediatly vnto Rome, and there to preuent ſuch inconuenience. And *Platina* reporteth, That *Leo* the Pope was accuſed as partie in this conſpiracie. But in the end *Lewis* hauing hanged one *Daniel*, who had falſely accuſed him, Pope *Leo* wrot to *Lotharius*, *That he did, and euer would obſerue the beheſts and commaundements of his progenitors:* Requeſting him withall, That the Roman law might ſtill take place, as *now and heretofore.* And we haue the extract of that letter in the Decret of *Gra-*

C *tian*, in theſe words, *De Capitulis vel præceptis imperialibus veſtris, veſtrorumq; Pontificum prædeceſſorum irrefragabiliter cuſtodiendis, quantum valuimus & valemus Chriſto propitio & nunc & in æuum modis omnibus nos conſeruaturos profitemur: Et ſi fortaſſe quilibet vobis aliter dixerit vel dicturus fuerit ſciat eum præcertò mendacem.* Where *Baronius*, after *Iſidore*, in ſtead of *veſtrorum q. Pontificum*, readeth *noſtrorum q.*, contrarie to the credit of all copies and gloſſes, onely to auoid *Leo* his tying himſelfe to the obſeruation of ſuch Edicts and Iniunctions as our kings ſhall make in the aſſemblies of their Biſhops in their dominions. And how farre kings of thoſe dayes proceeded in matters of this nature, we can learne no whence better than from the Decrees and ordinances of *Charles* and *Lewis*, and thoſe which we haue

D alſo of the Synod of Soiſſons, alledged by *Baronius* himſelfe, and called, *Capitula Caroli Calui, The Iniunctions of Charles the Bauld*; which concerned the whole policie and diſcipline of the Church. And the ſame *Leo* in another Epiſtle ſpeaketh to the Emperour as humbly as in the former: *In the proceedings of this cauſe*, ſaith he, *we haue done ſome things incompetently, not obſeruing in your ſubiects cauſes the ordinarie courſe of law: we are readie to reforme what euer is amiſſe, as you and your Commiſſioners ſhall thinke fit, &c. Wherefore we earneſtly intreat your clemencie and greatneſſe, That you would ſend ſome ſuch into theſe parts, to take knowledge of theſe matters, &c. and of all matters great or ſmall, which any man hath informed you of concerning vs, &c.* By which we may eaſily perceiue what hand the Emperor in thoſe

E dayes bare ouer the Biſhops of Rome. Yet *Baronius* confeſſeth, That *Leo* withſtood *Lotharius* and *Lewis* the Emperors, in the claime which they made to their right of confirmation vpon the election of Popes; and that hee preuailed ſo farre, that the election from that time ſhould be made *according to the Canons*; meaning that Canon by which they pretend, That *Lewis* the firſt, Emperor, renounced all right in the election: But for proofe he alledgeth naught but a Palea of the Decret, which is vnable to ſtand againſt the current of all Hiſtories beſides. And yet the words of that Palea import but this, *That betweene the Emperours and the Pope it was accorded, That the election and conſecration of the Biſhop of Rome in time to come*

Baron. an. 853. art. 17.

Capitularibus.

Capitulos.

ſhould

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

Hincmar. Epiſt. ad Charol. Ca. de Epiſc. Sylnaceſenſi. Idem ad populũ Bellouacenſem. Liberam & Regularem Electionem.

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

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

Ib. c. 34.

Idem in Epiſt. ad Hadrian. 2.

Luithpertus Epiſc. Mogontinenſ.

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

In Capite.

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

Leo. 4. ad Epiſt. Britan.

D. 2. ca. de Libellis.

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

An. 854.

Plat. in Iohan. 8.

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

Onuphrius ad Plat. in vita Johan. 8.

Rainulphus, l. 5. c. 32.

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

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

Sigibert. in Chron. an. 853.

Papa exiſtens.

Martinus Polonus.

Chron. Martin. Minorit. vlt. impreſſ. an. 1486.

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

Tell thou me when thou wilt be deliuered of a child, and I will tell thee when I will goe forth of this bodie.

This *Martin* liued about the yeare 1370. *Petrarch* was one who could well diſcerne betweene a hiſtorie and a tale, and was for the moſt part trained vp in the C Popes Court: he in his Chronicle affirmeth it as certaine, and as *Martin*, ſo he calleth her *Iohannem Anglicum*, i. *Iohn Engliſh, who* (ſayth he) *was a woman, and therefore not entred in the Catalogue of the Popes: adding farther, That ſhe was promoted to the higheſt honour of Prieſthood by a generall conſent.* And this *Petrarch* liued when the forenamed *Martin* did. *Bocace* alſo in his booke of illuſtrious or famous women, deſcribeth her, and repreſenteth in picture her trauaile, the Cardinals and Biſhops ſtanding about her in ſtead of midwiues: *and to this day* (ſaith he) *to continue the memorie of this vilanie, the Popes when they celebrate the Rogations with their Clergie and people, ſhun the place where ſhe was deliuered, which is in the middle of their way, and turne aſide to goe by narrow lanes.* Theſe were men too wiſe D to ſtuffe their bookes with ſuch relations, had they had no other author but *Martin*, though he a man not altogether to be neglected. And *Antonius* the Archbiſhop addeth farther, *That there was there placed an effigies of Marble, to continue the memorie thereof*: and thereupon crieth out with S. *Paule, O the height of the wiſdome of God, how incomprehenſible are thy iudgements, and thy wayes paſt finding out &c.* As for that which *Raimundus* bableth concerning the virgine *Marie*, it is too weake and fooliſh to auoid the authoritie of ſuch an author as *Antoninus* is. Likewiſe *Otho Friſinghenſis* in his ſeuenth booke, where he ſetteth downe the Catalogue of the Popes, he nameth *Iohannem VII feminam*, placing her in the roome E of *John* the ſeuenth, not of the eight, by the common error of Chroniclers in the number of thoſe who haue borne this name. To let paſſe the Chronicles of Ausbourg, *Raphael Volaterranus, Sabellicus, Philip* of Bergamo, *Matthæus Palmerius, Trithemius* in the life of *Luithprand, Iohannes Stella* in the liues of 230 Popes, *Nauclerus* Chancelor in the Vniuerſitie of Tubinge, *Albert Crantius* Deane of Hambourg, the *Faſciculus Temporum*, alias *Carthuſianus*; *Celtus Rhodoginus*, the ſupplement of *Iohannes Lucidus*, with ſundrie others: the moſt of theſe whom I haue named being Churchmen, and of great place in their times, I will onely content my ſelfe with theſe three verſes of *Baptiſta Mantuan* a Carmelite, who placeth her at the verie entrie into hell:

Petrarch. in Chron.

Boc. in lib. de claris mulieribus, c. 99. Anton. tit. 16. c. 1. § 7. Otho Friſingh. l. 7. Annales Auguſtani. Raph. Volaterran. in commen. in vrba. Sabellicus Ænead. 9. Phil. Bergo. in ſupplem. Matth. Palmer. continuator Euſeb. & Proſperi. Trithem. Naucler. General. Albert. Crant. in Metrop. in Catal. Pontif. Cæl Rhodo. l. 14. Antiq. Lectio. Continuat. John. Lucid. in Chron. Baptiſt. Mantu. l. 3. Alphonſ. Suffrid. Leonar. in Notis, in Mart. Polon. in Ed. Antuerp. an.

Hic 1573.

Hic pendebat adhuc, ſexum mentita virilem
Fœmina, cui triplici Phrygiam diademate mitram,
Extollebat apex, & pontificalis adulter.

And ſhall all this be rejected, by ſaying onely that *Martin* ſaid it? But let vs ſee what more *Onuphrius*, the Ieſuites, and *Baronius* himſelfe can ſay concerning this point. Their maine argument is, That we can find no ſpace betweene *Leo* the fourth and *Benedict* the third, to place *Iohn* the eight there. And we anſwere, let them ſubtract from the next precedent Popes the time which they haue added to them ouer and aboue the account of *Marianus Scotus*, and other auncient Chroniclers, and ſhe will not want a place to ſtand in: For *Onuphrius* giueth to *Sergius* the ſecond two moneths more than *Marianus* doth: to *Nicholas* the firſt he giueth nine yeares, ſix moneths, twentie dayes, whom *Marianus* maketh to ſit but eight yeare, nine dayes: to *Adrian* the ſecond he giueth foure yeares and eleuen moneths, whereas *Marianus* affoordeth him onely but two yeares. And ſo may *Onuphrius* eaſily caſt vp his account, and we find the totall of ours. So likewiſe *Hermannus Contractus*, to leaue no roome for this *Ione*, caſteth three yeares vpon *Sergius*, and nine vpon *Leo* the fourth: and ſo doe the reſt which are alledged by *Onuphrius*.

Secondly they ſay, That vnto the time of Pope *Formoſus*, that is for the ſpace of nine hundred yeares complete, there was neuer anie Pope choſen, who had not beene brought vp from a child in the Church of Rome, and riſen by degrees of Prieſthood or Deaconrie. We anſwere, let them reforme then the generall current of Hiſtories, which report, That *Conſtantine*, brother to the Duke of Nepete, was choſen Pope in the yeare 767, which was neither Prieſt, nor Deacon, nor Clerke, but tooke all his degrees in a day, and was conſecrated by the Biſhops of Prænеſte, Alba, and Port, and ſat one yeare and one moneth: ſince which time they cannot denie but that meere lay men haue beene elected Popes. Thirdly, they come to ſcan the words of the Hiſtorie of *Martin*: *Anglicus, natione Mogontinus*, an Engliſhman borne at Mence: What greater abſurditie ſaith he? But the abſurditie is their owne, and not the Authors, for *Engliſh* was her ſurname, not the name of her nation: and themſelues obſerue, that in the better manuſcripts it is written *Anglicus*, not *Anglus*. Neither did anie euer vnderſtand it otherwiſe, no not *Faſciculus Temporum*, where he writeth in this manner, *Some men* (ſaith he) *report, that they neuer make Popes of Germanes, which is falſe*. Beſides that, *Polonus* ſayth, a Margantine or Mangantine by nation, and by conſequent no Engliſhman. Fourthly they ſay, That *Martin* maketh her a ſtudent of Athens, whereas at that time there was no learning there, but barbariſme, prouing it by *Syneſius*, who ſo reporteth of it in his time. We anſwere, that *Syneſius* ſayth not there was no learning there, but not ſo much as he expected; and it was no ſmall matter that could adde to the learning of *Syneſius*: but it is apparent, that in Greece there were Vniuerſities, continuing manie yeares after, at Athens, at Theſſalonica, Conſtantinople, and a famous one in the Iſle of Chio, ſince that inundation of the Turkes: and in this verie time of which we ſpeake, *Zonaras* telleth vs, that *Michael Bardas* the Emperour reſtored learning there: and therefore as learning was not then in her heat at Athens, ſo was it not likewiſe cleane extinguiſhed. And whereas they ſay, that at this time there were no Lectures of Diuinitie at Rome (a goodlie commendation for the See of the pretended Head of the Church) we anſwere them, that this great ſcarcitie bred her the greater admiration. Fiftly, they

Syneſ. in poſtrema epiſt. ad fratrem.

they examine the circumſtances: *Martin* ſaith it was done as ſhe went from Saint *Peters* to the Latran; and the Popes (ſay they) at that time dwelt not in the Vatican. But we aske, whether then and a long time before S. *Peters* Church was not built, that ſo the Pope might goe from the one to the other in proceſſion? And then they ſay it is ſtrange, that in all thoſe nine moneths no bodie ſhould perceiue it. We anſwere, that there is nothing more common: but ſhould they not rather admire the iudgement of God, in proclaiming their abhomination by this myſterie? Sixtly, not being able to denie, that the Popes vſe to turne out of this way; they alledge a wrong cauſe of their ſo doing, ſaying, That if they went the right way, the ſtreets would be too narrow for the preaſe of people? We anſwere, that they who haue ſeene the place, know the contrarie: But *Platina* affirmeth it in thoſe words, *De primo non abnuerim*. For the firſt, I will not denie it, and the effigies erected vpon the place (as *Antonine* reporteth) auerreth as much, which the Ieſuites themſelues cannot denie: But willing to ſeeme more vnderſtanding than he, they would faine perſuade vs, that this is the pourtrait of a Prieſt going to ſay Maſſe, with the Clerke at his heeles. A man may well ſay, that this is *Raſura in loco ſuſpecto*: for what ſhould ſuch an Image make in that place? Seuenthly, for the cloſe ſtoole, they paſſe it ouer in a word, That this is an idle tale of the people; others ſay by way of Allegorie, that this is to ſhew the new elected, *that God raiſeth the poore out of the dung*. But for the matter it ſelfe, can they denie, but that the ſtoole is yet to be ſeene in the gallerie of the Palace of Latran, as they goe to the Chappell called *Sancta Sanctorum*, where the Conclaue was wont to be held while the Popes dwelt there? And as for the cauſe, if it were ſuch as they ſay, why then is there *a hole* in it? And why ſhould not we beleeue ſo manie Authors? And the verſes of *Iohannes Pannonius*, long before this controuerſie was riſen, doe they not teſtifie as much?

Erigit è ſtercore pauperem. Antiquit. de Fauchet, vol. 2.

Non poterat quiſquam reſerantes æthera claues,
Non exploratis, ſumere, teſticulis:
Cur igitur noſtro mos hic nunc tempore ceſſat,
Ante probat quod ſe quilibet eſſe mavem.

Meaning that now Popes vſe before hand to trie their manhood by their wenching and begetting of baſtards. Eightly they ſay, That *Zonaras*, *Nicetas*, *Cedrenus*, and others ſpeake not of it. We anſwere, that theſe Authors liued long after, and ſpeake principally of the affaires of Greece, and but ſleightly of them neither. And I would know, if in a matter of the Latine Church we ſhould alledge a Greeke Author, whether they would not preſently call vs to the Hiſtories of the Latines? And what wonder, if theſe idolatrous Monkes, ſhaking hands with the beaſtlineſſe of the Romane Church, were willing to conceale this ſhame? But *Laonicus*, a Greeke Author, was not ignorant of this report, though farre from ſuch affections. He deſcribing the election of Popes, as it was wont to be made in his dayes, writeth in this manner, *After that the voices are gathered, and the Pope declared, they keepe him that is elected in the houſe* (meaning where the Election is made) *if the houſe be otherwiſe fit for ſuch a purpoſe: and then pronouncing him Pope, they make him ſit downe in a bottomeleſſe chaire, to the end that ſome one appointed for this purpoſe may touch his priuities; whereby it may appeare that he is a man: For it is certaine, that there was a woman made a Pope, by error of her ſex, becauſe it is the faſhion of the Italians to weare their beards ſhauen:*

and this woman being beget with child, as ſhe went in proceſſion, was deliuered in the middeſt of her deuotion, in the ſight of all the people: And therefore to auoid the like inconuenience, and to be ſure of what they goe about, one toucheth the priuities of the Pope, and he that handleth them crieth out, Mas nobis dominus eſt, *i. We haue a male creature to our Lord and Maſter:* and ſo goeth on with the other ceremonies obſerued in that election. *Baronius* in the meane time is well holpen vp to ſend vs to *Remondus*, who ſayth, That all this was added by his interpreter *Clauſerus*, but without all authoritie or other proofe, ſaue onely that *Viginer* (who tranſlated him into French) hath indeed left it all out, in fauour of the Popes. But that they may not ſay that *Laonicus* onely of the Greekes reporteth it, I can bring you another, *Barlaamus*, a Greeke writer, in his Dialogue touching the Primacie of the Pope, maketh mention alſo of a ſtrumpet woman, who was made a Pope; yet *Onuphrius* followeth the chaſe, and *Baronius* commeth to the reſcue. And firſt he obiecteth, That *Nicholas* the firſt, which came ſhortly after this time, would not (writing to *Michael* the Emperour) haue ſaid ſo boldly as he doth, *Our predeceſſors of happie memorie, Leo and Benedict*, who had had a fit occaſion to run vpon him in tearmes, if anie ſuch matter had beene: So likewiſe had *Photius*, Archbiſhop of Conſtantinople, and a mortall enemie to the Pope of Rome. We ſay, that what anſwere the Emperour made him, we cannot tell for want of his Epiſtle, and for ought we know he did not ſpare to tell the Pope of one that was betweene thoſe his two predeceſſors. And it is likely that he did: for it appeareth by the replie which Pope *Nicholas* made vnto his anſwere, that he had ſtung him, ſeeing that he reproacheth the Emperour, *for beginning his letters with iniurious and opprobrious ſpeeches, againſt the mother of all other Churches*, and excuſeth himſelfe *for not anſwering to manie points of his letter, containing blaſphemie againſt the holie See, written* (ſaith he) *with the poyſon of a Serpent rather than with inke*, and that *therefore he choſe rather wiſely to contemne them &c.* And therefore we may thinke, that in ſo long a letter, or rather a volume, ſuch a matter as this could not be forgotten: and who knoweth not, that *Nicholas* (whom it concerned to ſuppreſſe the memorie of this infamie, and to raze it out of all Regiſters) was no wayes bound in his anſwere to name it anie more? Againe we ſay, That *Stephen* the fourth might well haue written, *Our predeceſſors of happie memorie, Stephen and Paule*, skipping ouer *Conſtantine*, who yet reigned a whole yeare and vpward, becauſe his Acts were all pronounced to be void, and his name razed out of the Catalogue. And *Baronius* himſelfe teacheth vs, That in the yeare 868 *Adrian* the ſecond, ſucceſſor vnto *Nicholas* the firſt, obtained of the Emperour *Baſilius*, ſucceſſor vnto *Michael*, that the booke of *Photius* might be ſent to Rome, in which that Epiſtle of *Michael* was contained, and which was by a decree of the Synod publikely burned, with all that which they had publiſhed againſt the See of Rome, to blot out the memorie thereof for euer. Againe (ſaith *Baronius*) it may be that *Marianus*, who firſt mentioned this ſhee-Pope, had heard ſay of one *Cyrillus*, a mignion of the Emperour *Michael*, whom he would oftentimes make to play the Patriarch in ſcorne of holineſſe and holie things, inſomuch that once he deceiued the old Empreſſe his mother; and that what was done at Conſtantinople he reported as done at Rome, that of a mignion he made a woman, and of this play of a Patriarch a ſhee-Pope. But how ſhould this poore Monke make ſo manie metamorphoſes? Who could tell him what paſſed in Greece? And ſeeing this mockerie of *Michael* was

Barlaamus in dialog. de principat. Pape.

Baron. vol. 10. an. 868. art. 39.

Baron. to. 10. an. 854. art. 9.

two

two hundred yeares before his time, whence ſhould he know it but by the Hiſtorie? Was the memorie hereof ſo freſh after two hundred yeares? If by the Hiſtorie, had he had none other but that of *Curopolates*, he might there haue found all theſe circumſtances, and conſequently could not ſo haue miſtaken the one for the other; for *Cyrillus* maiſter *Iohn*, for a male a female. And whereas it is ſaid, That in the time of *Marianus*, *Leo* the ninth in an Epiſtle which he wrote vnto *Michael* Patriarch of Conſtantinople, reproacheth him, for that contrarie to the Nicene Canons they elected Eunuchs to their See, and that there was a report, that they had alſo beene couſened with a woman; to ſay nothing that the moſt part of theſe Epiſtles are forged, what probabilitie, that *Marianus* hearing ſpeech of ſuch a thing done at Conſtantinople in his time, ſhould report it as done at Rome, ſo manie yeares before? And where was either his wit or his honeſtie, when he ſo preciſely quoted the yeares, moneths, and dayes? Or what meaned other men, when they ſo particularly ſpeake of her being with child, her trauaile, death, and other circumſtances? Let *Caſſius* his law take place, and let vs aske *Cui bono:* to what purpoſe to faine ſuch a tale of a woman, eſpecially Monkes, who wrote the Hiſtories for the moſt part of their owne times, and to whoſe truſt and keeping the report of theſe things was committed; ſeruants and creatures, as themſelues confeſſe, of the Pope? What ſhould they get by this report? Or rather what might they not feare for reporting it? Could they hope, that ſo prodigious a matter would euer be beleeued, vpon their relation, if the truth had not juſtified it ſelfe to all men? So manie circumſtances, ſo cleare, ſo preciſe, ſome of which remaine vnto this day, what fancie could inuent them? Or what could make them credible, ſaue onely the euidence of the truth? What ſhall we ſay of the Imagerie of the Popes, to be ſeene in manie of the greater Churches of Italie, namely at Siena, where ſhe hath her place among the Popes, where by a continued tradition euerie child can point at her, and tell what ſhe was. If you will ſay, that thoſe ſtatues were erected not paſt ſome two hundred yeares, was it not long ynough for Rome to take knowledge of it, being vnder her noſe, and to gaine ſay it, if it had beene falſe? Laſt of all *Onuphrius* ſayth, *That he is of opinion, that this tale proceeded from hence, That Pope Iohn the twelfth had manie concubines, and aboue the reſt, Ione, Raineria, and Stephania: and becauſe he ſuffered himſelfe to be led by Ione, and did what pleaſed her, ſome idle head or other inuented this tale of her.* But he whoſe occupation is to be an Annaliſt, doth he not remember, that there are an hundred yeares betweene? And what probabilitie to put *Iohn* the twelfth for *Iohn* the eight? And doth he thinke with this friuolous conjecture to ſhake the foundation of ſo manie proofes? And which is more, *Luitprand* whom he alledgeth, among all his concubines nameth no *Ione*, but *Raineria* he doth, whom he made gouerneſſe of manie Cities, and gaue her manie Croſſes and Chalices of S. *Peter*; and *Stephania*, who died in childbed of his doing, being brought to bed before her time: likewiſe one *Anna* a widow, and another which was his neece. As for *Ione*, which *Onuphrius* nameth firſt, there is no ſuch named in *Luitprand*, but *Onuphrius* hath foiſted her name in, onely to giue a colour to his owne inuentions. And now let the indifferent Reader be judge of this ſtrife betweene vs.

Baron. to. 10. an. 853. art. 58. Leo. 9. epiſt. 1. c. 23.

Luitprand. l. 6. c. 6. & 7.

31. Progression.

The attempts of Pope Nicholas vpon the Emperour Lewis, vpon Lotharius king of Lorraine, vpon the Bishops of France; and the small reckoning he made of holie Scripture.

*An.*855. YEt could not this shame make them let goe their hold; but the worser their game, the better face they set vpon it. *Benedict* the third then succeeded this *Ione*, and was inthroned without leaue asking of the Emperour, and thinking it ynough, if he sent him word afterward thereof: Whence followed that schisme of *Anastasius*, who was borne out by those of the greater sort and qualitie, and by the Emperour *Lewis*, at the instance of his embassadours: so that they were forced to returne to a new election, wherein *Benedict*, through the fauour of the people, was againe preferred in the election; and then followed, by the consent of the Emperor and in the presence of his Lieutenants, his confirmation. Whereby it euidently appeareth, That there was a meere nullitie in the first Act, for want of his authoritie. This *Benedict* liued not long, and did but little: but so soone as *Lewis*, sole Emperour now by the decease of *Lotharius*, and who had nothing to take vnto but onely Italie, heard thereof, knowing how neerely it concerned him, to maintaine this prerogatiue, he remoued presently to Rome, to assist at the creation of a successor: but found himselfe preuented, by a choise alreadie made of *Nicholas* the first, who, as the manner then was, had hid himselfe, to make the world beleeue that he was elected against his will; and was shortly after consecrated in the presence of the Emperour. This is he whom they vse to compare to *Gregorie* the Great, who indeed at the first entrance into his office made his hautie mind and itching humour sufficiently to appeare: For abusing either the deuotion or the present necessities of the Emperour, whose dominion was confined with the narrow bounds of a part of Italie, and that ouerlaid with the inuasion of the Sarasens, he was content to let him take his horse by the bridle at two seuerall times, and querrie-like to lead him aboue a bow shoot, as *Anastasius* himselfe reporteth; adding farther, That they kissed each other at their parting. But *Sigonius* in a more glorious manner, saith, *That the Emperour taking his leaue, kissed his holie foot*, and so returned into Lombardie. In the yeare 890 *Iohn* Archbishop of Rauenna set his old Title on foot againe, declaring, That he held nought from the See of Rome: whereupon he fell presently into suspition of Heresie; for greater Heresie than this knew they none in those dayes. *Nicholas* hereupon stirred vp some of his inferiour Bishops against him, who also made other complaints of him, whereupon he was depriued of his Bishopricke. *Iohn* in this extremitie fled vnto the Emperour, who mediated for him to the Pope. The Pope called a Synod at Rome, to heare and to sentence his cause in the presence of the Emperours embassadours: where he was condemned to acknowledge the Pope, to enter into a straiter band, and to take a more speciall oath (vnder paine of forfeiture of some good summe of money, as we haue said before) to him and his successors, once in euerie two yeares to visit the Court of Rome, if he were not hindered by sickenesse, or otherwise dispensed with by the Pope. This we learne out of Histories: and a certaine Author of that time telleth vs, That the ground of this rigorous proceeding, was, for that he seemed too familiar with the Emperor; and farther, That in despight of the Emperour, for that he had appeared in his cause,

Anastas. in Benedict. 3.

Idem in vita Nicolai 1.

*Sigon. de Reg. Ital. li. 5. An.*860.

Anastas. in Nicol. 1. Sigon. de Reg. Ital. li. 5.

A cause, his anger led him, vnder a colour of inspiratiō from heauen, to set the crown of the Empire vpon *Charles* the Bauld his head. Neither did the Pope stay here: It fel out, that *Lotharius* king of Lorraine falling in loue with a concubine of his, called *Waldrada*, whom he had of long time kept, desired to be rid of his queene *Thietberga*, and to marie her; and *Guntier* Archbishop of Collen, whether kinsman to *Waldrada*, as some report, or vpon what other respect I know not, assisted the king in this his purpose. Wherupon was a Synod assembled at Metz, where the queene made her apparance, and witnesses were produced to testifie a filthie incest betweene her and her brother; and she was thereupon separated from *Lotharius*, who shortly after, in another Synod at Aix, presented a bill, shewing the import-
B ance of hauing children to succeed him, and thereupon got leaue to take another wife, which was this *Waldrada*, the cause of all this quarell. Hereupon the friends of *Thietberga* began to stirre, among the rest *Hubert* duke of Mantiou, an allie of *Charles* of France, and vncle, though no great friend, vnto *Lotharius*: these complained to Pope *Nicholas*, who hasted to be dealing with a Prince that was faultie, finding himselfe to be backed by a puissant king of France; and thereupon dispatched an embassage to *Lotharius*, cited *Thietgard* Archbishop of Treuers, and *Gontier* of Collen, to appeare at Rome, to answer the separation which they had made of *Thietberga* from *Lotharius*; made them deliuer vp into his hands the whole processe of the cause in writing, by which they offered to shew, That they
C had done nothing contrarie to the Canons; called not long after a Synod of certain Bishops, without any summons giuen to the other, & there reuersed their sentence, declaring them to be degraded of all their Ecclesiasticall preferments; tearmed the Synod of Metz, An Assemblie of Theeues and Bauds. This done in the yeare 866, he sent *Arsenius* his Legat vnto Francford, to will *Lotharius* to abandon *Waldrada*, and to receiue *Thietberga* to his bed againe: and in case of default, declareth him, and all that followed him, *Excommunicat*: in so much that *Lotharius* durst not stand against him. This was the first act of Excommunication and Interdiction that euer the Popes exercised vpon our kings; animated thereunto partly by continuall jarres in the linage of *Charlemaigne*, partly by their faults,
D for which they stand registred in so many of the Popes Decrees, especially this *Lotharius*, *D. 63. c. Relatum est, & 2. qu. 1. c. Quæ Lotharius*, where he presumeth, writing to the Bishops of Italie, France, and Germanie, to vse these words (*The King Lotharius, if he may be rightly tearmed a King:*) And in the Canons, *Præcipuè & Ita Corporis*, 11. *q.* 3. 24. *q.* 3. *An non districta*, directed to his owne person. Yet may we see, that this *Nicholas* was moued to doe what he did, in zeale of policie rather than of religion; who at that verie instant tooke into his protection at Rome, *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders, which had rauished and carried away *Iudith* daughter to *Charles* king of France, writing to the king himselfe, and to *Hincmar* Archbi-
E shop of Reimes, and to the Synod of Senlis, in his behalfe; vntill in the end hee got the mariage to be ratified, & the parties to be receiued vnto fauor: not blushing to say, That a predecessor of his had done as much, in the time of *Lotharius* the Emperour: and that *a king must not thinke much to remit a small debt to his fellow seruant, who hath peraduenture himselfe need that that Master of Masters should acquit him of ten thousand talents*. It so pleasing him to shew his omnipotencie in his ouer-rigorous proceeding against the one, and his too great indulgencie towards the other. By these defaults of our Kings and Princes, the Popes grew bold vpon our Bishops, admitting of all Appeals made from them; so that if any one had beene legally condemned by his Metropolitan in a Prouinciall Synod,

Transiurano-rum Dux

Annal. incerti Authoris.

*Latrocinium & prostibulum. An.*866.

Nicol. Epist. 30. & 32.

if he Appealed to Rome, & made his Metropolitan a partie to the suit, he was sure A
to be heard, and his cause to be reuiewed, and his Metropolitan to be Interdicted,
if he appeared not to the summons: And seldome should you find the sentence
of a Metropolitan not reuersed, in fauour of the Appellant. One example for
all, of *Rothard* Bishop of Soissons, which Appealed from the sentence of *Hinc-*
2.q.6.c.Arguta. *mar* Archbishop of Reimes, who would not giue way to the Appeale: Where-
upon *Nicholas* wrote vnto him, *That hee should not haue beene so vnmindfull of*
the priuiledges of the Apostolike See, to whom the venerable Canons giue power to iudge of
the censures of the whole Church. Which Canons yet he could hardly haue found,
if he had beene put to seeke them. With like presumption wrot he to the Arch-
D.19.c.si Roma-nor. De Consecr. D.1.in Eccles. 17 q.4.c.Nemini. 25.q.2.si quis. 6.q.5.c.Quod bene. bishops and Bishops of France, *That it belonged to his See to iudge of the writings of* B
all Authors, and that what he reiected or approued, that also ought generally to be reiected
or approued of all. Likewise to the Clergie of Vienna, *That a new Church could not*
be built without his speciall leaue and licence had thereunto. And to all Bishops in ge-
nerall, *That no man, in regard of his Primacie, might offer to iudge of him, or to retract a*
sentence which he had giuen, vnder paine of excommunication. And in a letter which he
wrot to *Charles* the Bauld, king of France, he saith, *That what is once well decreed, may*
not afterward be called into question; with this limitation, *vnlesse it be in presence of a*
greater power: Innuendo, that this greater power was his own. This is bad ynough,
Baron. vol.10. an.865.art.13. & 14. but that which followeth is more horrible: And *Baronius* himselfe deserueth to
be commended for a steadie countenance, in not blushing when he reporteth it: C
For in an Epistle of his written to our Bishops of France, wherein he argueth a-
gainst those who wold not admit of all the Decretal Epistles which he produced,
meaning against *Hincmar* Archbishop of Reimes, and others; who for their de-
fence alledged, That they were not to be found in the Code of the Canons: he
is not ashamed to ranke them with the Old and New Testaments, making these to
depend of the same authoritie with the Decretals, or rather indeed to be subor-
dinat to them. A matter worthie the Readers obseruation: *For what,* saith he, *shal*
wee stand any longer to dispute, whether it ought to be done or no; meaning, whether
no Decretals ought to be receiued, but such as were in the Code of Canons: *For*
by the same reason we should not receiue the Old and New Testament; for neither the one D
nor yet the other is found in the Code of the Church Canons. As if those Testaments
tooke not their authoritie from the holie Ghost, who inspired them; from the
Sonne, who vsed them against the false Doctors, and Sathan himselfe; and from
the Father, who hath so liuely and so deepely imprinted his marke vpon them.
Anobis vtiug; testamẽtum iam esse recipiendũ. *But if,* saith he, *they shall replie* (for he maketh them as honest men, and as learned in
Diuinitie as himselfe) *That among the Canons there is one of Innocentius his making,*
by which it is ordained, That the two Testaments from this time forward ought to be re-
ceiued, though in the first Canons neither of them be receiued, I answer, saith he, *That if*
the Old and New Testaments are to be receiued, not for that they are in the Code of Canons,
but because Innocent hath decreed that they ought to be receiued, It therefore followeth, E
That the Decretall Epistles of the Popes ought also to be receiued, though not inserted in
the Code of the Canons; because it is manifest, that among other Canons there is one of
Pope Leo, wherein it is commaunded, to obserue all the Decretall ordinances of the Apo-
stolike See: So that if any man shall attempt any thing against them, he must know, that
there is no hope of pardon left for him. First then I aske, Had the Old and New Te-
stament no authoritie in Christs Church, but by vertue, and since the date of that
Decree of *Innocent*? Was the Church foure hundred yeares, and those the best,
because the first, without knowledge of the Scriptures? Secondly, Whether *Leo*
in

A in those verie words of his which *Nicholas* alledgeth, speaketh not onely, *De Eccle-*
siasticis ordinibus & Canonum disciplinis, i. *Of Church discipline and policie.* We see
then the small reckoning they made of holie Scripture, thereby to aduance the
credit of their owne Decretall Epistles. But no maruell, since he is not afraid to
attribute to himselfe the verie name of God, and that in a certaine Decree cano-
nized by *Gratian: It is plaine ynough,* saith he, *that the Pope can neither be bound nor* D.96.ea.Satis euidenter 7.
loosed by any secular authoritie, whom it is euident, that the godlie Prince Constantine
called by the name of God; seeing that it is a point without contradiction, That God cannot
be bound. For if the name of God be taken in both places in one & the same sence,
i. for the *Euerliuing God*, then he calleth himselfe *The true God*; if otherwise, then are
B there foure terms in his Syllogisme, & therefore it concludeth not, and so till there
is in his words either fraud or blasphemie. Adde we hereunto, That he is false in
his allegation; for *Constantine*, as all Historians report, spake those words of all the
Bishops assembled at the Councell of Nice: and by the same reason all they
were not to be judged by men, least of all by the Pope, who was not in that com-
panie, and therefore had no part in that saying of his, but onely as he was of their
Order. For *Sylvester* was at Rome whiles the Fathers were at Nice. And yet *Ni-*
cholas his successor attributeth those words to himselfe, in prejudice of, and ex-
cluding all other Bishops, to whom it was spoken. And the Glosse vpon that Ca- Glossib.
non well obserueth, That after this reckoning a *Bishop could not iudge his Clergie*
C *vnder him:* and we may say after him, That much lesse then may a Pope iudge
the Bishops. For, saith the Glosse, *this saying of Constantine is to bee vnderstood of* 11.q.1.c.Sa-cerdoti. Omnes Clericos
all Ecclesiastikes in generall; meaning in that sence in which Saint *Gregorie* speaketh,
saying, That *all Priests in holie Scripture are called sometimes Gods, and sometimes An-*
gels. The words of the Canon *Futuram*, though falsely attributed to *Miltiades*, 12.q.1.c.Fu-turam. Quorundam Clericorum.
are these, *Constantine the Emperour Presiding ouer the Councell of Nice*, seeing the
complaints of certaine Clerkes brought vnto him, said vnto them, *You can be iud-*
ged of none, because you are kept to be iudged by God alone, seeing you haue him called Gods:
and so they destroy one the other. Thus much for the Policie. As for the Doc-
trine, I haue elsewhere declared, That this was that *Nicholas* who most violent-
D ly put in execution the Law of *Celibate*, or Single life, among Church-men, threa-
tening Anathema to those which withstand it: whereof ensued much trouble in
the Westerne Churches. But before we proceed any farther, we must first see,
whether he carried all these attempts without resistance, or no.

Opposition.

And first as touching the Reduction of the Church of Rauenna to the obedi-
ence of the See of Rome: That Heresie for which the Archbishop was accused, Author Coetaneus in Appendice Historica.
is at large set downe by an Author of that time, in manner following: *The Empe-*
E *rour*, saith he, *not to surcharge with taxes those which had beene alreadie pilled and spoi-*
led by the Saracens, demaunded helpe of Rauenna and Venice, by their meanes to succour
Apulia by sea. At that time Iohn was Archbishop of Rauenna, who seruing the Empe-
rour in house, was verie familiar with him: Whereupon Pope Nicholas, moued with a
spirit of enuie, grew into great choler against him, and went about to call him to Rome by a
tricke, purposing, if he could catch him there, to conuent him in an Ecclesiastic all Court,
and to condemne him, and to put another in his roome. Iohn hauing a wind of this pra-
ctise, fled to the Queene Engilberta, who sent her embassadours to the Pope, requesting
him to receiue the Archbishop to his fauour. But failing in her suit, she humbly entrea-
ted the King her husband to receiue the Archbishop into his protection, and to stand be-
tweene

Inuadito Principe.

tweene harme and him, and to forbid the Pope to meddle with him. And becauſe the Pope had excommunicated him, without hearkening to the Prince, therefore was there great heart-burning betweene them, till in the end the Regall Honour ſtood vp againſt the Apoſtolike Dignitie; putting him in mind of the ancient lawes and ſtatutes of the Church, by which a Prelat might not excommunicat a Biſhop without the aduiſe of a Synod: and that the calling of a Synod did not belong to the Pope, but to the Emperour. Whereupon grew ſundrie damnages vnto the Pope: For in Romania and la Marche the Emperour

Ordines beneficiales.

beſtowed Church benefices vpon his followers, commaunding them to pay nothing to Rome, &c. ſeiſed of many of the Popes lands in Campania to his owne vſe, and of ſuch as were about him, &c. and in a word, by the aduiſe of the Nobilitie of Rome, eſtabliſhed in Rome one Arſenius for their Biſhop, a man of great ſanctitie, and much learning, Legat of the See of Rome, and gaue him for his aſſiſtant Iohn the Deacon, & chiefe Chancellor, and a Secretarie of his own, which afterwards was made Biſhop of Rieta. This was, as you ſee, all that damnable Hereſie which the Pope pretended, and this was the order which the Emperor tooke in Rome it ſelfe. So that, ſaith the Hiſtorian, when the Emperour ſaw fit time he came to Rome, where he was honourably receiued by great and ſmall: the Archbiſhop of Rauenna came alſo with him, not fearing the Popes threats; which ſtrooke yet a greater heat betweene the Emperour and the Pope. For the Emperor taking vp his lodging at Saint Peters Palace, and the Pope lying at the holie Apoſtles, when he ſaw that whatſoeuer he attempted againſt the Royall Dignitie came to naught, he appointed certaine Monkes and Nunnes (theſe were their old prankes) of the Monaſteries about Rome, who euerie morning, by way of deuotion, went ſaying the Letanie round about the walls, and ſinging Maſſes againſt bad Princes. The great ones about the Emperour vnderſtanding hereof, went to the Pope, entreated him kindly to forbid ſuch doings: but not able to preuaile with him, went their wayes diſcontent. It fell out ſhortly after, that ſome of the ſouldiers going to Paules, lighted vpon theſe Letanies, who through the inſtigation of the old enemie, were thereupon moued to choler, and in duetie to their Lord, reuenged them of theſe wrongs done vnto him, wounded many of them, and made all take their heeles and run away, caſting downe Croſſes and Images which they carried in proceſſion, after the manner of the Greekes, whereof ſome were broken, and others trampled vnder foot. The Emperour hereupon grew much offended, and the Pope ſomewhat calmer than before, and went to the Emperours lodging, to entreat for thoſe of his companie who had committed that offence, and hardly could obtaine for them. And from that time forward they grew more familiar than before: But the Imperiall authoritie was ſtill maintained at Rome. Thus we ſee how little he got by his Excommunication bolted out againſt the Archbiſhop of Rauenna. The Iniunction alſo which he laid vpon him, to come once in euerie two yeares to Rome, turned to his loſſe: for he ſaw indeed the Archbiſhop at Rome oftner than he was willing, becauſe he was euer borne out and maintained by the Emperour. But aboue all it troubled the Popes conſcience to ſee ſo great an authoritie ſo neere at hand, ouerſhadowing his own, as leſſe offenſiue when it was farther off: For, ſaith the ſame Author, whoſe verie ſimplicitie is warrant ynough for his truth and honeſtie, this Emperour, becauſe hee reſided ſtill in Italie, made himſelfe alwayes a neere neighbour to Rome, and exerciſed his authoritie to the full, being aſſiſted by the chiefe of the citie: who knew themſelues, and gaue alſo the Emperour to vnderſtand, the ancient cuſtomes of the Empire: perſuading him to reſume into his owne hands the Soueraigntie and commaund which in alder times belonged to the Empeours. Which no doubt he would haue done, but for the reuerence which he bore to the holie Apoſtles (which reuerence yet was ſuch, as that it pleaſed not the Popes:) For, ſaith he, whiles theſe matters ſo paſſed, the Biſhops of Rome ſent embaſſa-

A embaſſadors with letters to Charles the Bauld, king of France; requeſting him vnder hand to make a iourney into Italie: and becauſe he was in ſome ſort a Philoſopher, they requeſted him to lend a helping hand to S. Peter, and to deliuer his Church from bondage, as if it had beene oppreſſed by ſome forreine enemie.

As for his proceedings againſt *Lotharius*, we will not here enter into the merits of the cauſe it ſelfe: but you ſhall ſee the letters which *Gontier* Archbiſhop of Collen, and *Thietgaud* of Treuers, wrot to this *Nicholas*; wherin they complaine of his tyrannicall behauiours: *The Biſhops our Fathers, and our Brethren and fellow Biſhops, ſent vs vnto thee, and we of our owne accord went willingly to Rome, and preſented thee with the Acts of the whole proceſſe, requeſting thee, as a good Father, to reforme*

B *what thou foundeſt amiſſe in them, &c. And thou madeſt vs dance attendance twentie dayes, before euer we could heare one word from thee, much leſſe be admitted to thy preſence. After a whole moneths attendance thou ſenteſt for vs, we came in all haſt, without feare of harme, and thou cauſedſt vs to bee vſed like a companie of theeues; for ſo ſoone as we were entred within thy gates, they were preſently ſhut vpon vs, and we be-*

Paganorum.

ſet with a companie of raſcals: there ſaw we our ſelues deſtitute of all helpe, and thou cauſedſt vs to be debarred the vſe of all things both holy and humane. There, contrarie to all law, contrarie to the decrees and cuſtomes of our anceſtors, without calling any aſſemblie of Eccleſiaſtikes, no Biſhop, no Archbiſhop there preſent, not ſo much as thy ſelfe diſcourſing vpon our errour, either by way of argument, or by teſtimonie of witneſſe, or out of any

C *writing, hauing no bodie to ſit by thee but onely the Monke Anaſtaſius, a man long ſince conuicted and condemned for a common wrangler, thou diddeſt abruptly read out of thy paper againſt vs an vniuſt, a raſh and a wicked ſentence, repugnant to all Chriſtian religion, and diddeſt inſolently in thy words taunt and reuile thy brethren & fellow ſeruants. The euer-liuing Emperour of all hath ſet an incorruptible border of gold about the head of his Spouſe (the Church) he hath honoured her with an euerlaſting dowrie, with a diademe and ſcepter of immortalitie, hath giuen her authoritie to conſecrate Saints, to aſſure them of heauen, to make them of mortall immortall creatures: All which prerogatiues, Rob-*

ber as thou art, thou haſt violently reft and taken from the Church to appropriat them vnto thy ſelfe. Thou art a Wolfe vnto the Sheepe, a murderer of the liuing, and one which

D *thruſteſt men into hell, couering thy ſword all ouer with honie; ſo farre is it, that by thy helpe the dead may liue againe. Thou beareſt the ſhew of a Pontife, but art a verie Tyran; thou art in habit a Paſtor, in heart a Wolfe: Thy Title promiſeth vs a Father, Et tu te factis Iouem oſtentas, but in thy deeds thou carrieſt thy ſelfe as a god; thou calleſt thy ſelfe a Seruant of Seruants, and ſeekeſt by all meanes to become a Lord of Lords; and conſequently, according to the doctrine of our Sauiour, thou art the leaſt of all the Miniſters of Gods Church: who yet in thy ambition runneſt headlong to perdition, thinking euerie thing lawfull to be done which it luſteth thee to doe: Facuſq; factus es Chriſtianis, and art become a Waſpe vnto the Chriſtians.* What could theſe men haue ſaid more,

E vnleſſe in plaine tearmes they ſhould haue called him Antichriſt? ſeeing that they plainely allude to that place in the Epiſtle to the Theſſalonians, *Shewing himſelfe as if he were God.* But for concluſion of all, they adde yet farther: *For theſe cauſes,* ſay they, *we and our Collegues ſet not by thy commaunds, we care not for thy words, we feare not thy Bulls nor yet thy thunders: Thou damneſt all men as impious, which obey not thy Decrees, and forbiddeſt them to ſacrifice. But wee returne thy ſword into thy owne throat: thou which ſpitteſt in the face of our Lord Gods commaundement and decree, thou which breakeſt the vnitie and peace of our Chriſtian ſocietie, the verie badge and cognizance of the Prince of Heauen.* After this they come to his pretended Primacie: *The Holie Ghoſt,* ſay they, *is the author of all Churches in euerie corner of the world:*

The

The Citie of our God, of which we are free denizens, reaching to euerie point of heauen, and is greater than that Babylon, foretold by the Prophets, which vſurpeth vpon the Truth, maketh it ſelfe equall with heauen, boaſteth it ſelfe to be eternall, as if ſhe were God, falſely glorying, that ſhe neuer erred, nor can erre. This Epiſtle, related by an Annaliſt of theſe dayes, in the ſame ſence, though ſomewhat different in words, with this concluſion in expreſſe tearmes, *We care not for thy ſentence, as being a curſe vnaduiſedly pronounced, we will not communicate with thee, who doeſt communicate with the excommunicate; ſufficeth it vs to communicate with the whole Church, which thou deſpiſeſt, whileſt thou exalteſt thy ſelfe aboue it: Et elationis tumore* (the verie word long before vſed by S. *Gregorie*) *and by thy ſwelling pride and inſolencie haſt made thy ſelfe vnworthie of her, and haſt diſtracted thy ſelfe from her Communion &c. And know farther, that we are not thy Clerks, as thou braggeſt ouer vs, but thou ſhouldeſt take and account of vs as of thy brethren and fellow Biſhops, if thy pride would giue thee leaue:* They ſhould haue ſaid, Thy pride, which is vnſeparable from the perſon of him whom thou repreſenteſt at this day in the Church. And for the matter it ſelfe we may not omit, that this *Nicholas* in his letter, which we haue in the Decrete, ſayth, That he tooke knowledge of this cauſe of *Lotharius* (which gaue occaſion to all theſe ſtirres) as an arbitrator, by conſent of parties, and conſequently not as a judge founded in right of law or nature. And *Lotharius* himſelfe in his letters to Pope *Adrian*, who ſucceeded *Nicholas*, ſaith, That he committed this cauſe to him *Ad tempus & in parte*, and therefore not to vſe his abſolute authoritie herein, but onely ſuch as was committed by way of delegacie vnto him.

Annal. incerti Author. per Pet. Pythœum in vulgus editi.

Si elatio permitteret.

As for the attempts which Pope *Nicholas* made vpon our Biſhops, in reſtoring ſo farre as he could *Rothard* Biſhop of Soiſſons, depoſed before by his Metropolitanes, in the preſence and with the aſſent of his fellow Biſhops; *Hincmar* Archbiſhop of Rheimes telleth him his owne, *Whereas* (ſayth he) *your Benignitie hath willed me to aſſemble the whole companie of our brethren, and there, according to the tenor of your letters, to reintegrate Rothard Biſhop of Soiſſons in his former place: your Paternitie muſt know that I could not ſo doe for manie ſundrie reaſons, namely, becauſe he cannot be replaced but by the conſent of thoſe by whom he was depoſed, of which, a great part ſay they will not meddle with his reſtitution, becauſe they find not in him either life, or learning, or zeale, fit for that miniſtration: and that, whereas it was expected, that at leaſt he ſhould haue beene ſomewhat aſhamed of his depoſing, he was on the contrarie growne more refractarie againſt the holie conſtitutions, the regall dignitie, and the priuiledges of the Metropolitans, and liuing now more ſcandalouſly than before*; meaning ſince he had felt the ſupport, and taſted the ayre of Rome. And whereas *Nicholas* alledged to him the Canon of Sardica, he remonſtrated vnto him, That by vertue of that verie Canon the Biſhop of the firſt See ought not to reſtore a Biſhop of another Prouince depoſed, if he came vnto him to haue his cauſe reuiewed; but that he ſhould ſend him backe againe to his owne Prouince, to haue his cauſe reuiewed there, if the cauſe ſo required, for that (as in the Councell of Carthage was contained) the matter can no where be ſo well examined as in the place where the crimes objected were ſaid to haue beene committed: That if anie other courſe than this ſhould be held in the reſtoring of *Rothard*, the cenſures of Biſhops would be vilified and contemned both by the Clergie and by the people, who alreadie begin to ſpeake hardly of the Popes authoritie: and in a word, that he could not doe this thing without wrong not onely to the priuiledge of Metropolitanes, but alſo of all Eccleſiaſticall conſtitutions.

Ep. Hincmari Archiepiſcopi Rhemen. ad Nicolaum, apud Flodoardum.

Neither

Neither was there anie ſtronger beleefe in Germanie of the Popes not erring, than you haue heard in France; as appeared when he went about to eſtabliſh his Decree of Single life: For hauing directed it to *Vldaric* Biſhop of Ausbourg, with charge to put it in execution (not to rehearſe what he ſaid of the queſtion it ſelfe, which we haue elſewhere ſet downe more at large) he telleth him in plaine tearmes, *That he was deuoid of reaſon, vniuſt, and inſupportable: That hardly could the members of the bodie continue ſound, ſeeing the Head was ſo ill affected, ſo farre eſtranged from true diſcretion*, contrarie to the Euangelicall Inſtitution, contrarie to the foretelling of the holie Spirit, to the examples of manie holie men, and the common aduiſe of the wiſer ſort, exhorting him to remoue this *Phariſaicall, ſcandalous, and peſtilent doctrine* from the flocke of Chriſt: and the verie ſtile it ſelfe of this Epiſtle is a ſufficient warrant againſt all forgerie, to thoſe who know what belongeth to it.

This Pope *Nicholas* went yet farther: for *Michael Bardas*, vncle to the Emperour *Michael*, ſucceeding in the Empire, had diuorced his wife, and was married to his daughter in law: *Ignatius* Patriarch of Conſtantinople cut him off for this ſinne from the vnion of the Church. *Bardas* offended herewith, aſſembled a Synod, depoſed *Ignatius*, and put one *Photius* in his place: whereupon aroſe a mutinie in Conſtantinople, ſome holding for *Photius*, others for *Ignatius*. The Emperour, to ſtint this ſtrife, requeſted the Pope to ſend his Legats thither, who preſently diſpatched away *Rodoald* Biſhop of Port, and *Zacharie* of Anagnia, giuing them inſtructions withall, to ſet vp Images againe, and aboue all to get in, if they could, *his old patrimonie of Sicile and Calabria*. Theſe Legats, contrarie to his imagination (woon as it ſhould ſeeme by the Emperour) ratified the depoſition of *Ignatius*, and inſtallation of *Photius*. *Nicholas* fruſtrate of his deſire (which was vpon this occaſion to oblige *Ignatius* to himſelfe) diſauowed his Legats, and for exceeding the bounds of their commiſſion degraded them. Now in the declaration of this matter we are eſpecially to obſerue the anſwere which he made vnto the Emperour, who in his letters to him had ſufficiently made knowne vnto him, That he deſired not his helpe as to judge of a cauſe alreadie ſentenced, but onely for the more eaſie execution of the ſentence giuen, and for the more ſpeedie pacifying of the troubles enſuing thereupon: and it is great pitie that we haue not his letter at large, but muſt be content with ſo much of it as the Pope is pleaſed to alledge vnto vs. But we may by *Nicholas* his anſweres eaſily perceiue, that *Bardas* ſpake mainely againſt his Primacie, becauſe he is ſo earneſt in the defence thereof: *For* (ſaith he) *if they which ſit in Moſes chaire ought to be heard, how much more they who ſit in the chaire of S. Peter:* and will not ſee that a man may denie him the ground on which his argument is founded. And againe he telleth him, *That neuer anie Biſhop of Conſtantinople was depoſed without the conſent of the Pope.* How hard a matter had it beene for him to haue proued this aſſertion? For what conſent was euer required of them, other than as they were depoſed in Councels, where peraduenture the Popes Legats had their place as other Biſhops had? Or ſhould he not rather haue ſhewed, that at leaſt ſome one Archbiſhop of Conſtantinople had beene ordained by them? Thirdly, he alledgeth the Councell of Chalcedon, where it is ſaid (ſaith he) in this manner, *If a Clergie man hath a controuerſie, either againſt his owne Biſhop, or againſt anie other, let the cauſe be heard in a Prouinciall Synod: if a Biſhop or a Clerke complaine againſt a Metropolitan of the ſame Prouince, let him repaire to the Primat of the Dioces, or to the See of Conſtantinople.*

Nicol. ep. ad Michael. Imperator. to. 2. Concilior.

Who

Who would haue thought that the Pope had had such Logicke in store, to proue by these words, that men ought to appeale from Constantinople to Rome? Yet he concludeth, *What could the Synod* (saith he) *meane by the Primat of the Dioces, but the Vicar of the chiefe Apostle*? Now the Canon which he meaneth is the ninth Canon of this Councell, where it is said, *Diocesis* Ἔξαρχον, *Exarchum adeat, Let him goe to the Exarch of the Dioces*, not the Primate: where *Balsamon* teacheth vs, That Διοίκησις *or a Dioces contained more Prouinces than one, and consequently the Exarch had more than one Metropolitan vnder him, but that this power of the Exarchs is now no longer vsed in the Church*, and therefore from the Metropolitan the plaintife was to goe directly to the See of Constantinople. But *Nicholas* addeth farther, *Whereas* (saith he) *it is said, the Primat of the Dioces in the singular number, we must vnderstand it as if it had beene said, the Primat of the Dioces in the plurall: as it is said in the Scriptures, A fountaine sprung out of the earth, that is, manie fountaines &c.* What presumption is this to thinke, that the world will hold it selfe well apaied with such copper coyne? But with like impudencie doth he alledge the sixt Canon of the Nicene Councell, and the decrees of his owne predecessors for the Primacie of his See; witnesses, as a man would say, taken out of his owne bosome, and brought to testifie in his owne cause, such as were *Boniface, Gelasius*, and the rest. The onely thing which he alledgeth as pertinent and proper to debarre the Emperour from intermedling in Church matters, is this which followeth, *Before the comming of Christ* (saith he) *there were such as was Melchisedech, both Kings and Priests together, which the diuels also counterfeited, in as much as the Heathen Emperors were also high Priests; but since we are come to him which is the true King and Priest all in one, the Emperour hath not medled with the office of the Priest, nor the Priest with the title of the Emperour*: who, had he foreseene the vsurpations of his successors in possessing the seat of the Empire in Italie, and making themselues to be called and taken for no lesse than Kings of Kings and Lords of Lords, he would no doubt haue forborne this clause: for what followeth thereof, but that in this point they are like Sathan, *who by a tyrannicall inspiration would take vnto themselues both the one and the other*, as *Gratian* himselfe expresseth in his Decrete.

D.96.C. Cum ad verum.

32. Progression.

How Pope Nicholas flattered and iustified Basilius in the murder of the Emperour Michael, by his fauour to encrease his owne authoritie in the East.

Nicholas hauing sent away this goodlie dispatch to *Michael* by his Legats, *Donate* Bishop of Ostia, *Stephen* Bishop of Nepete, and *Marinus* a simple Deacon, died; and his Legats arriued at Constantinople at the instant, when *Basilius*, whom *Michael* had associated in the Empire, had traiterously murdered him, to take the Empire wholly into his owne hands: and much about that verie time it was, that *Nicholas* also departed this life, about the end of the yeare 866, or as other say in the yeare 867. After *Nicholas* succeeded *Adrian* the second, elected by the Clergie and people, without once calling the Emperours Lieutenants to the election, though then present in the Citie: And when the Lieutenants complained thereof, answere was made, That it was done in no contempt of the Emperour, but onely to shun an inconuenience hereafter, in attending and expecting his

An. 866.

his embassadors, if they should happen to be away. *Sigonius* sayth, *For feare least that by staying for the Kings embassadors for the choise of a Pope, there might some new right accrue vnto the King. Anastasius* saith it was *to prouide for time to come, least that by this meanes they should grow to a custome of staying for the embassadors*: which yet the Emperour, troubled at that present, what with the Sarasens abroad, what with secret practises at home, was faine to swallow. Meane while it came to passe, that *Basilius* offered himselfe to receiue the holie Communion, but was put backe by the Patriarch *Photius*, who declared vnto him, that hauing killed a man, and him an Emperour, with his owne hand, he had made himselfe vnworthie so much as to come into the Church. *Basilius* to be reuenged of this affront, resolued to call a Synod, and by his embassadors requested *Nicholas* to be present at it. The embassadors finding *Nicholas* dead, and *Adrian* in his roome, deliuered their message vnto him, who knew well how to make his profit both of this murder, and of the rage and choler of *Basilius* (as *Boniface* the third, one of his predecessors, had done before him, in the case of *Phocas*) it being naturall to all things to receiue their encrease in the same manner as they had their beginning: and therefore he continued those Legats before named, which *Nicholas* had sent. The particular clauses of *Adrians* letter to *Basilius* are worth the noting, *He* (saith *Adrian*) *which holdeth in his hand the power and authoritie of Kingdomes, hath from heauen set vp thy Empire at this time in earth, by which the Apostolike See might come to the end of that worke which it hath long since begun &c. Thou art another Salomon, who hast harkened to the words of God thy father, and hast not forsaken the law of thy mother*: and so goeth on, justifying his proceedings against the Patriarch *Photius*, who for his murther had barred the Emperour from the communion of the Church: all which tended onely to procure a Synod to be called, by the meanes of the Emperour, wherein *his Legats*, as he said, should preside, which to that day they neuer could get to doe in anie Generall Councell. And this is that Councell which they called the eight Generall Councell, wherein *Photius* was deposed, and *Ignatius* restored. And with what violence these things were carried, it may appeare by the verie preface, wherein the Patriarch *Photius* is tearmed *Lucifer*, and Pope *Nicholas* another *Elias*. But the carriage of this Councell is worth the obseruation, being such as it is described by *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, one of the embassadors, which was this: Pope *Adrian* had giuen instructions to his embassadors, taken from *Nicholas* the first, wherein was contained, what he would haue beleeued and decreed concerning the primacie of the Bishop of Rome, and the adoration of Images; with strict charge to admit none to the Councell, who had not first set his hand to Articles drawne to these two effects; which was so exactly put in execution, that whosoeuer would not set to his hand, was repelled from the Synod: and so was it no hard matter to carrie a cause, where there was no aduerse part to contradict him. And it is scarce credible, what absurdities these good Legats committed, or let to passe, onely that they might obtaine what they desired, making no scruple of anie blasphemie: wherefore they got this Decree to passe, *That none might write or speake against the Pope of Rome, vnder paine of Anathema: That if anie Generall Councell should assemble, and question should there happen to arise concerning the Church of Rome, the Church her selfe should be reuerently consulted thereupon: That they should receiue her answere, and doe accordingly, without passing anie bold sentence or decree, in preiudice of the soueraigne Pontifes of old Rome*: and this is the 21 Canon. And further note, that this is the first Generall Councell wherein the Popes Legats presided: which they mention

Sigon. de Reg. Ital. lib. 5.

Anastas. in Nico. 1.

Missi sui.

Anastas. in Adrian. 2.

Concil. vniuers. 8. sub Basil. Can. 21.

almost in euerie line, so great need had this wretched Emperour to seeke their fauour. And these you see were the meanes they vsed to set forward their authoritie in the East: neither were those anie better which they vsed in the West, namely in our Fraunce, where besides the continuall jarres which they alwaies maintained in the race of *Charlemaigne*, they euer cherished those Bishops, who were most engaged in them; namely the Archbishop of Bourges, vpon the controuersie which he had with *Hincmar*, and which was debated in the Synod at Troies in Champaine; alluring him by the profer of a Pall; and *Actard*, though not yet prouided of anie Bishopricke: to make them sure on his side against *Hincmar*, the defendor of the Liberties of the French Churches, whom himselfe in his letters commendeth for his sanctitie of life, *The renowme of thy sanctitie* (saith he) *is neuer without commendation:* and againe, *Perswade your selfe* (sayth he) *that we beare as great loue vnto you, as if we had conferred together a thousand times &c.* and yet ceased not to persecute him with all extremitie and violence.

Opposition.

But to returne to this, falsely so called, the eight Generall Councell; notwithstanding that *Basilius* were verie desirous to oblige *Adrian* to him, yet would he not forgoe his right in calling the Councell: for in the Preface thereunto he vseth these words, *The diuine bountie* (saith he) *hauing committed vnto vs the sterne of the vniuersall ship* (meaning thereby the Church) *we haue speciall care aboue all other thinges to breake the tempests of the Clergie.* Neither was this anie controuersed point betweene them: for the Bishops themselues there assembled in the sixt Action say, *That the Emperour crowned of God hath called this holie Generall Councell.* And in the seuenth, *He hath vsed all diligence* (say they) *to summon thither the Legats of the other Patriarchates, and hath so farre preuailed as to make it a Generall Councell.* And Pope *Stephen* himselfe in his letter to *Basilius, Wherein* (sayth he) *hath the Church of Rome offended?* Hath not she, according to the auncient custome of the Synods of Constantinople, *at thy commaund sent thither her Legats?* And thus much for the calling of it. As for the manner of proceeding, *Anastasius* telleth vs, That the Bishops hauing committed that grosse faule, in setting their hands vnaduisedly to the Articles, came weeping to the Emperour, and told him, That by their rubler in that they had put the Church of Constantinople in subiection vnder the Church of Rome: That all the Decrees of this Councell ought to be repised, that they would take out their bookes againe, that otherwise it was impossible to recouer their lost libertie. So that they got some part of their bookes againe, notwithstanding the anger of *Basilius*, who stood wholly for the Church of Rome. But the mischiefe was, that the Popes Legats forecasting this inconuenience, had gotten into their hands the papers of the most principall among the Bishops, wherein they vsed the helping hand of one *Sypon* the archminister, and of *Anastasius* himselfe. And hence it is, that the Grecians no waies hold this Councell as Generall, saying, That all things therein were carried by oppression and violence, and therefore they call the Councell of Florence, held fiue hundred yeares after, the eight vniuersall Councell, and that other a Prouincial onely, and called, not vpon anie question of faith, but onely to bring in the authoritie of the Pope for the deposing of *Photius* in fauour of the Emperour. And our *Aimonius* speaking of this Councell, according to the judgement, no doubt, which men had of it in Fraunce in those daies, speaketh in this wise, *Hauing* (sayth he) *assembled a Councell, which they that were at it called the eight vniuersall Councell, they*

To. 4. part. 11. editio. Venet. apud Binnium, part. 2. to. 3. pag. 886, 892, 900.

Te imperante.

Fouerius in vita Iustin. de obit. Synod.

A *they tooke away the schisme, concerning the deposition of Ignatius, and the election of Photius. restoring Ignatius, and pronouncing Anathema against his competitor. In this Synod they decreed concerning the adoration of Images, otherwise than the Orthodox Fathers had auncientlie defined: besides some thing which they there decreed in fauour of the Pope, in regard that he had concurred with them in the adoration of Images: some things also did they ordaine contrarie to the auncient Canons, and some things contrarie to their owne Synod, as he shall easily perceiue that will but take the paines to read this Councell:* yet was he a Monke that spake these words. And shall *Baronius* be admitted to say, that this was one of those old doting Frenchmen, which could not away with Images? yet can none of all these things be found now in the

Aimoni. Monachus, l. 4. c. 28.

Baron. vol. 10. an. 869. art. 59, 62, 63.

B Tomes of the Councels. And *Bartholmew Caranza*, a Iacobin, sayth, That he found the Latine copies of this Councell so false, that he knew not which to chuse, and that he could not find anie Greeke copie to correct them by: so that the case thus standing, they may put anie thing vpon vs. *Baronius* to proue vnto vs that this is one of the Generall Councels, telleth vs, That the Popes were wont at their election to take an oath for the obseruance of the Generall Councels, amongst which this is reckoned the eight in order. But who seeth not that they did so for their owne proper interest? and yet can he not pardon the Cardinall *Iulian*, who presided in the Councell of Florence, as Legat to the Pope, for that vpon the reasons vsed by *Marc* Bishop of Ephesus, he consented to haue this Coun-

C cell discarded, *I will free you* (saith he, speaking to the Greeke Bishops) *of this feare, there shall no one word of this Councell be recited &c.* And againe, *We care not for this Councell:* whereas, saith *Baronius, to goe from this Councell were to cast away both sword and buckler of the Church of Rome.* In which Councell yet there were but 101 Bishops, and all corrupted by *Adrian* and *Basilius*.

Now in stead of repressing the impietie of this Emperour, they made good vse of it; for, to make it yet more euidently to appeare, that they aimed at no other marke but onely at the greatnesse of the Clergie: in the 14 Canon it is thus ordained, *That Bishops should not goe forth to meet Princes, and that when they happened to meet with them, they should not alight from their Mules or Horses: That Princes and Em-*

D *perors should hold them as fellowes and equall to themselues: If anie Bishop shall liue base and meanely, or rustically after the old fashion, that he shall be deposed for a whole yeare: if the Prince be cause of his so liuing, that he be excommunicated for two yeares.* And the 17 Canon forbiddeth Princes and Emperours *to be present at Synods, vnlesse it be at generall Councels.* And the 22 *disableth them and all Laics whomsoeuer to be present at the election or promotion of anie Patriarch, Metropolitan, or Bishop, vnder paine of excommunication:* whereby no doubt the Popes Legats thought they had shut the Emperours of the West cleane out of their Conclaues, vsing one Empe-

E rour as a rod alwaies to scourge the other. As for the point of Appeales to Rome, they could not effect it: for the 26 Canon is plaine, *That who so findeth himselfe aggrieued with his Bishop, shall appeale to his Metropolitan, and from the Metropolitan to the Patriarch,* à quo litibus finis imponatur, *who shall make a full end of the controuersie:* and therefore meant not to run to Rome, as *Nicholas* would haue had them. And it was euen at the instant when the Articles were offered them to subscribe, that they made their protestation against them.

In this Synod there appeared yet another notable ambition of the Popes: for the Bulgarians being formerly Painims, receiued Christianitie in the time of *Nicholas*, who sent them Bishops for their instruction. *Michael* their Prince sent his embassadors to the Synod, who comming before them, *That we may not* (say they)

ſeeme to erre in our owne opinions, we deſire to be informed by you, which ſupplie the places of the Great Patriarches, to what Church we are to belong. The Popes Legats replied preſently, That they ought to belong to the Roman Church. The Bulgarians requeſted, That the matter might be reſolued and agreed vpon with the Legats of other Patriarches there preſent. The Romaniſts replied, That there was no more to be done with them: and therefore, without euer putting it to the Synod, pronounced abſolutely, That they muſt belong to Rome. The Eaſterne Biſhops put this queſtion to the Bulgarians, *When you firſt tooke the countrey*, ſaid they, *from whom tooke ye it? and the Prieſts which you found there, were they Greekes or Latines?* They anſwered, *That they tooke the countrey from the Grecians, and that they found there none but Greeke Biſhops.* Whereupon the Eaſterne Biſhops inferred, That they were doubtleſſe ordained at Conſtantinople, and ſo conſequently ſhould belong to that Church. Thereupon the Legats replied, That Churches were not bounded by the diuerſitie of tongues: That kingdomes and Sees differed in their juriſdictions: That they had the preſumption on their ſide, who had giuen them their firſt Biſhops: That all Epirus, Thaſſalie, and Dardania, had bin euer belonging to their juriſdiction. The Eaſterne Biſhops on the contrarie, demaunded vpon which of theſe they would principally ſtand. In the end the violence and pride of the Roman Legats ouerſwayed, who told the Synod, *That the Church of Rome held not that Councel for a competent Iudge of her controuerſies, who was her ſelfe, by ſpeciall prerogatiue, to iudge of all other Churches: That, decree they what them luſted, it ſhould be as little regarded, as it was lightly enacted: That from this preſent time, they, by the authoritie of the holie Ghoſt, pronounced a nullitie in whatſoeuer they ſhould decree, vntill the See of Rome had determined thereof.* And ſo the holie Ghoſt, who was to Preſide in the Councell, Reſided onely in their perſons. And they farther adiured the Patriarch *Ignatius*, by the authoritie of the Apoſtles and of *Adrian*, who had reſtored him to his See, not to ſuffer Bulgaria to be taken from them. Who made them a doubtfull anſwer, telling them, *That he was neither ſo young as to be lightly deceiued, neither yet ſo verie a dotard, as to do that himſelfe which he found fault withall in others.* And there reſted this conteſtation betweene them, being queſtionleſſe a great ſcandall to the conſciences of theſe poore conuerts, who ſaw at firſt that theſe men ſought not the enlargement of Chriſts kingdome, but of their owne juriſdiction; and iniurious to the Emperour, who offended with theſe proceedings, though diſſembling it, tooke no order for their paſſe and ſafe-conduct into their countrey: So that hauing been certaine dayes at ſea, they fell into the hands of the Sclauons, who ſtript them of all that euer they had, tooke away the original of the Councell, with the ſubſcriptions of the Biſhops, and left them nothing but the copie of *Athanaſius*; and had peraduenture loſt their liues, but that ſome of their companie eſcaping, the Sclauons feared the matter might come to light, and they one day receiue the like meaſure. The iſſue of all was, That doe *Adrian* what he could, the Bulgarians put out the Latine Prieſts, and ſent for others in their roomes to Conſtantinople; and ſo remained they in obedience to that Church. Whereupon they grew ſo odious to the Popes, that they called that ſinne condemned from heauen, after their name, Bulgarie, thereby to make them odious and abhominable to all men. And this was the end of *Adrians* enterpriſes in the Eaſt.

33 Pro-

33. Progression.

Of the attempts of Pope Adrian both vpon the Clergie and alſo vpon the kings of France.

LEt vs now ſee whether he ſped any better in the Weſt. *Hincmar* Biſhop of Laon, nephew vnto *Hincmar* Archbiſhop of Reimes, the moſt learned Biſhop of France, had ſurrendred certaine Church goods into the hands of *Charles* the Bauld, to beſtow them vpon a certaine Norman captaine, from whom he would needs ſhortly after take them away againe; and becauſe the Norman would not reſigne them, but into the hands of the king from whom he had them, therefore *Hincmar* excommunicated him: for which, in a Synod held at Vernons, he was reproued, and ſharpely cenſured: he thereupon appealed to Rome, but they refuſed to grant him any letters dimiſſorie; yet he continued ſtill in his ſtubbornneſſe, vntill at length there was aſſembled another Councel at Attigni, conſiſting of ten Prouinces, where he was againe condemned; and thereupon promiſed to ſubmit himſelfe to the good pleaſure of the king, and of *Hincmar* his Metropolitan and vncle: and yet vnder hand ſignified the matter vnto the Pope, procuring him to euocate the whole cauſe to Rome, and himſelfe to be ſerued with Proceſſe to appeare there at a day, making the beſt of his owne cauſe to *Adrian*. Whereupon *Adrian* wrot vnto king *Charles*, who yet would not licenſe the other to goe to Rome: and then did *Adrian* write him that bloudie letter, calling him *Tyran, periured, perfidious, and a ſpoyler of the Church goods:* and what not? And for concluſion, as well to him as to *Hincmar* the Metropolitan, *We*, ſaith he, *by authoritie Apoſtolike will and commaund, That thou cauſe Hincmar of Laon, and his accuſers, to come before our Clemencie, to the end that we may pronounce our ſentence of his cauſe.* And wee ſhall ſee anone how well he was obeyed. But not long after he made a farre more violent attempt vpon him. The Emperour *Lewis* hauing, as we haue alreadie ſaid, quietly ſwallowed the election of *Adrian*, made without calling his Lieutenants to it, made the Pope to like well of him, and gaue him an appetite to trie his authoritie ſomewhere elſe. It came to paſſe about this time, that *Lotharius* king of Lorraine died, and *Charles* king of France, and *Lewis* of Germanie, both vncles to the deceaſed, intending to ſucceed in his inheritance, *Adrian* ſet vp *Lewis* of Italie, Emperour; thundering more violently than euer had done his predeceſſor, wrot to all Kings, Barons, and Prelats of France, namely, to *Hincmar* of Reimes, *That none ſhould preſume to inuade or take vnto him the kingdome of Lotharius deceaſed, nor yet his ſubiects and vaſſals, becauſe*, ſaith he, *it appertaineth to the Emperour Lewis, his ſpirituall ſonne, by right of inheritance, and ought to fall vnto him by the others deceaſe. And if any officer ſhall preſume the contrarie, he declareth him Anathema, no longer to be called a Chriſtian, and to dwell for euer with the diuell, if he be a Biſhop, and hath in any ſort conſented thereunto, or winked thereat, declareth him to be no longer a Paſtor, but an hireling, and as one that hath no care of his ſheepe, depriued of his Paſtorall dignitie and honour.* Yet *Charles* hearing of the death of *Lotharius*, remoued into Lorraine, and being receiued by the Barons and Prelats there, as their lawfull king, was crowned at Metz, by *Hincmar* Archbiſhop of Reimes: So that *Adrian* purſuing his point, charged him by his Legats, vnder paine of excommunication to forbeare; and *Hincmar* to pronounce the cenſures of the Church againſt him, and to ſeparat himſelfe from him, and not to ſay ſo much as *Good morrow* to him. And

Aimon. li. 5. c. 24

this was a great way gone in a little time. But let vs see what answer our French made hereunto.

OPPOSITION.

Hincmar. Epist. ad Adria. Extant etiam apud Baron. an. 861. art. 93. & sequent. to. 10.

Hincmar therefore, Archbishop of Reimes, answered him, That as touching *Hincmar* of Laon, *He had no power, without expresse order from the king, to send him, or any other Bishop of his diocesse, to Rome, or to any other place, much lesse the Bishops of other Prouinces: and that himselfe, without leaue from the king, might not offer to set foot out of the realme.* The kings answer, though it be long, as taking vp, after his owne account, foure leaues of paper, and therefore not fit to be inserted into this discourse, yet shall it not be amisse to alledge the chiefe points, and principall causes thereof; which are as followeth: *We read,* saith he, *in the booke of Paralipomenon, That the children of Israel went forth to battell with a quiet mind, because they were not to fight in malice or emnitie for reuenge, but with a desire, & in hope of peace. And we let you to know, you which by letters your (little besitting the authoritie of a king, much lesse the humble modestie of a Bishop) haue disgraced vs by reproches, that you make vs write vnto you otherwise than we would; to the end that you may perceiue that we are a man, though subiect to mens passions, yet one that walketh in the Image of God, not void of common sense, raised to this kinglie throne by the grace of God, and by right of succession to our father and grandfather: and which is more than this, a Christian, a Catholike, an obseruer of the Orthodox and true religion, brought vp from our cradle as well in knowledge of the Scriptures, as in the vnderstanding of good and wholesome lawes, both Ecclesiasticall and Ciuile, not accused either Legally or Canonically in any Episcopall audience, much lesse conuicted of any publike and notorious crime; who yet haue not beene able to preuaile so farre by our honourable letters, as to receiue any reasonable answer from you, nor yet to haue that respect and due regard as was wont to passe betweene your predecessors and ours, &c. In the entrance of your letters you commend indeed our wisdome, but presently you charge vs (in shew more fairely, in effect more grieuously) with murmuring, repining, & grutching against your Fatherhood, with sundrie other reproaches and imputations. In your former letters you called vs Tyran, periured, and spoiler of Church goods, whereas we haue neither confessed any such thing against our selfe, neither by any course of law haue any such crimes beene proued against vs: And in this other which you haue sent by Actard, one of our Bishops, you accuse vs of murmuring and mutinie. For our owne part, we would not beleeue that those letters came from you, because the holie See hath euer beene woont to correct euerie man according to his qualitie and ranke, with good sobrietie and discretion. Now if we haue spoken euill, beare witnesse of the euill; but if well, why grow you into such choler against vs? Abraham could say vnto God, and God tooke it not in ill part, Wilt thou destroy the iust with the wicked; and yet you grow much offended, when we tell you, That you ought not to pronounce any man guiltie of a crime, without either confession of the partie, or conuiction by course of law, much lesse vse a king as a priuat person, and condemne him as conuicted. You are not ignorant, how great a sinne it is, to say vnto his brother, Racha; how much greater to say so to a king, both by the doctrine of the Apostle, and by the practise of Dauid in the person of Saul, though a reprobat from God? And yet in your letters you aduise vs, to receiue ioyfully, and with an humble heart, all that commeth from the Apostolike See of Rome: Is it your meaning then, that we should so wel relish these tearms of Tyran periured, and perfidious person: or must we needs say of you with the Poet,* Quicquid calcaueris, Rosa fiat, *Whereuer you tread red Roses grow? Or may we not rather say with the Prophet, Woe be to them which call that sweet which is bitter, &c. Or if we should hold our peace and winke at this, should wee not confesse our selues*

selues fallen from this royall dignitie, and from the communion of the Catholike Church, &c. Write you vnto vs things besitting our calling and yours, and then will we, as you did, receiue them with a willing and a thankfull mind. As for your letters, at least those which come vnto vs in your name, they euer charge vs with some fault, without either proofe, or enquest: yet the Apostle giueth you a rule in these cases; Argue, obsecra, increpa, Argue, beseech, reproue, in all patience and doctrine. And saint Augustine saith, That the Apostle would not that one man should condemne another vpon suspition, neither yet should vse to extraordinarie proofes, but rather after the law of God, and order of the Church, as her confessing of himselfe, or conuicted by his accusers. And afterward comming to the matter concerning Hincmar of Laon, You write, saith he, *vnto vs in your letters, in this manner, We will and command by Apostolike authoritie, that Hincmar of Laon appear before our clemencie, and that his accuser appear also with him, &c. a stile not vsed heretofore by your predecessors, when they wrot to ours. And although we perceiue, that you goe about to bring into the Church of God, in stead of the cleere light of simplicitie and humilitie, the thicke mist of the pride of this world; yet will we haue a better opinion of your will and meaning, considering that a man, as a man may doe that in hast which vpon better consideration he would willingly vndoe againe. But where doth your Secretarie find, That the Apostolike See may command a king, who by his office is a corrector of the faultie, a chastiser of offenders, and by all law, both Ecclesiasticall and Temporall, a reuenger of crimes committed, to send an offendor to Rome, condemned alreadie by due course of law, and according to the Canons, for his disorders, and one who before his depriuing was conuicted before three seuerall Synods, to haue endeuoured the disturbance of the common peace and tranquilitie: and since his depriuing hath persisted in his obstinacie, by himselfe and others, &c. Know therefore,* saith he, *as we haue alreadie written vnto you, That we Kings of France, and of royall ofspring, are not to be reckoned as Vidames and Vicegerents of Bishops, but Lords of the Earth.* And so goeth hee on to proue by the testimonies of holie Scriptures, out of the mouth of our Sauiour and his Apostles, and by the sayings of *Augustine, Leo,* and of the Synod of Rome it selfe, what is due from all men, and from Bishops themselues, to the royall dignitie. And, saith he, *if you search your offices, you shall find, that our auncestors neuer receiued any such commaunds from your predecessors; not Theodoric and Theodobert from Saint Gregorie, when he wrot for Vrcisin of Turin: But if,* saith he, *it be true* (to wit, that he was deposed contrarie to the Canons) *we intreat you, that of your owne accord, in reuerence of the Church and regard of equitie, you would be pleased to grant our request. Neither vsed he any other stile when he wrot to the Exarch* (who yet was inferiour to our ranke) *in the cause of Blondus Bishop of Ortona, whom the Exarch held prisoner at Rauenna: We cannot beleeue,* saith he, *that your Excellencie holdeth him there, without some probable cause: and therefore it is fit his cause should be heard in a Synod, to see whether his fault be such as may deserue deprivation, to the end we may put another in place. Thus spake he of Bishops not yet deposed for their crimes, and therefore iudge, Whether in the case of one which hath beene legallie and orderlie deprived for his enormities, by the iudgement of a Synod, he would haue commaunded vs as you haue done, Ve eum nostra fretum potentia Romã mittamus, That by our power we should send him to Rome. Saint Augustine saith vnto Ianuarius, All these things which are not contained in the holie Scriptures, nor ordained in the Councels of Bishops, nor confirmed by generall custome, I thinke fit they should be taken away. Where then did your Scribe find this law, which neither the Lord hath written with his owne finger, nor inspired to thee written, which he neuer ordained in the hand of a Mediator, which no Prince euer commaunded, no Christian euer proposed, nor any Church-man hath decreed: by which he commaundeth*

Non Vicedomini, sed terræ domini.

me

me to be a fauourer of a man condemned, and excommunicated by the Church; Me, I say, a King established by God, girt with a two-edged sword, a reuenger of the wicked, and defender of the good, when he bids me send Hincmar to Rome, one that hath broken the lawes, disgraced the Priesthood, and wronged the Royall Dignitie; a troubler of the State, a periured person, a mutiner, a scourge of his Church, sacrilegious, scandalous to the countrey wherein he liueth, not caring to crosse one of his deeds with another, nor to doe contrarie to his owne hand writing: and who seeth not that this law was vomited out of the bottome of hell it selfe, &c. But the holie Scriptures chalke vs out the way which we must walke, against such lawes: Christ, the power and wisedome of God, saith, By me Kings raigne, and by me Princes decree iust things. The holie Councels also shew what is to bee done, namely, that of Afrike, &c. Likewise the Emperours, Valens, Gratian, Valentinian, Iustinian, and others. Which lawes ought to be obserued, not onely by other Bishops, but also by the Popes themselues: which Leo the Pope writing to Leo the Emperour well acknowledged: so did Gelasius to Anastasius, as by their words may and doth appeare. And therefore, saith he, we hold vs to that: for the Lord telleth vs by his Prophet, That the lips of the Priest shall preserue knowledge, and men shall seeke the law at his mouth. And therefore you may not suffer any man in your name to write that to vs which is not contained either in the holie Scriptures indited by the wisedome of God, or at least in the holie Canons published by his spirit. For the Prophet saith to the Priest which commandeth, Thou shalt declare to them that which thou hast heard of me: Of me, saith he, not of thy selfe: and they are blamed who speake of their owne mind, because he that speaketh of himselfe, seeketh his owne glorie. Let no man in your name write vnto vs, visions, threats of excommunications, contrarie to the beaten way of the Scriptures, the writings of the Fathers, the sacred Lawes and holie Canons: For you know, and so doe we, that whatsoeuer is repugnant to this, is void and of none effect. It was said to S. Peter (saith S. Leo) To thee will I giue the keyes, &c. The right of this power passed to all the Apostles, and this decree to all the chiefe of the Church, &c. and consequently this prerogatiue of Saint Peter is common to euerie one which iudgeth according to the equitie of Saint Peter: For when it is said, Vbicunq; *as no place it excepted, so likewise is no Bishop which iudgeth according to the equitie of Saint Peter: As on the contrarie no Bishop is commended which iudgeth contrarie to the same,* He should haue said, no not the Bishops themselues of Rome. And whereas the Pope gaue order, That together with *Hincmar* should come a competent accuser, to haue the whole cause reuiewed in his presence, *Although, saith he, this be grounded vpon no reason, yet if you thinke Hincmar to be lawlesse, and if your Emperour my nephew will be content, that I shall passe through Italie to Rome, I will not faile to be there, so soone as by the grace of God I shall be able to set my realme in some good order against the Painims. And because my selfe accused him in open Synod, I will be there in person, a competent accuser against him in many causes: and we will bring so many and so great accusers of all sorts with vs, that we will very sufficiently proue, that he was lawfully and orderly accused and conuicted. To conclude, because you haue ouershot your selfe in what is alreadie past, we now entreat you for the honour of God, and in reuerence to the holie Apostles, that from hence forward you send no such mandats either to vs or to our Prelats, or to the great men of our kingdome: least we be enforced to dishonour them, and those which bring them. Which we tell you of beforehand, for the honour of your priuiledge, because we desire to be obedient vnto you in all things that are fitting, as vnto the Vicar of Saint Peter. But you must also take heed, that you driue vs not to take that course which is both approued and commended in the fift generall Councell, concerning the Apostolike authoritie, and in the Synodall Epistle of Saint Gregorie to the foure Patriarches, and the foure precedent Epistles* (all which treat of the ordering and limiting of Ecclesiasticall powers and iurisdictions:) *which we would not insert into these our letters, till we might see whether we may bend you to mitigat the rigour of your commaunds: For looke what is sent vnto vs in the name of the See Apostolike, according to the holie Scriptures, and the preachings of our aunce stors, and the Decrees of the Orthodox Fathers, we know we ought to follow: But what euer commeth besides, come it from whom it will, we know how to reiect and to controll it. Last of all, if in this answer there be any thing misbeseeming me or you, you haue forced me thereunto.*

Such were the letters which passed betweene king *Charles* the Bauld, and *Adrian* the second, though he had giuen him not long before some hope to make him Emperour, *though any other would giue him bushels of gold:* offering him indeed an Empire, but as he did in the desart, vpon condition, That he would fall down and worship him. And this *Charles* was he which, a few yeares before, first made a breach vpon the liberties of the French Synods, when about the yeare 853, hauing held a Synod at Soissons, two or three yeares after he sent the Acts thereof to *Benedict* the third, thinking onely to gratifie him, and neuer considering vnto what consequence his successors might draw the same. Our French Bishops wrot much after the same maner, & vpon the same argument, vnto *Adrian*, being assembled in Synod at Douſy: wherein they call him *Primæ Sedis Papam*, complaining, That they were vtterly mistaken, and casting the fault vpon his multitude of other businesses, that he had not more maturely considered of their Acts, which were in all points agreeing with the holie Canons.

Baron. vol. 10. an. 871. art. 79.

An. 853.

As for the Excommunication which *Adrian* thundered out against this *Charles*, we could wish we had his owne Epistle in answer to it; but *Hincmars* the Archbishop of Reimes we haue, who receiued command from the Pope to pronounce it, and we will here produce the principall clauses thereof. And first of all, hauing complained of many grieuous reproofes and menaces receiued, he declareth vnto him, That he had imparted the tenor of his letters to the great ones and Prelats of the kingdome; and which was more, had caused them to be openly read in an assemblie of Bishops of France and Lorraine, and had shewed *Lewis* king of Germanie the aboue mentioned letter, wherein he was commaunded by *Adrian*, to excommunicat by his authoritie, all those who attempted any thing vpon the kingdome of *Lotharius* deceased: *I vnderstand, saith he, that like letters haue beene sent to the glorious king Lewis, and to the great ones and Bishops of his kingdome, which you, who are his naturall borne subiect, should best know.* But comming afterwards to the matter, he letteth him to vnderstand, That he is informed by diuers, that the two kings had agreed to diuide this kingdome equally betweene them; without which the people had long ere this beene vp in armes: That therefore hee knoweth not what to doe, seeing he must either disobey his commaund, or disallow of the treatie and accord made betweene the two kings. That whereas he saith, That no man better than himselfe knoweth the great wrong which *Charles* doth herein, he plainely telleth him, That in case he did know, yet would hee not thereupon doe any thing, seeing that *Charles* confesseth no such matter of himselfe, neither standeth he legally or canonically conuict thereof: But rather protesteth, and many there are which beare him witnesse, That this part of the kingdome of Lorraine, was by the consent and assent as well of the Bishops as of the great ones of the Empire, giuen him by his father *Lewis*, and confirmed to him by oath by his brother *Lotharius*. That therefore he taketh that Canon of the Councell of Afrike to be spoken to him as well as to all other Bishops: whereby men are forbidden to lay a crime to a mans charge, which he is not able to euict by proofes: because,

Qui de regno eius est.

becauſe as S. *Auguſtine*, who was there preſent, ſaith, *Manie things are true, which* A
yet a Iudge may not beleeue without ſufficient prooues: That he hath no power to put anie man from the Communion for a crime, neither confeſſed by the defendant nor proued by the informer: That otherwiſe they ſhould make themſelues both iudges and accuſers, which were not lawfull; alledging for his authoritie the rule of the Apoſtle, and the practiſe of the Church, with ſundrie places out of *Auguſtin*, *Gelaſius*, *Boniface*, and others. And whereas he is charged by him as a partaker or rather author of this vniuſt inuaſion, becauſe he held his peace, and ſtirred not as he was commaunded, his anſwere is, That *Adrian* ſhould remember that it was written, *The cauſe which I vnderſtood not, I ſearched out with diligence*: and that *Gregorie* ſayth, That God, to whoſe eyes all things are open, yet in the verie caſe of B
Deſcendum & videbo. Sodome ſayth, *I will goe downe and ſee*, to teach vs to be well informed before we beleeue a fault. And whereas he commaundeth him to ſeperate himſelfe from *Charles*, and not to bid him ſo much as *Good morrow*, whereas yet he deſireth to be receiued to the Communion of *Adrian*, that this toucheth him to the heart: and that manie men of great ſort, both ſecular and Clergie, now met at Rheimes, hauing heard this commaund, ſay, that the like was neuer heard of to be ſent from Rome, though in their dayes there had beene warres before this time, not onely betweene confederat Kings, but alſo betweene the brothers, and betweene the father and the ſonnes: That for his owne part he muſt needs thinke, that this diſpleaſure is befallen him for his other ſinnes, ſeeing it fareth better with ſome o- C
thers, who haue not doubted to call *Charles* into the kingdome of Lorraine: That for the reſt, the Parliament of that kingdome ſayth, That Popes and Biſhops excommunications are no titles to claime kingdomes by: That the Scripture teacheth, that this right belongeth vnto God, by whom Kings reigne, and who giueth them to whom it pleaſeth him: That the Pope cannot be King and Biſhop all at once: That therefore he ſhould doe well to leaue the diſpoſing of ſtate matters vnto them, and not commaund them to take a king from a farre off, who cannot be at hand to helpe vpon all occaſion againſt the Painims; this being a yoke which the Popes neuer before layed vpon the neckes of their anceſtors, and ſuch as themſelues could not beare, ſeeing they were commanded in holie Scripture, D
for their heritage and libertie, to fight while the breath was in their bodie: That one needeth not to tell them, that a Biſhop who excommunicateth a man contrarie to law, loſeth the power which he had of binding: That none can take heauen from anie man, ſaue onely from him which loſeth it by his ſinne: That for earthlie reſpects none can take away the title of a Chriſtian, or lodge with the diuell him for whom Chriſt died, to free him from the bondage of the diuell: That therefore if the Pope deſire peace, he ſhould do well to ſeeke it by quiet meanes, becauſe they neuer meane to make it an Article of their Creed, That they cannot come to heauen vnleſſe they will receiue for their King him whom he ſhall appoint them here in earth: *And* (ſaith he) *manie ſuch like inconueniences they ſhew* E
vnto vs, as murders, ſeditions, warres, all which will enſue, if we goe to infringe the accord already made betweene the Kings; not ſparing to vtter threats againſt your ſelfe, which I will not rehearſe, and ſuch as, if God giue them leaue, they purpoſe to put in execution: neither can my excommunication, nor the ſword of anie humane tongue ſtay the King and his Barons from the courſe they haue ſet to run. Thus it pleaſed this great Prelat to let the Pope vnderſtand his mind, as in the words, and vnder the name of the Great ones; which he could not handſomely doe in his owne. Laſt of all concerning himſelfe, That being in the kingdome of *Charles*, and in the chiefe Citie

A Citie of his dioceſſe, whether the king and all the princes of either kingdome vſed to reſort, he might not offer, like an hireling, to leaue his flocke, and to goe hee knew not whither: And that therefore he would attend vpon the king and ſuch as were about him, to the end he might paſſe his time in quietneſſe with his flock: and that the king ſaith, His predeceſſors haue had this power, which hee will not forgoe for any excommunication whatſoeuer: and that therefore it behoueth the Biſhops, himſelfe eſpecially, to conſider how they carrie themſelues towards the king, ſeeing that *Auguſtine* expounding that place of the Apoſtle, ſaith, *That the Apoſtle teacheth, that euery ſoule muſt be ſubiect to the higher power, and that we muſt giue to euerie one that which belongeth to him, tribute to whom tribute, cuſtome to whom*
B *cuſtome appertaineth, &c.* This letter thus written, with the aduiſe and counſell of all the Biſhops aſſembled at Reimes, was ſent to *Adrian*, who died the yeare following 872, and ſo the quarrell ended.

34. Progression.

How the Pope conferred the Empire vpon Charles the Bald: and of the donation of Conſtantine.

C After *Adrian* the ſecond, according to *Platina* his account, ſucceeded *Iohn* the ninth (according to thoſe who reject the ſhee-Pope, *Iohn* the eight) in the yeare 873, and in the yeare 875 died the Emperour *Lewis* without iſſue: where- *An.* 873.
fore *Charles* of France and *Lewis* of Germanie began to ſtirre, and Italie her ſelfe was not quiet, one calling *Charles* the Bald of Fraunce, and others *Charles* the Groſſe, ſonne to King *Lewis*; and ſome there were who faine would haue eſta- *Sigon. de Reg. Ital. lib. 5.*
bliſhed the Empire in Italie; and theſe were the Earles of Tuſculana, who at that time ſtrucke a great ſtroake in Rome. He of France was firſt in a readineſſe, who *Aimoni. li. 5. c. 32. & 33.*
euer ſince the dayes of *Nicholas* the firſt had entertained ſecret intelligences in Italie: he therefore ſent embaſſadors to *Iohn*, with great preſents and greater promiſes, aſſuring him, That vpon condition he will ſet the Crowne of the Empire
D vpon his head, he would protect the Church from all wrongs, and leaue the Seignorie of Rome wholly in his hands. *Iohn* who could better brooke a foreiner than a neighbor, and a ſtranger than a domeſtike Emperour, who peraduenture would haue dimmed his light by a greater luſtre, bid him come and welcome, and at his comming to Rome receiued and crowned him Emperour. *From that day forward* (ſaith *Sigonius*) *the title of the Empire began to be a meere feoffement of the Popes, and* *Sincerum Pontificis beneficium.*
the yeares of the Empire to be reckoned from the day wherein they receiued their conſecration from the Popes. But a certaine Author of that time addeth farther, *That Charles of France comming to Rome renewed his conuenants with the Romanes, gaue vp* *Eutropij Continuator.*
into their hands the rights and cuſtomes of the kingdome, with the reuenues of manie
E *Monaſteries, giuing them moreouer the countries of Samnium and Calabria, with all the townes belonging to Beneuent, with the Duchie of Spoleto, and the two Cities of Tuſcanie, which the Duke was wont to hold, Arrezzo and Chiuſi: ſo that he, who before that time commaunded in Rome for the Emperour, was now become as ſubiect vnto them, quitted them from expecting the preſence of his embaſſadors, at the election of their Popes. To be ſhort* (ſayth he) *he accorded what euer they demaunded, as commonly men vſe to be liberall of what they haue ill gotten, or feare they ſhall not long keepe.* That which made *Charles* the more pliant to the Pope, was, that *Lewis* of Germanie inuaded him in his owne perſon in France, and ſent his ſonne *Charles* the Groſſe to croſſe his deſignes

ſignes in Italie. *But* (ſaith that Author) *this is certaine, that from that day no King* A
or Emperour euer recouered the ſtate and Port of a King in Italie, for want ſtill either of
skill or of courage, and by reaſon of the great contentions and daily iealouſies among
them. Here the Hiſtorians and *Sigonius* himſelfe obſerueth, that whatſoeuer the Emperours, predeceſſors of *Charles*, gaue vnto the Pope, yet they euer reſerued to themſelues *the Proprietie, Soueraignetie, and Lordſhip*, euen ouer the Exarchat and Duchie of Rome it ſelfe: which rule began now to faile in *Charles*, though his ſucceſſors ſometimes redemanded their auncient prerogatiues and rights: alſo that vntill this time the Empire euer paſſed as hereditarie from the father to the ſonne, and the ſuruiuor euer ſeiſed of the Empire by the death of the deceaſed. So *Charlemaigne* ſucceeded *Pepin*, ſo after *Charlemaigne* ſucceeded *Lewis*, af- B
ter *Lewis*, *Lotharius*, and after him *Lewis* the ſecond. So alſo vnto this time their crowning and facring by the Archbiſhops of Milan for the kingdome of Lumbardie, and the Biſhops of Rome for the Empire, ſerued onely for pompe and ſolemnitie. But this Pope *Iohn* tooke aduantage of the preſent neceſſitie of *Charles*, and performed this ceremonie in farre different tearmes, as well in a Synod at Rome, as afterward at Paris: where hauing commended *Charles* the Bald, and ſpoken as much honour of him as *Adrian* the ſecond had villanie and wrong; and told the people, that this was formerly reuealed from heauen to *Nicholas* the firſt, trencheth ſmooth, *And for this cauſe* (ſayth he) *haue we in the preſence, and by*
the ſuffrage of all our brethren and fellow Biſhops, and of all the Senat and people of C
Rome, choſen him, and approued of him &c. and according to the auncient cuſtome haue
with all ſolemnitie aduanced him to the ſcepter of the Romane Empire &c. and at his vnction abuſed the words which the Prophet had once vſed vpon our Sauiour Chriſt, *We annoint him* (ſaith he) *with oyle without, to ſignifie thereby the vertue and*
force of the inward vnction of the holie ſpirit, with which the Lord God hath annoin-
ted this his Chriſt aboue his fellowes, in imitation of the true King Chriſt our Lord, ſo
that what he hath by nature, this purchaſeth by grace. It came to paſſe that *Charles* was no ſooner returned into France, but preſently the Earles of Tuſculana, chiefe of whom was Marqueſſe *Albert*, confederated themſelues againſt this *Iohn*, aſſiſted by *Formoſus* Biſhop of Port, and others: So that the yeare following 877 he D
was faine to ſend the Biſhops of Foſſembrona and Senogallia vnto him, to entreat him to repaſſe with a power into Italie, as well againſt the Earles of Tuſculana, as againſt the Saraſins, and for his greater encouragement aſſembled a Synod at Rome, where he curſed all thoſe who in deed or word ſhould oppoſe againſt the election or conſecration of *Charles* to the Empire. But the miſchiefe was, that paſſing the Alpes he fell ſicke of a feauer, for which he tooke a certaine pouder of *Sedechias* a Iew, his phyſition, whereof he died. It is worth the remembrance which *Rhegino* reporteth of this *Iohn*. *Adalgiſus* had kept the Emperour *Lewis* the ſecond priſoner at Beneuento, whence he could not get free, but vnder deepe oaths. *This Lewis* (ſaith he) *came to Rome, and there calling an aſſemblie in the* E
preſence of the Pope, complained of the tyrannie and wrong vſed vpon him by Adalgi-
ſus, whereupon the Senat proclaimed him a Tyran, and enemie to the State, and grew to
open hoſtilitie and defiance with him. Yet remained there a ſcruple in the Emperors conſcience, by reaſon of his oath: *Iohn* vndertooke to remoue it, and his ſucceſſors ſince that time haue often followed his example. *Pope Iohn* (ſaith he) *by*
the authoritie of God and of S. Peter, abſolued the Emperour from the oath with which
he ſtood obliged, aſſuring him, that what euer he did or ſaid to ſaue his life, needed not
to trouble him, and that it might not be called an oath which he tooke, though with neuer
ſo

Rhegino in Chron.

A *ſo manie curſes vpon himſelfe, if it were contrarie to the weale publike?* (O how ſhould the verie Heathen haue made him bluſh in the like caſe!) *By theſe and the like re-*
monſtrances (ſaith he) *the Emperour was encouraged to make freſh warres vpon him:*
yet fearing leaſt his ſubiects (more religious than the Pope) *ſhould reckon him a for-*
ſworne and periured Prince, he went not himſelfe in perſon, but ſent the Queene againſt
him. Theſe were euen in thoſe dayes the deuiſes of the Court of Rome. We haue manie times alreadie ſpoken of that goodlie donation of *Conſtantine*: and it ſhould ſeeme that it was forged at this time during the canuaſſing for the Empire betweene the two *Charles*, the Bald and the Groſſe, the vncle and the nephew, when the vncle purſued ſo hotly the fauour and furtherance of the Pope:
B and we haue a great Author for it: For not to ſpeake of the ſtile, which ſauoreth wholly of this age, *Otho* the third, Emperour, in that Patent which we find taken out of the Treaſurie of the Popes Charters, in a certaine chamber of the Cordeliers of Aſſiſa, before mentioned, ſpeaking of this donation, *Theſe are* (ſayth he)
meere inuentions forged by the Popes themſelues, by whoſe direction Deacon Iohn, ſur- *Johannes Digitorum.*
named Long-fingers, wrote a graunt in letters of gold, and in the name of Conſtantine
the Great hath publiſhed a packe of lies, as if they had beene graunts of great antiqui-
tie. Now if you will know when this *Long-fingers* liued, *Trithemius* telleth you, that it was in the time of *Charles* the Bald, and *Iohn* the ſeuenth, and he wrote the life of *Gregorie* the firſt in foure volumes; and *Platina* himſelfe ſayth, that he was
C afterward created Pope, vnder the name of *Iohn* the ninth. So that it is no great wonder if *Baronius* in his third Tome, to qualifie the hainouſneſſe of this deed, ſayth, That this donation, becauſe it was tranſlated by Deacon *Iohn* out of a corrupt Greeke copie, is therefore doubtfull rather than to be approued: but in his twelfth Tome he flatly calleth it *a forged, baſtard, and counterfeit deed*. And the ſame *Otho* ſpeaking againe of this donation, ſayth, *That they are lies when they af-*
firme that anie Charles euer gaue that to S. Peter which belonged to the Emperour: For we
anſwere (ſaith he) *That this Charles* (meaning the Bald) *could not lawfully diſpoſe of*
anie thing by way of gift, ſeeing that before ſuch graunt made he was alreadie routed in
the field, and put from the Empire by a better Charles (meaning the Groſſe:) *wherefore*
D *he gaue what was none of his owne to giue, but that which he poſſeſſed by violence for the*
preſent, and had no hope long to keepe. And of this routing of *Charles* you may read farther in a French Chronicle now lately publiſhed by *Pithaus*. And farther, this good Prelat *Iohn* learnedly fetteth downe the admirable vertue of the Pall or Mantle, when he ſent him to *Wilibert* Biſhop of Colen, hoping by his commendation to raiſe the market, *The vſe of this Pall or Mantle* (ſaith he) *among other rare* *Iohan. ep. ad Willibardum epiſc. Colonienſ.*
qualities hath this ſpeciall vertue, that ſo ſoone as it is beſtowed vpon anie man, preſent-
ly it taketh away all imputation of faults formerly committed: not that the mantle doth
purifie from ſinnes, but becauſe the care of him which beſtoweth it ought to be ſuch, that
he will not beſtow it but vpon one that is cleare from them alreadie: and therefore he from
E *whom this gift is taken away*, i. to whom it is denied, *is but an imperfect man, and per-*
fect can he not be on whom this holie aid is not beſtowed for a confortatiue. But ſeeing that it is now indifferently beſtowed vpon all, where is that care, and conſequently that vertue which is pretended?

Opposition.

Charles enjoyed but a while this benefit of the Pope, in which time yet he made a great breach in the imperiall authoritie. We read in *Aimonius*, That he appoin- *Aimoni. lib. 5. c. 32, 33.*
ted a Synod *at Pontigon, by the aduiſe and counſell of Iohn Biſhop of Tuſcanie, and Iohn*

Biſhop of Arezzo, the Legats of Pope Iohn, and Anſegiſus of Sienna, by the authoritie Apoſtolike, and his owne ordinance. Thus they began, contrarie to the auncient cuſtome, to joyne the Emperour and the Pope together. In this Synod *Charles* by vertue of a Decretall Epiſtle of *Iohn*, went about to conſtitute and appoint *Anſegiſus* Primat, with this authoritie which followeth, *That ſo often as the profit of the Church ſhould require, whether for the calling of a Synod, or for the diſpatch of other Eccleſiaſticall affaires in France and Germanie, he ſhould preſent the Popes perſon, and ſhould acquaint the Biſhops with the decrees of the See Apoſtolike, and ſhould report vnto the Pope what had beene done or not, by vertue of them, and vpon great and important cauſes ſhould conſult the ſaid See.* Our Biſhops requeſted, that ſince the letter was directed vnto them, they might haue a ſight of it; which the Emperour refuſed to graunt, being ſuch perhaps as he was aſhamed to ſhew it: he vrged them only to ſay what anſwere they made to theſe Apoſtolike commaunds, and their anſwere was, *That they willingly obeyed thereunto, prouided that no Metropolitan be thereby preiudiced in his rights contrarie to the Canons, and the decrees of the Popes themſelues, auncientlie pronounced according to the Canons.* And though the Emperour and the other Legats preſſed them verie earneſtly for the primacie of *Anſegiſus*, yet could they get no other anſwer from them; only one *Frotharius* Biſhop of Bordeaux, who had skipt from Bordeaux to Poictiers, and from Poictiers to Bourges, through the meere fauour of the Prince, made ſuch anſwer as he thought would beſt pleaſe the Emperour: who much offended with the anſwer of the others, ſaid, *That the Pope had committed his place in the Synod vnto him, and that he would make them vaile bonnet to him.* And thereupon taking the Popes Epiſtle, folded vp as it was together with the Legats, deliuered it to *Anſegiſus*, and preſently cauſed a rich chaire to be ſet before all the Biſhops on this ſide the Mounts, next vnto *Iohn* of Tuſcanie, which ſat next aboue him on the right hand, and bad him ſit there, aboue the other Biſhops, though his ancients; the Archbiſhop of Rheims *proteſting openly, that this was contrarie to the Canons.* But the Emperour perſiſted in his purpoſe: and when the Biſhops a ſecond time requeſted a ſight or a copie of the Epiſtle, they could not obtaine it. Our Biſhops not long after met againe without the Emperour, where were great debates betweene them, becauſe of certaine Prieſts, who out of ſundrie pariſhes had recourſe to the Popes Legats; and ſo this meeting broke vp likewiſe. A third time alſo they aſſembled in the ſame place, whither the Emperor ſent vnto them the Popes Legats, newly come ouer, which brought from the Pope vnto the Emperour *a ſcepter and a ſtaffe of gold, and to the Empreſſe gownes and bracelets, all ſet with pearle.* Theſe when they came rebuked the Biſhops, for not appearing the day before: but they holding them alwaies to the Canons in their anſweres, made them giue off hot words; yet the Legats ſtill vrged them to accept of *Anſegiſus* for their Primat: they anſwered in generall termes, That they would obey the Popes decrees as their predeceſſors had done the decrees of his predeceſſors. So that the Emperour came thither in perſon and in great ſtate, clothed after the Greeke faſhion, with a crowne vpon his head, accompanied with the Legats, all attired after the Romane faſhion, and there made *Iohn* Biſhop of Arezzo openly to read, *Quandam ſcedulam ratione & authoritate carentem, A certaine paper without authoritie or reaſon: which done, there were certaine Articles dictated, and ſet downe in writing*, without conſent of the Synod, *each croſſing the other of them, without profit, reaſon, or warrantie: and therefore* (ſaith the Author) *we haue thought fit to omit them*: and at laſt, *after manie complaints, as well of the Emperour as of the Legats, concerning the Primacie of Anſegiſus, he went away, hauing done as much at*

A *at the end of the Synod as he had at the beginning.* So much was this Prince ouertaken with this fatall Cup, more dangerous to him than was that other of *Sedechias*, of which he died; ſo obdurate was he againſt his owne good, hauing his eyes dazeled with vaine ſhewes, and colourable illuſions for the preſent: on the contrarie, ſo cleare-ſighted were our Biſhops of France in theſe affaires, deſcrying a farre off how great a ruine would one day enſue of this ſmall-ſeeming breach made vpon the liberties of their Church.

35. Progression.

B *That Pope Iohn was the firſt which graunted Indulgences for the dead.*

After the death of *Charles*, the Earles of Tuſculana got the vpper hand in Rome, and in the yeare 878 clapt Pope *Iohn* vp in priſon, for excommunicating them: but *Iohn* by the helpe of his faction found meanes to eſcape, and came by ſea into Prouence, whence he was conducted to *Lewis*, ſurnamed the Stammerer, ſonne to *Charles* the Bald, who then lay at Troy: where he aſſembled a Synod of French Biſhops, and made them to confirme and ratifie the excommunication which he had hurled out before againſt his enemies; and there alſo was *Formoſus* in perſon depriued of all Church dignities, and oath taken of him C neuer to returne to Rome, or to his Biſhopricke: but aboue all, they two bound themſelues, the Emperour to aſſiſt the Pope againſt his oppoſites, the Pope to crowne him Emperour; which he did in Fraunce, with great ſolemnitie: and ſo they parted. *Iohn* at his returne found the Saraſens at Rome gates, and ſhortly after had tidings of *Lewis* his death, ſo that now he was faine to caſt about againe, and to take a new courſe; which was, to caſt the Empire vpon *Charles* the Groſſe, King of Germanie, who was the firſt that entred Italie with his armie, (and this was the third whom he had crowned Emperour) vpon promiſe, That he ſhould protect the Church from all her enemies, eſpecially from the Saraſens: but vnder the generalitie of enemies were principally comprehended the Earles D of Tuſculana. And not long after, in the yeare 882, died Pope *Iohn*, who beſides that which hath beene alreadie ſaid, left other goodlie examples behind him: for we learne by a certaine Epiſtle of his to *Charles* the Groſſe, *That he adopted for his ſonne Prince Baſon, to eaſe him of his worldlie cares, that he might the more freely attend vpon the ſeruice of God.* Whereas S. *Peter* in the execution of his charge neuer needed a Prince for his coadjutor, much leſſe a ſwaggering captaine. Alſo he was the firſt that euer preſumed to graunt Indulgences to thoſe which were alreadie dead, or hereafter ſhould die in battaile againſt Painims and Infidels: his words are theſe, *Being demaunded by our Biſhops of Fraunce, Whether thoſe which were alreadie, or hereafter ſhould die in defence of the Church, might haue* E *indulgence and pardon of their ſinnes, we anſwere boldly* (ſaith he) *By the goodneſſe and mercie of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that the Reſt of eternall life is prouided for them.* If ſo, what need then of ſo manie Suffrages of Saints, Requiems, and oblations euer ſince? And he proueth what he had ſaid by the example of the theefe vpon the Croſſe, which went ſtreight to Paradiſe: and yet to make the world beholding vnto him concludeth in this manner, *We* (ſaith he) *by the interceſſion of Saint Peter the Apoſtle, who hath power to bind and to loſe in heauen and in earth*, Quantum fas eſt, *ſo farre forth as we may by law, doe abſolue them, and commend them to God by our prayers.* The miſchiefe was, that whoſoeuer would not doe whatſoeuer he

An. 878.

Balbin.

An. 882.

Iohan. epiſt. 9.

Iohan. ep. 144.

would haue them, was cenſured to be diſobedient to the Church, and conſequently a Heathen man and a Publican; and therefore all Martyrs, whoſoeuer happened to die in their quarrell againſt ſuch Chriſtian Princes or States whatſoeuer: and ſo did he meane it, of all thoſe who aſſiſted him againſt the Earles of Tuſculana. And this is the point wherein *Baronius* ſhould haue noted *the wiſedome of the fleſh* in *Iohn*, by reaſon whereof he ſayth, that he was puniſhed of God, and forſaken of all the Princes whom he had flattered, or rather (as we ſay) abuſed.

Opposition.

Pope *Iohn* during his abode in France, produced a certain Patent, as of a donation made by *Charles* the Bauld to the Pope, of the Abbie of S. *Denis*; which was thought to haue beene forged by the Biſhops *Frotharius* and *Adalgarius*, to take the ſaid Abbie by this meanes out of the hand of *Gauſſelin*. But, ſaith the Author,

Aimon. l. 5. c. 37 *Hoc argumentum ſicut factio & non ratio, imperfectum remanſit*, i. *This claime, as ſauouring more of faction than of reaſon, remained in the ſuds*: neither was any thing effected therein, notwithſtanding the authoritie and preſence of the Pope. Likewiſe when it came to our Biſhops eares, that the Pope there preſent had giuen his conſent, That blind *Hincmar* Biſhop of Laon, in deſpight of *Hincmar* Archbiſhop of Reimes, ſhould ſing Maſſe, that is, ſhould be reſtored to his charge; preſently the Metropolitans and Biſhops of other Prouinces, to ſhew that he was not to hold his reſtitution as from the Pope, came ſuddenly and brought him into the Popes preſence (without expecting any order from him) attired in his Prieſtlie robes and ornaments, and thence carried him ſinging to the Church, and there made him giue his benediction to the people, and all in a full Synod.

This was the end of that variance and ſtriſe betweene the two *Hincmars*, the vncle and the nephew; he of Laon appealing to the Pope from his depoſition, the other refuſing to admit of ſuch Appeale; borne out a while by our kings in the defence of our Church liberties, forſaken afterward by *Charles* the Bauld and his ſonne, both ſtooping at the lure of the Empire, and yet he ſtill perſiſting in his cauſe with the other Biſhops euen to this laſt Act. Which yet *Baronius* vſeth for an argument to proue his purpoſe, and maketh a myracle thereof. Here he runneth out vpon *Hincmar* of Reimes, filling whole pages with this diſcourſe: and yet, poore man, what euill had he done? onely this, That he would not, ſaith *Baronius*, accept of the Popes Decretals farther than they agreed with the holie Councels. Which is, as he ſaith, *Profiteri pariter & diffiteri*, i. *To ſup and blow all in a breath*: Would God there were no greater ſinne in the world. And what, I pray you, hath our Colledge of Sorbona taught elſe now ſo many yeares? Yet *Baronius* afterward giuing his iudgement of him, *If*, ſaith he, *we will weigh him in an indifferent ballance, for his knowledge in the Canons, Planè dixeris eruditiſſimum, You would ſay, he was exactly skilfull in them, although ſometimes he fauour them too much, in preferring them before the Decretall Epiſtles of the See Apoſtolike.* And what wonder if a Councell be preferred before a ſingle man? And *as touching his knowledge in Diuinitie*, ſaith he, *we find him to haue beene moſt exquiſitly learned therein, as may appeare by that which he wrot againſt the Heretike Godeſcalcus, concerning Predeſtination.* And thus much for our Weſterne part of the world.

In the Eaſt, *Nicholas* the firſt and *Adrian* the ſecond laboured to make their market of that treacherous murder of *Baſilius*, by depoſing *Photius*, and reſtoring *Ignatius*, all to gratifie and to content the Emperour: in ſo much that *Adrian*, what with

with blowes, what with money, got in the end Appeales to be made from thence to Rome, though the Synod neuer aſſented thereunto. But *Iohn* who ſucceeded them, by an act of his, vnawares daſhed all which they had done. *Ignatius* reſtored to his See, gaue not that content to all as was expected; the Emperor *Baſilius* alſo found him not ſo pliant to his humor as he hoped; neither yet Pope *Iohn*, becauſe he would not let goe the Churches of Bulgaria, as he deſired, whereupon he menaced him with a flaſh of Excommunication. *Ignatius* happening ſhortly after to deceaſe, *Baſilius* affected to reſtore *Photius*; and becauſe he was depoſed by authoritie from Rome, ſent vnto *Iohn* to reſtore him to the communion of the Church, and conſequently to his See: and the rather to moue him, propoſed to him great reaſons, and no leſſe promiſes withall: That by this meane he ſhould make a finall end of quarels in the Eaſt: That the Biſhops themſelues which were ordered by *Ignatius* and his faction, thought it fit and neceſſarie: That otherwiſe new troubles would daily ariſe in the Church: That if he would giue way thereto, he would furniſh him with a nauie to gard the coaſts of Tuſcanie and Campania from the Saraſens, and would make *Photius* ſurrender the Churches of Bulgaria into his hands. Ambition, or rather, becauſe *Baronius* will haue it ſo, *the wiſdome of the fleſh, enemie to God*, carried away this good Prelat, in ſuch ſort, that contrarie to his owne oath, contrarie to the iudgement and ſentence giuen by two of his predeceſſors (namely, of *Nicholas* the firſt, whom they call another *Elias*) he reſtored *Photius*, whom they had ſtiled *Lucifer*, and ſet him vpon his throne: who yet, as he affirmeth, ſince his depoſition had ſhewed no token of repentance, many of deſperat rebellion, in deſpight of the Synod, erecting altar againſt altar, and both made and maintained a rent and ſchiſme openly in the Church: So indifferent is euerie point vnto theſe men, ſo it ſerue for their priuat intereſt. And by reaſon of this weakeneſſe, ſaith *Baronius*, was this *Iohn* called *a woman*, and a ſhe Pope: thinking by this meanes to make vs take *Iohn* for *Ione*, of whom we haue alreadie ſpoken,

Baron. vol. 10. an. 878. art. 4. & 5.

Photius was no ſooner ſet in his See, but preſently he called a generall Councell at Conſtantinople: he produced certaine letters of *Iohn*, true or falſe, (*Baronius* ſaith they were falſe and counterfeit) by which he diſannulled the former, called the eighth general Councel, held vnder *Baſilius*; & cauſed this his Synod to beare the name of the eighth Oicumenicall Synod. And indeed this is that Councell which *Zonaras*, a Greeke Monke, putteth in this place, and alledgeth by this name, with all the Actions and Seſſions thereof, in his Collection of the Synods. In this Synod were preſent three Legats from Pope *Iohn*, namely, *Paul* and *Eugenius* Biſhops, and *Peter* a Cardinall Prieſt, who were ſo trimmed by *Photius*, as appeareth in the Acts, as neuer were Popes Legats in all their liues. Firſt it is noted, That there were in this Councell three hundred and eightie Biſhops, whereas there were onely one hundred and two in the other. Secondly, *Nicholas* the firſt and *Adrian* the ſecond were there condemned as Maſters of miſrule, and cauſers of all euils; and Pope *Iohn* for amends highly commended. Thirdly, for the Churches of Bulgaria, the Legats were put ouer to the Emperour, as being a queſtion of confines and borders of the Empire. Fourthly, it was enacted, and that by their conſents, That whomſoeuer the Pope did excommunicat, the Patriarch might not receiue, nor the Pope thoſe which were excommunicated by the Patriarch. Whereby all Appeales from thence to Rome were aboliſhed, for the purchaſing whereof Pope *Adrian* was content to make himſelfe a conſort with a murderous Parricide. And laſt of all, whereas the Pope had ſtraitly charged

ged his Legats to Preſide, *Photius* in their preſence euer tooke his place firſt. And this is the reaſon why *Baronius* ſo beſtirreth his ſtumps, crying out, This Councell was forged by *Photius*, that indeed there was neuer any ſuch: Whereas yet, beſides the Canons thereof, which we find in *Zonaras* and *Balſamon*, he himſelfe produceth the verie ſame Acts in Greeke, taken out of their Vatican: telling vs farther, That this Councell being brought afterward to *Iohn*, he condemned it, and diſauowed his Legats. Well then, it appeareth that they ſuffered things to paſſe which the Pope diſliked: what other things but thoſe which are contained in thoſe Acts? Whereupon enſued freſh excommunications againſt *Photius*, and the rent made worſe betweene the Eaſt Churches and the Weſt.

Idem an.879. art.72. Iohan. ad Photium Epiſt.250. Baron.an.881. art.5.& ſequent.

Beſides this, Hiſtorians here obſerue, That vnder this *Iohn* the citie of Rome was diuided into two factions, one depended of the Earles of Tuſculana, who ſometimes by force, ſometimes by briberie, brought in their friends or kindred to the Popedome: Whiles our French Peeres were at variance betweene themſelues, and were withall ouerlaid by the Normans, who ſo often ſet foot in France, that at laſt they tooke vp their habitation there. Hence, ſay they, enſued corruption of good diſcipline, ſimonie, and decrees of Popes croſſing and abrogating each other. And indeed after *Iohn* ſucceeded *Marinus*, or *Martinus*: This was he which was chiefe author of clapping vp *Iohn* in priſon, *Malis artibus Pontificatum adeptus*, ſaith *Platina*, Aſpiring to the Popedome by indirect courſes; who preſently reſtored *Formoſus* to his Biſhopricke, abſoluing him from his oath. After *Marinus* ſucceeded *Agapit*, alias, *Adrian* the third, brought in by the ſame faction: And now alſo died *Charles* the Groſſe, Emperor, and with him the Empire of the French, and the honour of *Charlemaigne* his race in Italie. And the Italians themſelues confeſſe, That during the Empire of the French in Italie they flouriſhed in multitudes of people and ſtatelineſſe of buildings, in ciuile policie and diſcipline; but aboue all, that they grew glorious in ſanctitie of religion, and Imperial dignitie: And that when the Scepter was once tranſlated in other hands, though of Italians, yet their gouernment decayed, the Church vaniſhed, the times grew ſo filthie and abhominable, as the like had not beene ſeene in any precedent age: Wherfore from hence forward let vs prepare our eyes to behold nothing but corruption of life and manners, and to behold this Myſterie of Iniquitie paſt her height and exaltation, and growing to the Weſt of her declining.

Platin. in Mar.

Sigon. de regno Ital. l.5. ſub finem & ſub initium.

A B C D

36. Progression.

1 *The Edicts of Adrian the third, and what ſucceſſe they had.*
2 *Of the factions in Italie about the election of the Pope.*
3 *Of the barbarous inhumanitie of Pope Stephen towards the dead corps of Formoſus his predeceſſor.*

E

An.885. ADrian the third therefore in the yeare 885 making benefit of the occaſion, being partly perſuaded by the Romane Princes, by whoſe helpe he was promoted to the Popedome, and partly moued for his owne commoditie, ordained two decrees, by which he ſeemed to ſet at libertie the Church of Rome and all Italie; and ſo much the rather, becauſe the Normans with their ordinarie outrodes and incurſions held the French and the Germanes buſied to defend their owne countrey: the firſt Edict was this, *That in creating the Pope the authoritie of the Emperour ſhould not be required*; for the attaining whereof the Popes had long before bent

Platina in Adriano 3. Sigon. li.5. de regno Ital.

A bent their wits, and ſpent their beſt endeuors: the other, *That the Emperor Charles the Groſſe dying without ſonnes, the kingdome, together with the title of the Empire, ſhould be tranſlated to the Princes of Italie*, which not manie yeares ſince *Albertus* Marques of Tuſcane, chiefe leader of the Tuſculans, and promoter of *Adrian* to the Popedome, ſtriued to attaine vnto. The one and the other were pernitious both to the Church and Commonweale; and both, though proiected and reſolued on before the death of *Charls* the Groſſe, yet were they both within and without, at home and abroad, as we haue ſeene before, oppoſed. *Berengarius* therefore Duke of Friuli, and *Guido* Duke of Spolete, whileſt they both ſtriued to attaine to the kingdome of Italie, they diuided it into two factions; of which two that

B of *Guido* was more ſtrong, though leſſe juſt (ſaith *Sigonius*) being vpheld by the authoritie of Pope *Stephen*, who ſucceeded *Adrian* the third. Wherefore after certaine battels fought betweene them, in which he had the victorie, in the yere 891 he crowned him at Rome, but yet vpon condition, That he ſhould confirme *An.891.* thoſe donations which were pretended to haue beene giuen by *Pepin*, *Charles*, and *Lewis* the firſt. This *Stephen* grew ſo proud and inſolent, that he made a Decree yet extant in *Gratian*, *That whatſoeuer the Church of Rome doth ordaine or decree, muſt be for euer, and irreuocably obſerued of all*: For how much the leſſe ſanctitie, learning, and vertue, there is in them, by ſo much they thinke they muſt bee the bolder to ſtrengthen their commaunds with authoritie and power. In this time *Stephen* the

D.19.c.Emi-nuero.

C fixt died, whereupon the Roman factions began to reuiue. The Tuſculans choſe one *Sergius* of their owne houſe and familie; the other *Formoſus*, who by *Iohn* had before beene excommunicated, a man commendable for his learning, but yet had receiued ſome impeachment of credit, hauing ſworne, That he would neuer ſeeke after the Biſhopricke of Rome: notwithſtanding he wanted not ſufficient colour to doe it, becauſe he was diſcharged of that oath by Pope *Marinus*. *Guido* in the meane time tooke part with *Sergius*, notwithſtanding that *Formoſus* poſſeſt the See, *Sergius* being by force expeld. This whole Papacie therefore was ſpent in nothing but laying of plots, and continuall rapines, ſometimes the one getting the vpper hand, ſometimes the other, vntill *Formoſus*, wearied with thoſe moleſta-

D tions that were brought vpon him by *Sergius*, who was ſupported by *Guido* and his ſonne *Lambert*, reſolued with himſelfe to bring *Arnulphus* the king, duke of Bauier, ſonne to *Charlemaigne*, and nephew to *Charles* the Groſſe, out of Germanie; who with his armie entred by force into the citie of Rome, and was by *Formoſus* annointed and crowned Emperour, and as *Sigonius* reporteth, enforſt the people of Rome to take this oath: *I proteſt before God and all the Saints, and ſweare by the ho-* *Sigon. de regno Ital. li.6.*
lie Sacraments, ſo long as I liue to be ſubiect to the power of the Emperour Arnulphus, and neuer to fauour the part of Lambert, or Engultrude his mother, and to doe my beſt endeuour that they neuer obtaine any dignitie, or oppreſſe the citie by any ſeruitude. And by this meanes chaſed *Sergius* out of Rome. But not long after, when he be-

E ſieged *Engultrude* the mother of *Lambert*, ſhe a woman not equall in ſtrength, betooke her ſelfe to ſubtilties, and ſecretly by one of his ſeruants, whom ſhe corrupted with money, gaue vnto him a ſtupifying potion; which when he had taken, he was ſuddenly ouercome with ſleepe, and after three dayes awaking, when hee neither vnderſtood, nor could fitly expreſſe what he vnderſtood, and rather lowing like an oxe, than ſpeaking like a man, leauing the warre, he retired himſelfe into Lombardie. About the end of December died *Formoſus*, after whom ſucceeded *Boniface* the ſixt, and fifteene dayes after *Stephen* the ſeuenth ſucceeded him, being aduanced thereunto by the faction of *Sergius*, hauing taken heart by the departure of

Simonet. l.5. c.15. Martin. Polon. in Hadrian.3.

of *Arnulphus*. Then was it eaſie to diſcerne with what ſpirit they were ledd: for A
he was no ſooner ſetled in his See, but hee thought of nothing ſo much as to de-
face and blot out the memorie of *Formoſus*; whereupon he commaunded his bo-
die to be digged out of his ſepulchre, and his carkaſſe to be placed in the Popes
chaire, adorned with his Prieſtlie garments, and there in the midſt of a Synod aſ-
ſembled, himſelfe and his Acts to be condemned. The writers of that age affirme
(a thing horrible to be ſpoken) that this wicked man, ignorant of all good lear-
Luitprand.li.1. cap.8. ning, vſed this taunting ſpeech to the poore dead corps: *When thou wert Biſhop of Port*, ſaith he, *why with a ſpirit of ambition didſt thou vſurpe the Roman Catholike ſeat? And thereupon diſrobing him of his veſtments, he commaunded three of his fingers to be cut off, wherewith he was wont to bleſſe the people, and the bodie to be caſt into Tiber*; B
and he degraded all thoſe that had taken Orders of him, & himſelf gaue them new. Here-
upon *Luitprand* a Deacon of the Church of Pauia, who then liued, was exceeding-
Platina in Formoſo. Et ib. Onuphrius Leo Oſtienſis l.1.cap.48. ly moued with this execrable deed. *Onuphrius* calls into queſtion the truth of this
ſtorie; which is to ouerthrow all antiquitie, as in the caſe of Pope *Ioue*. The author
of the Annales of the Abbie of Fulden, ſaith thus, *Next Boniface ſucceeded Ste-
phen, in name Apoſtolicall, but in truth a moſt infamous man, who after a ſtrange maner
cauſed Formoſus, his predeceſſor, to be taken out of his graue, and aſſigning an Aduocat
to anſwer for him, depoſed him, and commaunded him to be caſt out of the place that was
appointed for the buriall of the Popes.* And it is a Monke that ſpeaketh it. *Sigonius* is
of more credit, who deſcribeth all the circumſtances of this fact, and reports the C
Acts of the Councell of Rauenna, publiſhed by *Iohn* the tenth in theſe words:
Sigon. de regno Ital. li.6. *The Synod celebrated by our predeceſſor Stephen the ſixt, in which the carkaſſe of Formo-
ſus the Pope is drawne out of the ſepulchre, and as it were brought to triall (a thing neuer
heard of before) we vtterly abrogat, and by the ſentence of the holie Ghoſt wee forbid any
ſuch thing to be done hereafter.* He addeth, That he denounced the coronation of
Arnulphus to be void, and that he annointed *Lambert* for Emperour in his place,
becauſe he tooke his part. And *Baronius* himſelfe acknowledgeth the ſame; one-
ly (as we doe) he attributeth that to *Stephen* the ſeuenth, that others doe to *Sergi-
Baron. an. 897. art. 2.* *us*: *This man*, ſaith he, *being frantike, did not that which was lawfull to doe, but what
his owne furie carried him vnto: for it was not an errour in faith, but a violent tyrannie* D
An. 897. *in fact.* Theſe are his owne words. In the meane time, in the yeare 897, *Romanus*
ſucceeded *Stephen*, who preſently calling a Councell, condemned the condemna-
tion of *Formoſus*, and the Acts of *Stephen* againſt him. The like doth *Theodorus*
the ſecond, and *Iohn* the ninth, or according to others, the tenth, who ſucceeded
one another. But this man more ſolemnely in a Synod of ſeuentie foure Biſhops
which he held at Rauenna, where demaunding euerie mans opinion ſeuerally, he
cancelled the Acts of *Stephen* and his Synod, pardoned the Biſhops and Prieſts
that gaue aſſiſtance therein, who excuſed themſelues, That what they did, they
did by compulſion: forbidding that *Sergius* and his followers, who had digged
Formoſus out of his graue, ſhould be reſtored, and condemning both them and E
Stephen himſelfe, as violaters of ſepulchres. He pronounced *Formoſus* the lawful
Pope, although he were firſt choſen, ſaith *Onuphrius*, without the Roman Cler-
gie: and thoſe Biſhops that *Stephen* depoſed he reſtored, and declared the corona-
tion of *Arnulphus* the Emperour to be void, and ratified that of *Lambert*, as being
done by *Stephen* for the good of the Church. This he did in fauour of *Lambert*,
whoſe power he feared both in Italie and in Rome: by meanes whereof that law
was renewed, That from thence forward the Pope ſhould not be conſecrated but
in the preſence of the Embaſſadours or Lieutenants of the Emperour, contrarie

to

A to that which *Adrian* the third thought he had eſtabliſhed. The Acts of this
Councell are to be found among the Canons of the Church of Modene, ſaith *Si-
gonius*. This ordinance neuertheleſſe was ſhortly after broken; for *Iohn* being
dead, and *Benedict* the fourth choſen in his roome, he was conſecrated without the
authoritie of the Emperour, by the faction of the Tuſculans: And theſe things
reach to the yeare 900. *An. 900.*

Opposition.

The verie impietie thereof had beene ſufficient to reſtraine this fatall Pro-
greſſion, if the Chriſtian Church had not beene ſenceleſſe, ſo as no other Oppoſi-
B tion ſhould haue needed; but what the ſpirit of God foretold in the Scriptures,
cannot be preuented: for euen the Popiſh Hiſtories doe witneſſe, That the Cler-
gie of Rome were growne to that paſſe, and ſo ambitious in thoſe dayes, that they
made no conſcience to obtaine the Popedome by fraud, by force, or by corrupti-
on, it being an ordinarie practiſe for the ſucceſſor to reuerſe the Acts of his prede-
ceſſor, thereby reuenging the delay of his owne aduancement: whereof we need
no other author but *Platina* himſelfe. But what thinke we did the Chriſtian world *Platina in Stephan.6.*
then ſay, when they ſaw one Pope dig another out of his graue, degrade thoſe
Biſhops which another had conſecrated, the Acts which one made by another diſ-
allowed; all ordinances, vocations, miſſions, and the whole adminiſtration reuo-
C ked and vtterly aboliſhed; and one Synod to contradict and ouerthrow another,
and yet both the one and the other boldly and peremptorily vſing theſe words,
Per ſancti Spiritus iudicium edicimus, interdicimus, &c. We ſay, and vnſay, com-
maund, and forbid, *by the ſentence of the holie Ghoſt*? The Spirit of God then, if you
beleeue them, muſt be contrarie to it ſelfe, and ſo muſt the truth. And neuerthe-
leſſe they ſticke not boldly to affirme, That *whatſoeuer the Church of Rome doth ap-* *D.19.c.Enim vero. Luitprand.l. 1.c.8.*
point or ordaine muſt be for euer and irreuocably obſerued of all. Luitprand being great-
ly offended with the fact of *Formoſus*, ingeniouſly acknowledgeth the errour of
Stephen: *Moſt holie Father*, ſaith he, *hereby you may know how wickedly he dealt* (that
is to ſay, to abrogat all thoſe ordinances that were made by *Formoſus*) *becauſe they*
D *that receiued the Apoſtolicall benediction of Iudas before his treaſon, were not after it
depriued thereof, except it were by their owne ſinnes: for that benediction that is giuen
by the Miniſters, is not infuſed by that Prieſt that is ſeene, but by him that is inuiſible,*
Ieſus Chriſt our Lord. *Bellarmine* goes about to ſalue the matter, ſaying, That he
degraded not thoſe that were ordained by *Formoſus*, by a formall decree, but that *Bellarm.l.4.de Rom.Pont.c.12*
onely *de facto*, he made them to be reordered: *A commaund*, ſaith he, *that did not
proceed of ignorance, but of hatred againſt Formoſus.* But yet wee find by their owne
Authors, that this was done by the authoritie of a Synod celebrated at Rome,
and by an expreſſe Decree. But if ſuch tergiuerſations may ſerue turne, what
wickednes is there that cannot be defended? This Hereſie of *Stephen*, yea of the
E Councell of Rome, was it but ſmall, when *Stephen* in his Synod declared *Formo-
ſus* neither to be, nor to haue beene Pope, who, I ſay, made himſelfe the Head of
the Church, being deceiued in his knowledge of the Head of the Church? let
any man looke into his conſcience, and his knowledge, whether he fell into a light
Hereſie, or no. But here he will follow *Sigebert* for his Author, *That notwithſtan-* *An. 902.*
ding the contradiction of the greater part, Stephen the ſixt degraded thoſe that had been *Sigebertus in Chron.*
ordained by Formoſus. And is he not therefore ſo much the more an Heretike, by
how much the more obſtinat he was to be ordered by the counſell of his brethren?
But *Sigebert* in the yeare 902 peremptorily affirmeth, *That all his ordinances were*

to

to be made void, and did other things againſt him, horrible to be ſpoken: This then was a decree: and in the yere 903 ſpeaking of the Synod held by Pope *Iohn* at Rauenna, the Archbiſhops of France being preſent, *Before them* (ſaith he) *was the Synod burnt which Stephen had made for the condemnation of Formoſus.* This decree was concluded in the next full Synod, and in the yeare 900 he affirmed, *That by this occaſion this queſtion had beene for manie yeares diſputed in the Church, not without great ſcandale, the one part iudging the conſecration of thoſe that Formoſus had ordained to be nothing, the other by a more holie counſell iudging them to be of force.* This was a queſtion of law, not of fact; and conſequently the ſolution of *Bellarmine* altogether void.

An. 903.

Truly *Baronius* ſpeaking of theſe times, is ſtrucken with a kind of horror, and cals them *infeliciſima & luctuoſiſima eccleſiæ Romanæ tempora, The moſt vnfortunat and lamentable times of the Church of Rome, worſe than the perſecutions of the Pagan Emperours, Heretikes, Schiſmatikes.* But he layed the fault vpon the Tuſculan princes, then powerfull in Rome, as if the other part had yeelded Popes more holie, and as if both the one and the other had not entred by theft, and conſequently come in at the window, and not at the dore. *When* (ſayth he) *the Church of Rome ſuffered the Princes of Tuſcane to beare rule, whether by money, or by armes, ouer the people and Clergie of Rome, they thruſt into the Chaire of Peter, the throne of Chriſt, men monſtrous and infamous in their liues, diſſolute in their manners, and wicked and villanous in all things; and then the Queene of Nations* (ſo he calleth the Church of Rome) *being robbed of the garments of her glorie and ioy, ſits in heauineſſe, mourning and lamenting.* Let the Reader here note what helpe they giue vs to argue againſt the perpetuitie of their pretended ſucceſſion, when by his owne confeſſion he here ſpake of ten Popes that did immediatly ſucceed one another: but he addes, that God would haue it ſo, to giue the world to vnderſtand, that the Church as a Commonwealth dependeth not vpon the wiſdome or vertue of thoſe which gouerned, but from the efficacie of the promiſe of God, which makes it firme and conſtant for euer. Why then ſhould it ſeeme ſtrange, that there ſhould be anie interruption in this perſonall ſucceſſion? For hath he euer ſeene families continued by monſters? And when they happen in the Church, as he acknowledgeth, is not the mercie of God to be acknowledged therein, which euen of ſtones raiſeth ſeed vnto *Abraham*, and beateth downe Antichriſts, ſitting in the ſeat of Chriſt, with the breath of his mouth? Moreouer *Baronius* acknowledgeth, that whileſt *Stephen* digged vp the carkas of *Formoſus, the Church of Latran, the chiefe ſeat of the Pope, by the diuell was vtterly ouerthrowne to the ground, from the Altar to the gates, euen that* (ſaith he) *in which Pope Stephen kept his reſidence.* Which is an argument vnto vs, that we are admoniſhed by this deſtroying Angell, that we are hereafter to ſeeke here the rubbiſh of the Church. Neither let vs forget, that *Stephen* for his wickedneſſe was ſtrangled in priſon, and neuertheleſſe *Iohn* the tenth, his ſucceſſor, cals him *Stephen of happie memorie*, in the acts of the Councell of Rauenna, which (ſaith *Baronius*) was done *in reuerence of his predeceſſor.* We may rather ſay, becauſe all impietie was with them pietie, that vertue and vice were with them onely meaſured by commoditie.

Baron. to. 10. an. 897. art. 4.
an. 900. art. 2, 3, 4.
Ibid. art. 6.
Baron. vol 10. an. 904. art. 4.

But at this time *Theophilact* the Archbiſhop of the Bulgarians, the onely man in that age famous in Diuinitie, who expounding theſe words, *Vpon this rocke I will build my Church*, made no mention of the Pope of Rome, *becauſe* (ſayth he) *Peter confeſt him the ſonne of God, the Lord ſayth, That that confeſſion that he made ſhould become the foundation of the faithfull; in ſuch ſort, that euerie man that would build the houſe of faith, muſt neceſſarily put this confeſſion for his foundation, &c. Yea* (ſaith

Theophil. in Matth. c. 16.

(ſaith he) *euerie one of vs being made the houſe of God is the Church, inſomuch, that if we be built vpon this confeſſion of Chriſt, the gates of hell nor our ſinnes ſhall preuaile againſt vs.* And to proue that he vnderſtood not this priuiledge to belong to the Church of Rome, but to euerie Chriſtian that is the houſe of God, and the Church, vpon theſe words, *To thee I will giue the keyes of heauen, &c.* he ſaith, *The keyes that bind and loſe, forgiue and aggrauate our ſinnes: For they that like Peter are thought worthie Epiſcopall grace, haue power to loſe and retaine ſinnes: for though it were onely ſaid to Peter, To thee I will giue: yet that power was once giuen to all the Apoſtles, when he ſaid, Whoſe ſinnes ye remit ſhall be remitted: for that word (I will giue) ſignifieth a future time, that is, after the reſurrection.* And therefore to ſhew that he thought the keyes not to be attributed more to *Peter* than the reſt of the Apoſtles, he ſayth vpon the Epiſtle to the Galathians, *Paule ſhewed himſelfe to be equall to Peter.* Manie the like places there are in this Author, though he were one of thoſe that came laſt, and of thoſe (as we haue ſaid elſewhere) whoſe writings ſome haue taken care to corrupt, the better to accommodat them to the controuerſies of the times.

Joh. 20.

Theophil. ad Gal. c. 2.

37. Progression.

Of the miſerable eſtate of Italie through the wickedneſſe of the Popes, and the wilfulneſſe of the people. Of Theodora and her daughters, three famous harlots, that ruled the Popes and the Citie of Rome at their pleaſure. Of the abhominable and wicked life of Iohn the thirteenth.

HEre we enter into an age which is renowmed onely for this, That in the ſtate of Italie there was nothing but confuſion, in the Church darkneſſe, and in the Popes idleneſſe, and a headlong licentious libertie to commit all ſinne: that it was no maruell that *Baronius* began his Hiſtorie with theſe words, *An yron age barren of all goodneſſe, and a leaden age abounding with all wickedneſſe.* For as touching the State: the Emperour *Lambert* hauing beene traiterouſly ſlaine, as *Berengarius* (a Prince commended for his great vertue) thought he had ouercome all his affaires, *Benedict* the third, prouoked by the Marqueſſe *Albert*, called *Lewis* the third, the ſonne of the Emperour *Arnulph*, againſt him, and crowned him at Rome; but *Berengarius* ſurpriſed him vpon the ſudden at Verona, and hauing taken him, pluckt out his eyes, and ſetled himſelfe in the Empire for manie yeares: notwithſtanding his proſperous ſucceſſe was interrupted by the faction of the Popes, aſſiſted by the power of the Marqueſſe *Albert*, then arbitrator at Rome. The Hungarians on the other part, and the Saracens without reſiſtance troubled all Italie. Neither were there wanting malecontents who called in ſtrange Princes, *Rodulph* K. of Burgoigne, *Hugh* K. of Arles, who as it were by turnes entring Italie with their powers, crowned themſelues at Rome, but yet with condition to ratifie the pretended donations; and becauſe they had need of the Popes helpe, were content to remit much of their authoritie, and yet ſped neuer the better. And as touching the Church, it was eaſie to iudge in ſo great a perturbation of all things how pale the face of it was, eſpecially in Italie, where all this while there was not a man of fame that appeared, nor action that had anie ſhew of care in it of the Church: in ſuch ſort, that they that haue writ the Hiſtorie, thinke they haue ſufficiently commended a Pope, when they haue reported him

him to haue done nothing, so naturall a thing was it for them to haue done euill. A
An.904. In the yeare 904 *Benedict* the fourth died, and contrarie to all law (say they) *Leo* the fift succeeded, who after fortie daies was depoſed by his chapleine *Chriſtopher*,
Sigon. de Reg. Ital. li.6. Platina in Benedict.4. & Leo.5. *& nouo exemplo, by a new example*, ſaith *Sigonius*; *malis artibus, by deceit and cunning*, ſaith *Platina*, ſetled himſelfe in his place: *Sergius* the third being now twice driuen from the Popedome, made friendſhip with the Marqueſſe *Albert*, and ſo ſupplanted him, and placed himſelfe in his throne, and then at his owne pleaſure inueighed againſt the memorie of *Formoſus*, and pronounced his Acts to be void; inſomuch that *Bellarmine* laboured no leſſe in the juſtifying of him, than of *Stephen*. Then was there no more queſtion either of the election of the Clergie, or of the conſent of the people. *Here* (ſaith *Platina*) *conſider how much theſe haue degenerated from their anceſtors, for they like holie men contemned ſuch dignities as were freely offered them, and betooke themſelues to prayer and preaching: theſe with corruption and ambition ſeeking the Popedome, and hauing gotten it, laying aſide all diuine worſhip, no otherwiſe than cruell tyrans exerciſe their malice one againſt the other, that with the better ſecuritie they might afterward follow their owne pleaſures, when there* B
An.911. *ſhould be no bodie of power to bridle their ſinne. Anaſtaſius* in the yeare 911 ſucceeded *Sergius*, and him *Landus* in the yeare 913, and him ſucceeded *Iohn* the eleuenth, the Archbiſhop of Rauenna, commendable onely in this, that they liued
An.913. not long, *God* (ſaith *Platina*) *taking them out of the world as ſo manie monſters.* But
Platina in Chriſtoph.& ſequ. *Sigonius* without malice ſpeakes thus of *Iohn*, *That the Clergie and people being aſſembled together for the choice of the Pope, there was nothing done in this election according to law: for Albertus the Marqueſſe, at the perſuaſion of Theodora his mother in law, not out of the Church of Rome, but of Rauenna, nor by the voices of the Clergie,* C
Luitprand. l.2. c.13. *but his owne riches, nominated for a ſucceſſor Iohn the Archbiſhop of Rauenna. Luitprand* who liued in thoſe times ſpeakes ſomewhat louder, *He obtained* (ſayth he) *the Popedome by ſuch horrible wickedneſſe*, contra ius faſque, *againſt all law both diuine and humane. Theodora an impudent harlot obtained Virago-like the Monarchie of the Citie of Rome, who had two daughters, Marozia and Theodora, not onely equall vnto her, but farre ſurpaſſing her in their laſciuious life, of one of theſe, namely Marozia, Pope Sergius had in adulterie Iohn, who after the death of Iohn of Rauenna got* D
the Popedome (that is to ſay, the twelfth, of whom we ſhall ſpeake hereafter) *and by the Marqueſſe Albert her husband ſhe had Alberick, who afterward vſurped the principalitie of Rome. Theodora ſurpriſed with the beautie of this Iohn* (that is to ſay the eleuenth) *who then had ſome charge in the Church of Rauenna, did not onely entice, but forſt him to lye with her. Theſe things whileſt they were thus impudently carried, the Biſhop of Bologne dying, this Iohn was choſen in his place: at the laſt Sergius dying, to the end ſhe might not be too farre from her paramour (for Rauenna is diſtant from Rome two hundred miles) ſhe cauſed him to leaue the Archbiſhopricke of Rauenna,*
Luitprand.l.2. c.13. *and to vſurpe*, proh nefas, *the Popedome of Rome.* This Hiſtorie in *Luitprand* is ſet
Frodoard. Hiſt. Rhemenſ. l. 4. c.19. downe more amply, and with words more ſcandalous, which I willingly ſpare to E
Baron. vol.10. an.925. art.9, 10,11. deliuer. This is that *Iohn*, who (as *Frodoardus* reporteth) to gratifie *Rodulph* the King, created a child of fiue yeares age Biſhop of Rheims: whereupon *Baronius* thus crieth out, *Thou ſeeſt, gentle Reader, by the authoritie of what Pope this was firſt brought into the Church of God (if he may be called a Pope) that is by Iohn the tenth,* (whom *Platina* cals the eleuenth) *than whom there was no man more wicked, whoſe entrance into the Chaire of Peter was moſt infamous, and his departure moſt execrable.* Now *Marozia* her daughter hauing loſt her husband the Marqueſſe *Albert*, not knowing how to liue a priuat life, married her ſelfe to *Guido* Duke of Tuſcan, with

A with purpoſe to get into his hands the gouernment of Rome, which *Albertus* had: and becauſe Pope *Iohn* withſtood it, ſhe perſuaded her husband to take him out of the way; who afterwards hauing cauſed his brother to be ſlaine in his ſight, caſt *Iohn* into priſon, and ſmothered him with a pillow. *Guido* ſhortly after died, *Luitprand. l.3. c.12.* and *Marozia* ſtill greedie of gouernment, made a motion of marriage with *Hugh* King of Arles, aſſuring him the gouernment of the Citie of Rome: who being called from elſewhere into Italie, came and married her, and with ſpeedie iournies comming to Rome; was admitted without anie reſiſtance. But he being otherwiſe a wiſe Prince, it ſo fell out, that when *Alberick* by the counſell of his mother, with leſſe dexteritie than was fitting, brought water vnto him to waſh his
B hands, he gaue the young man a box on the eare; to reuenge which contumelie, the youth in a furie preſently went to the Romans, and perſuades them to ſedition againſt *Hugh*; whom he aſſayling in the caſtle, droue him to ſuch a ſtrait, that he was enforced to leape ouer the wall: Whereupon *Alberick* both renewes the name of Conſull in Rome, and made himſelfe a Conſull, changing the whole order of the gouernment; and in ſuch ſort altereth the State, that from thence forward for a long time the election of the Popes depended vpon him and his: ſo to *Leo* the ſixt, the ſucceſſor of *Iohn* the eleuenth, in the yeare 928, he ſubſtituted *Stephen* the ſeuenth, but according to *Onuphrius* the eight: and in the yeare *An.928.* 930, *Iohn* the twelfth, the baſtard ſonne of Pope *Sergius* the third and of *Maro-*
C *zia*, gotten (as is ſaid before) in adulterie, and conſequently his brother by the *An.930.* mothers ſide; whom *Sigonius* (not vnfitly) ſaith, *ſedere iuſſus* was commanded to take the See: and againe in the yeare 935 he conſtituted *Leo* the ſeuenth, ſucceſ- *An.935.* ſor to *Iohn* the twelfth. And whereas King *Hugh* in the yeare 938 had cauſed *An.938.* *Stephen* the eight to be nominated in the place of *Leo* the ſeuenth, the faction of *Alberick* by a ciuile tumult wounded in ſuch ſort his good name, that being aſhamed to ſhew himſelfe publikely, he died with diſcontent: in whoſe place *Martin* the ſecond, *alias Martin* the third, ſucceeded: whoſe place foure yeares after *Agapete* the ſecond held: who alſo about the yeare 956 dying, the Conſull *Albe-* *An.956.*
D *rick* was of ſuch power and authoritie, that he cauſed *Octauian* his owne ſonne to be choſen Pope, though young of yeares, and a child in manners. This man according to *Platina*, was *Iohn* the thirteenth, according to *Onuphrius* the twelfth. Here *Baronius* ſearcheth into the age of *Octauian*, becauſe the Emperour *Otho* *Baron.vol.10. an.955. art. 2, 3,4.* comming into Italie, was wont to ſay, *He is but a child, and therefore may hereafter eaſily be changed by the example of good men:* When he had held the Seat eight yeares, his natiuitie being caſt, concluded, that notwithſtanding he had beene the eldeſt ſonne of *Alberick*, which he was not, yet he could not be aboue eighteene yeares of age. Iudge now Reader what Father of fathers he was, *to gouerne* (ſaith he) *the ſpirituall regiment of all the Chriſtian world*, and ſo he pronounceth him *an vntimely birth, which the tyrannie of Rome had brought forth, excelling*
E *in power, confounding euerie thing with warres, daring and ſubuerting all things; in ſuch ſort, that by no meanes he could be ſaid to be a lawfull Pope, in whoſe election there was no law obſerued, but all things carried by force and feare: he that wanted yeares to be a Deacon, ſeemeth as a vice playing the Popes part vpon a ſtage.* After all this, ſaith *Baronius*, *by common conſent it was agreed, that he ſhould be tollerated, rather than by Schiſmes to trouble the Church of God*: and note withall, that not long after he preferreth him before thoſe that were ſolemnely choſen in a full Councell. But it is not amiſſe to heare what *Luitprand*, an eye-witneſſe, ſaith of both the *Iohns*, that *Luitprand.l.3.* it may the better appeare how farre the impudencie of this Seat had proceeded. *c.12.*

To *Iohn* therefore the twelfth, beſides what I haue alreadie alledged of him, and of *Marozia* his mother, he hath theſe verſes, where ſhe inuiteth *Hugh* by the marriage of her to the Principalitie of Rome. A

Quid veneris facibus compulſa Marozia ſæuis,
Coniugis ecce tui ſpectas tu ſuauia fratris,
Nubere germanis ſatagens Herodia binis &c.

Reproaching his inceſt; and againe,

Aduenit optatus ceu bos tibi ductus ad aram
Rex Hugo &c.

Moreouer, he bringeth in *Alberick* exhorting the Romans to ſhake off this infamous yoke, with theſe words, *Is the dignitie of the Citie of Rome ſo beſotted, as to be obedient to the gouernment of a ſtrumpet? What thing more baſe, more abhominable, than to yeeld to the inceſt of a woman?* For *Theodora* his mother had made *Iohn* the twelfth, her fauorite, Pope: and as for *Iohn* the thirteenth, he deſcribeth his life, not with his owne, but the words of the beſt of the people of Rome: *Witneſſe Raincria, a widow of one of his ſouldiors, to whom he gaue the gouernment of manie Cities, the keeping of the Croſſe of gold, and the Cups of S. Peter. And witneſſe Stephana his loue, who died in the deliuerie of that child which ſhe had lately conceiued by him; and if all things ſhould hold their peace, the Palace of Lateran, ſometimes the lodging of Saints, now a common brothell-houſe, cannot conceale his good friend the ſiſter of Stephana, his fathers concubine. Witneſſe the abſence of all women, beſides the Romanes, who durſt not viſit the Churches of the holie Apoſtles, to doe their deuotions, becauſe that not manie dayes before they had heard of married women, widowes, virgins, that had been forced by him. Witneſſe the Churches themſelues, where the raine doth not onely fall by drops, but ouerfloweth the whole altars.* B

Theſe hainous crimes were obiected againſt him, whereof he was afterward accuſed and conuicted, as by little and little ſhall appeare; inſomuch that *Platina* could not conceale, *That from his youth he was polluted with all manner of wickednes and vncleanenes.* Neither doth *Onuphrius* diſſemble it: and as for *Sigonius*, *His Popedome* (ſaith he) *as the entrance was ſhamefull and villanous, ſo it had a ſorrowfull end, with the great offence of the whole Church, and the moleſtation of all Italie; which a certaine tempeſt that riſe this yeare did portend, wherein a ſtone of huge greatneſſe in the thunder fell from heauen, which ouerthrew manie Churches, and ſlew ſome of their Prieſts. Rolwinke* the author of *Faſciculus temporum* entring into this age, crieth out, *Alas alas, ô Lord God, how is the gold darkened, the good colour thereof changed! what ſcandales read we of in theſe times, euen in the Apoſtolike Seat? what contentions, emulations, ſects, enuyings, ambitions, intruſions, perſecutions? O miſerable times in which holie men languiſh and decay, and truth it ſelfe is baniſhed from amongſt the ſonnes of men &c.* C

Platina in Iohan. 13. Sigon. lib. 7. de Reg. Ital.

Theſe eight Popes ſucceſſiuely following one the other, held their Seat but a ſmall time, I can report nothing of them that is notable, becauſe I haue found nothing but matter of ſcandale in them, by reaſon of ſuch a contention in that holie Apoſtolike Seat of one againſt another, as hath not formerly beene heard of. For Stephen confirming the Acts of Iohn the eight, condemneth Formoſus, and declareth his Acts to be of no force, and diſgraced his dead bodie, and cutting off two of his fingers, commaunded his land to be caſt into Tiber, ſhewing himſelfe thereby vngratefull towards him that had made him Biſhop of Anagnia. But Theodorus ſhortly after diſalloweth the Acts of Stephen, and approued thoſe of Formoſus &c. And ſo of the reſt. He affirmeth, that *Sergius* the third beheaded *Formoſus* being dead, and adorned with prieſtlie garments; but *Platina* ſpeakes more mildly, ſaying, that *he proceeded againſt him* D E

Platina in vita horum Pontificum.

A *him by courſe of law, and condemned him to loſe his head, as if he had beene aliue.* But yet to all theſe he leaues a marke of reproach, when he ſaith of *Formoſus*, That *he was raiſed to the Popedome rather by gifts than by vertue*; of *Stephen* the ſixt, *by mony and corruption*; of *Romanus* the firſt, *that he enuied the honours of all others, as they vſe to doe that are polluted with all kind of wickednes*; of *Theodore* the ſecond, *that he followed the ſteps of his ſeditious predeceſſors*; of *Chriſtopher* the firſt, *that he caſt Leo into priſon, which could not be done without great ſedition and the vtter deſtruction of manie*; of *Iohn* the eleuenth, *that he was a man of warre rather than religion*: and this he ſpeakes perhaps (ſeeing as much as we ſee) more mildly than was fitting. Of the reſt in theſe times he ſpake more generally, *Conſider I pray* (ſaith he) *how much theſe*

B *haue degenerated from their anceſtors, for they like holie men contemned dignities when they were freely offered them, giuing themſelues to prayer and the ſtudie of diuinitie; but theſe, ſeeking the Popedome by briberie and ambition, and gaining it, laying aſide all diuine worſhip, like cruell tyrans exerciſed their malice the one towards the other, glutting themſelues afterward the more ſecurely with their owne pleaſures, when there were none that had power to puniſh their inſolencies. For* (ſaith he) *the Pontificall dignitie firſt encreaſed without riches, among ſo manie enemies, and obſtinat perſecutors of the name of Chriſt, by learning and holineſſe of life, which are not attained but with great labors and much vertue: ſhortly after, ſo ſoone as the Church of God began to grow wanton with*

C *wealth, her worſhippers being turned from auſteritie of life to wantonneſſe, this licence to ſinne begot vnto vs (there being no Prince to puniſh the wickedneſſe of men) theſe monſters, by whom the moſt holie Seat of Peter by ambition and bryberie is rather occupied than poſſeſſed.* This ſaith he, deſcribing the lines of the Popes of this time, inſomuch that we need no other witneſſe. What then ſhall we ſay, if Cardinall *Baronius*, notwithſtanding his ſcarlet robe, hath beene aſhamed of this foule wickedneſſe, when he knew not how to begin without a Preface, wherein he confeſt to the Reader, that he was now to ſee *abhominationem deſolationis in Templo*, foretold by *Daniel*, and afterward by our Sauior himſelfe: What then ſhould the faithfull doe, but by the commaundement of our Sauior, *ad montes fugiamus*, and let vs depart from Babylon and her vncleanenes, when againe

Dan. 9.

Baron. an. 900. art. 1, 2, 3.

D *theſe Popes were proh pudor & proh dolor* (ſayth he) *like horrible monſters intruded into this Seat, venerable to the Angels themſelues? And how manie euils* (ſaith he) *haue proceeded from them, and ſtrange accompliſhed tragedies? Whereby it is come to paſſe, that the Church without ſpot or wrinkle hath bin ſprinkled with adulteries, infected with ſteench, polluted with villanies, darkned with perpetuall infamie.* Of *Sergius* namely, & of *Theodora* his harlot, after he had quoted the place of *Luitprand*, he ſaith, *Haſt thou heard gentle Reader the lamentable ſtate of this time, when Theodora the elder, a noble harlot, obtained the Monarchie in the Citie of Rome*; and by this word they commonly vnderſtand the Church. *But how came ſo infamous a woman to ſo great dignitie,* ſayth he? *This harlot was a noble woman of Rome, and of a great houſe, and of excellent beautie and*

Baron. to. 10. an. 908. art. 5, 6, 7.

E *wit, who by her adulterer Pope Sergius ſibi Monarchiam peperit, ſhe obtained this Monarchie.* And note here the ſucceſſion, *This wicked woman by this art obtained the dominion, and to continue it to her poſteritie proſtituted her daughters to the Popes, to the inuaders of the Apoſtolicall Seat, & to the Marqueſſes of Tuſcan, by which meanes the Empire of theſe harlots ſo much encreaſed, that at their pleaſure they removed thoſe that were lawfully created, and thruſt into their places men polluted with all manner of wickedneſſes*: and of this miſerable eſtate of the Church, *which God permitted* (ſaith he) *to be diſhonored at the pleaſure of wicked perſons*, let vs ſay with S. *Iohn*, of the great whore, her Empire ſpreadeth it ſelfe through the whole world.

OPPOSITION.

Now if *Luitprand*, Deacon of the Church of Pauia, dare ſpeake ſo freely as we haue heard before, it is not to be doubted but that others elſewhere doe at the leaſt mutter ſomething: For to ſee a curtiſan, of all others in the world the moſt infamous, to raigne at Rome, and to raigne ouer the Popes, and to create Popes at her pleaſure, what is it but to preſent vnto themſelues *the mother of fornications*, as it were by an Epitome? And this was neuertheleſſe in thoſe times when the mariage of Prieſts was condemned for an Hereſie, inſomuch that againſt maried Prieſts there could be found no law too ſeuere, nor puniſhment too painefull. At this time alſo there was much contention about the real preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, that by how much leſſe they beleeued God in heauen, by ſo much the more carefull they were to affirme him to be in the bread, in the Prieſts hand, in his words, in his nods; and that by theſe means, when it pleaſed them, they could make him appeare vpon the earth: ſo that, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, Diſhoneſtie followeth infidelitie, and corruption in manners, impietie.

Italie now being wearied with theſe monſters, is forſt at laſt to thinke of a remedie, eſpecially being elſewhere troubled and diſquieted with the oppreſſions of young *Berengarius* and his ſonne, inſupportable to men of all conditions. But the kings of the race of *Charlemaigne* being extinct in Germanie, and the Germans chuſing kings of their owne nation, they had recourſe vnto *Otho*, the ſonne of king *Henrie*, duke of Saxonie, who then raigned there, greatly renowmed for his vertue and juſtice. And ſome ſay, That *Iohn* himſelfe, partly intreated by the chiefe Lords of Italie, partly wearied by the Berengarians, ſent Legats vnto *Otho*, *Iohn* a Deacon, and *Aſo* the Secretarie, to entreat him to come and ſuccour the Church; it may be vnder this pretence, to demaund juſtice againſt himſelfe, as it appeared afterward. But howſoeuer it was, they both made peace with *Otho*, and as they promiſed him being come to Rome, the Empire; ſo he for his part *ſweareth, with all the power he had to exalt the Church of Rome, and Iohn the ruler thereof.* Moreouer, *he promiſeth, that he will neuer be actor or author in any thing that may detract from that honour he hath, and to reſtore whatſoeuer ſhall fall into his hands that belongs to Saint Peter, and to giue in commaund vnto him, to whom he ſhall commit the gouernement of Italie, to ſweare that he ſhall euer aſſiſt the Pope, and defend the dominions of Saint Peter with all his force.* Which being done, *Otho* came to Rome in the yeare 961, being magnificently receiued of all, and there bindes himſelfe by oath to the Pope, and the Pope to him; *Otho* reſtoring vnto him, according to his promiſe, whatſoeuer of his he had gotten into his power, and ſhortly after returned to Pauia. There was in the oath that *Iohn* made to the Emperour, taken vpon the corps of S. *Peter*, this clauſe, *That he would neuer giue aſsiſtance to Berengarius, and Adelbert his ſonne*: neuertheleſſe he no ſooner ſaw *Otho* departed, but preſently he ſent to *Adelbert*, and ſpareth not to promiſe any thing vnto him againſt the Emperour; who neuertheleſſe being come at his requeſt, in ſuch ſort aſtoniſhed him, that hee had abandoned Rome, and retired himſelfe vnder the protection of the Sarasens at Fraxinet. This new and incredible thing the Emperour would not eaſily beleeue, but ſent to his moſt familiar and truſtieſt friends in Rome, priuily to enquire the truth thereof: Wherupon the beſt of the citizens did aſſure him, That he ſhould not any way doubt thereof, yea faithfully beleeue, *That the diuell hated not more his Creator, than Iohn the Pope the moſt ſacred Emperor, albeit he deliuered him from the hands of Adelbert his enemie.* Wherefore they paint out the ſaid *Iohn* in all his colours,

Luitprand. l. 6. c. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, & vſque ad finem.

Luitprand. l. 6. c. 6.

colours, as before is ſaid in *Luitprand*: For they ſay, *There is not greater diſcord betweene the Wolfe and the Lambe, than hatred in him towards the Emperour, who the better to commit his wickedneſſe without puniſhment, had need of an Adelbert for his defendor.* The Emperour, who ſtaied all this while at Pauia, reſolued to returne againe to Rome, purpoſing by the way to chaſtiſe *Berengarius*. But *Iohn*, who doubted of ſomewhat that might ſiniſterly enſue, gaue to vnderſtand by his Legats, That heretofore he had beene carried by the heat of youth, but he was now reſolued to be wiſer; and propoundeth withall certaine complaints, for which the Emperour yeeldeth to make him ſatisfaction: yet all this will not content him, but ſtill reſerueth matter of malice and miſchiefe. And hereupon procured *Adelbert* to come, and honourably receiued him into Rome. The Emperor in the meane time drawing neere, *The greater part of the nobleſt and chiefeſt Romans tooke by force the caſtle of S. Paule, and thither inuite the Emperor, and gaue him pledges.* Whereupon the Pope together with *Adelbert* incontinently fled from Rome. Then *Otho* being receiued into the citie, they promiſe him loyaltie and faith, *adding moreouer, and firmely ſwearing, That they would neuer chuſe any Pope, or ordaine any without the conſent and election of the Emperour Otho, and the king his ſonne*. Finally, within three dayes following, at the requeſt of the Biſhops and the people of Rome, there aſſembled a great Synod in the Church of S. *Peter*, where the Archbiſhops ſat with the Emperor; that is to ſay, for *Engelfred* Patriarch of Aquilea, being then ſicke in the citie, *Rodolphus* a Deacon, *Walbert* of Milan, & *Peter* of Rauenna: of Germanie alſo and France, many Archbiſhops, and diuers Biſhops: of Italie, all the principal and chiefe Biſhops, euen to the number of thirtie and more, beſides the Suffragans themſelues of the Biſhopricke of Rome, and all the Prieſts, Cardinals, and Deacons, and other officers of the Roman Church; and alſo all the principall and chiefe perſons in the citie of Rome, which are all ſeuerally named by *Luitprand* in his Hiſtorie: And therefore *Lambert* of Schaffnaburg calleth it *The Great Synod*. In which the Emperor omitted not any thing that belonged to the forme of law; and a generall ſilence being made, hee began and asked before all the Fathers, *Why Iohn auoyded ſo great an aſſemblie, whom it moſt concerned; and according to the duetie of his charge ought principally to be there?* Then *the Roman Biſhops, that is to ſay, the Biſhops Suffragans, Cardinals, Prieſts, Deacons, and all the people, anſwered: We maruell greatly that your ſacred wiſedome will demaund this thing of vs, which neither the Iberians, Babylonians, nor the Indians, are ignorant of; ſo openly hee manageth his diuelliſh affaires, as no couerture or cunning he vſeth therein. The Emperour anſwered, It ſeemeth fit vnto vs, that ſome ſpeciall accuſations be declared, and then the reſt to be decreed by common counſell. Then Peter, a Cardinall and Prieſt, ſtood vp and affirmed, That he ſaw him celebrat the Maſſe, and not communicat: Iohn Biſhop of Narnie, and Iohn a Cardinall, teſtifie, They ſaw him giue Orders to a Deacon in a ſtable among horſes: Benedict, with other Deacons and Prieſts, ſay, They knew that he made Biſhops for money, and that he had created one of the age of ten yeares a Biſhop, in the citie of Tudertina: And for ſacriledge we need not ſearch farre, becauſe we may know more by the eye than by the eare: For adulterie, they ſay, They were not eye witneſſes, yet they certainely knew the widow of Ranierus, and Stephana his fathers concubine, and Anna a widow, with his neece, to be defiled by him; and that he made the holie Palace a ſtewes, and common brothell houſe. Moreouer, he put out the eyes of Benedict his ſpirituall father, who ſoone after died; ſlew Cardinall Iohn, a Subdeacon, after he had cut off his genitors; he exerciſed burnings, and violent outrages, being armed, and a ſword by his ſide; that he vſed to carouſe in wine a health to the diuell, which all, as well the Clergie as the Laitie, with one voyce*

Lambertus Schaffnaburg. an. 963. Luitprand. l. 6. c. 7.

voyce did confesse: That playing at dice, they say, he vsed to call vpon the name of Iupiter and Venus, and all the diuels, to helpe him: That he celebrated Matins in no fit houre, and neuer made any signe of the crosse. But for as much as worthie men are often inueyed against, and through enuie and malicious detractation falsely accused, the Emperour againe conjureth them, That they propound nothing against him that is not plainely to be proued. To this the whole Synod cried out, *Quasi vnus vir, as if but the voyce of one man; If this vnworthie Pope Iohn hath not committed more shamelesse, and more abhominable acts than these that are here expresst by Benedict the Deacon, we desire holy Saint Peter the Prince of Apostles, neuer to absolue vs from the snares of our sinnes, who by his word shutteth the gates of heauen against the vnworthie, and openeth them to the iust and righteous, but that we may be accursed and set vpon the left hand at the last day.* Neuertheless the Synod requested the Emperor, That letters might be sent vnto him, to come to purge himselfe: which were presently dispatched, *both in the name of the Emperour and the Archbishops*; wherein briefely were expresst the crimes whereof he was accused. Whereto he answered, directing his letters, *Omnibus Episcopis, To all the Bishops: We heare say, that yee meane to create another Pope; which if yee doe, I excommunicat yee by the omnipotent God, that yee haue no power to ordaine any, nor to celebrat the Masse.* In the meane time that this letter was in reading, there arriued the Archbishop of Treuers, and other Bishops of Lorraine, Liguria, and Æmilia, with whose aduise and counsell both the Emperour and the Synod returned him this answer: *If he came not, nor had any other lawfull cause to alledge (being he was neither to passe the seas, nor had any bodily infirmitie, nor yet a verie long iourney) they made light account of his excommunication, and that they would returne it vpon himselfe, because they might iustly doe it. Iudas*, say they, *who betraied & sold our Sauior Iesus Christ, receiued of him, with others, the power to bind and vnloosse, &c. and so long as he continued honest among the Disciples, he was able to bind and vnloosse: but afterward, when through the venome and corruption of couetousnesse he became an Homicide to destroy life, whom could he more tye or vntye but himselfe, whom most wickedly he strangled with an halter?* Surely by this it plainely appeareth, that the pretended seat of Saint *Peter* is no impediment to be a *Iudas*. The Emperour, who all this while complained not of any iniurie offered by him particularly vnto himselfe, seeing him sufficiently charged by others, declared now vnto them with great moderation, How that he hauing taken an oath vpon the corps of Saint *Peter*, did neuertheless combine and arme himselfe with *Adelbert* against him; intreating the Synod to consider thereof: whose sentence was, *That a strange Vlcer ought to be burnt with a strange fearing yron; and it was fit to drive away this monster of the Church, a scandall to the whole world, and some good and vertuous man to be put in his place.* This sentence was approued by the Emperour, and all with one voyce chose *Leo* the eighth in place, as they say, of this *Apostat Iohn*; the Emperour allowing the same. These things fell out in the yeare 963: but not long after, such things being set in order as did most concerne them, the Emperor with *Leo* called another Synod at Rome: in which it manifestly appearing to all, that there was no other cause of these tumults, than the neglect of the law and institution ordained by *Charles* the Great, and quite abrogated by *Adrian* the third, labouring more, saith *Sigonius*, *for the dignitie, than the tranquilitie of the Church*; whereby the Popes were chosen by vnlawfull suits and briberies: a law was made for the restitution thereof, and that bridle which the Popes and Clergie of Rome had studiously shaken of, they were enforst againe to admit. We read in the Decrees of *Gratian* this Canon, *D.*63. repeated also by *Sigonius* in his Historie: *According*

*An.*963.

*Sigon. l.*7. *de reg. Ital.*

*D.*63. *c.* ia *Synod.*23.

cording to the example of holie Adrian, Bishop of the Apostolike Sea, who granted to Charls (the most victorious king of the French and Lombards) the dignitie of the Patrety, and the administration of the Apostolike See, and the inuesting of Bishops; I likewise, Leo Bishop, and seruant of the seruants of God, with all the Clergie and people of Rome, constitute and confirme, and by our Apostolicall authoritie grant and giue vnto the Lord Otho the first king of the Germans, and to his successors of the kingdome of Italie for euer, the authoritie and power to elect and chuse a successor, and to ordaine and appoint the Bishop of the Soueraigne Apostolike See: and furthermore, that the Archbishops and Bishops shall take their inuestiture of him, but their consecration where they ought, except those whom the Emperour hath giuen or granted to the Popes and Archbishops: And that no man hereafter, of what degree or religion soeuer, shall haue any power in chusing or ordayning either Patricius, or Bishop of the Soueraigne Apostolike See, or any Bishop, without the consent of the Emperour, and that without any corruption or money; and that hee bee Patricius and King. If any therefore whosoeuer, enterprise or attempt any thing against this rule and Apostolicall authoritie, wee iudge him excommunicat, and if he be not penitent therefore, perpetuall exile, and euer lasting torment. The summe of this Canon with *Gratian* is thus, *The election of the Bishop of Rome by right belongeth to the Emperour.* And *Theodore* of Nyem, who liued vnder *Iohn* the 23, affirmeth, That he had seene the Letters Patents at Florence, from whence it was taken, *reserued for the priuiledge of the Imperiall dignitie.* And also *Krantzius* with this clause verie perfectly relateth vnto vs, *That this Councell ought to be inuiolably obserued, vnder the paine of excommunication of the Vniuersall Church.* Insomuch that it was necessary to put again in force the law of *Charls* the Great, to bridle the monstrous lasciuiousnesse of the Clergie: Which law neuertheless as they obeied it vnwillingly, so vpon euerie light occasion they were ready to abrogat it; so impatient were they of all good discipline. For so soone as the Emperour had dismist his forces, they recall *Iohn*, who assembled another Synod, deposeth *Leo*, cancelleth his Acts, condemneth the Synod holden by him, forbiddeth it to be called a Synod, but *Prostibulum fauens adultris, A stewes in fauour of adulterers*; and as many as *Leo* had Ordered, hee degraded; whom, to the end they might signifie to the world, That they had receiued nothing from *Leo*, hee commaunded them alwayes to haue this word in their mouthes, *My father had nothing, and gaue me nothing.* At the last, *vpon a certaine night, as Pope Iohn lay with another mans wife without the citie of Rome, he was so stroken of the diuell, that within eight dayes following he died of the same wound.* And here the Author crieth out, *O eternall God, how different are these from those of former time! O the bottomelesse depth of the iudgements of God, who can find them out!* Some say, *he was slaine by the husband of the said wife.* And then the Romans, contrarie to their oath, chose one *Benet*, without the consent of *Otho*, or his sonne. Wherewith the Emperour being much offended, besieged the citie, and tooke it in despight of the Romans, dispossest *Benet* not onely of his Popedome, but degraded him of his Priestlie Orders, after he had acknowledged his offence, & reestablished *Leo* the eigth. By which occasion it so came to passe, that *Leo* to render some gratuitie to the Emperour, made a resignation for euer, both to him and to his successors, Emperours and Kings of Italie, of all the donations granted to the Church of Rome; whether by any manifest deed, or any Imperiall Patent, or in any other manner whatsoeuer, by *Charles* the Great, *Pepin* his father, *Aribert* king of Lombards, or *Iustinian*: taking as it were to witnesse *the bookes of the holy Euangelists, many reliques, the holy crosse, the hose, & vnseamed coat of our Lord, the bodie of holie Saint Peter, with many profound oathes taken before him*

*Sigon. l.*7. *de regno Ital. Fasciculus temp. An.*964.

*Krantzius l.*4. *c.*10. *Saxonic.*

*Sigebert. An.*963.

*Luitprand. l.*6. *c.*11.

Fasciculus temp.

him and his Cardinals, and by the conſent and authoritie of all the people of Rome, as well the Clergie as the Laitie, of all degrees, and of euerie Prouince, being preſent, and confirming the ſame. In this reſignation are ſpecified ſeuerally all the Prouinces, Iſles, Cities, Townes, Caſtles, which are recited in the donation of the Emperor *Lewis*, without any exception: and alſo many others which were not there named. And all this, ſaith he, *take and poſſeſſe for the vſe of your Court and militarie affaires, to make warre, and to fight againſt the Painims, and againſt the rebels of the Roman Empire:* Adding beſides, That if any will attempt to hinder the effect thereof, let him know, *That by the law Iulia he incurreth the puniſhment of high treaſon, and purchaſeth to himſelfe the diſpleaſure of Saint Peter, &c.* At the laſt, after a ſolemne *Fiat, Fiat*, all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Cardinals, Prieſts, and Deacons, and all the principall officers of the Court of Rome, beſides the Conſuls, Exconſuls, Senators, and others that might adde any ſtrength to the authoritie of this Bull, ſubſcribed name by name. All this, beſides what is found in diuers auncient libraries, with that other before ſpoken of, is wholly related by *Theodore* of Nyem the Popes Secretarie, whatſoeuer *Baronius* cauilleth to the contrarie. For whereas in this Charter there were nominated foure Biſhops of Italie, which in the Synod the yeare before were called by other names, that is to ſay, of Alba, Preneſte, Tiburtina, and Nerni; is it any wonder, if among ſo many Biſhops that were at this Synod, foure ſhould die within the ſpace of a yeare, and in the middle of ſo many confuſions change their place? *Faſciculus temporum* ſeemeth to haue ſeene both the one and the other, who briefely, like himſelfe, ſaith thus: *This Leo ordained, That no Pope ſhould be made without the conſent of the Emperour, in malice towards the Romans, who by force thruſt in their owne friends and kindred. Alſo he reſigned to Otho and his ſucceſſors all the donations of the Church made by Iuſtinian, Charles, and others, to the end he might defend Italie from all inuaders thereof.* This he addeth of his own opinion, *That holineſſe was departed from the Popes, and come to the Emperours, in thoſe times.* And theſe things reach to the yeare 964. Neither is it to be omitted, That this *Iohn* the thirteenth, *alias* the twelfth, who hath held vs too long, and whom *Platina* calleth *Sceleratiſſimum hominem, vel potius monſtrum, A moſt wicked man, or rather a monſter*, was, according to the ſaying of *Onuphre*, the firſt who changed his name, and gaue example thereby to others to follow him, whom I wiſh in many things, and euen in the worſt, they had not too much imitated.

Faſciculus temporum in ſexta etate 964.

An. 966.

Now according to this order, *Leo* the eigth being dead in the yeare 966, the Romans ſent *Aſon* chiefe Secretarie, and *Martin* Biſhop of Sutrie, to *Otho* into Germanie, to conſult vpon the election of a ſucceſſor; who preſently diſpatched away *Ogier* Biſhop of Spire, and *Linſon* of Cremona, to Rome: in whoſe preſence the people and Clergie nominated *Iohn* Biſhop of Narnie, the ſonne of one *Iohn* a Biſhop, the which, according to *Platina*, was the foureteenth of this name, according to *Onuphrius*, the thirteenth: But not without tumult of the Romans, who impatiently bearing a ſtrange yoke, caſt him into priſon, and enforced *Otho* to retume into Italie to reforme their diſorder. But he, in fauour of this *Iohn* by him created, and to get the greater good will in Italie, gaue vnto him, ſaith *Reginon*, *the citie and territorie of Rauenna, and many other things taken away from the Biſhops of Rome by Berengarius. Sigonius* addeth, *That he confirmed by a new Charter the old donation of Pepin, Charls, & Lewis*, but without author: For of this verie time we wil vſe no other witneſſe but himſelfe; for writing to the yeare 973, thus he ſaith: *Though Italie were poſſeſt by a King, and he an Emperor, and by the Pope, yet there was not in both of them the ſame authoritie; the Pope had Rome and Rauenna, and the other territories rather*

Supplementum Reginon. anno 967. Sigon. l. 7. De regno Italie. Otho 3. in Diplomate Donationis quod Aſſy Seruatur.

ther by authoritie than Empire, becauſe the cities acknowledged the Pope as Prince of the Commonwealth; the King as the chiefe Lord, and gaue vnto him tribute and obedience; and the Popes forces conſiſted in his holie execrations, which the Chriſtian kings did then greatly feare. What thing then is more plaine than this, to giue vs to vnderſtand, That the authoritie of the Pope conſiſts onely in matters ſpirituall? After *Iohn* ſucceeded *Benedict* the ſixt, by the verie ſame law of *Leo* the eigth, and authoritie of *Otho*. But *Otho* being dead, and his ſonne much troubled in the warres of Germanie and France, the Romans returned to their former naturall conditions; and vpon the death of *Benedict*, ſtrangled (as is ſaid) by Cardinall *Boniface*, being incouraged by one *Cincius* a citizen of Rome, they created *Donus* the ſecond for ſucceſſor, & preſently *Boniface* the ſeuenth, the murderer of *Benedict*, *corruptis comitijs*, as the Author ſaith, whom *Benedict* the ſeuenth thruſts out of the ſeat, through the fauour of the Tuſculan Earles. So much was this ſeat ſwayed by theft and corruption. Wherefore *Otho* the ſecond came into Italie, and vſed extraordinarie ſeueritie to repreſſe theſe inconueniences; and yet there wants not thoſe that would perſuade vs, that they were Martyrs: but the author of *Faſciculus temporum* maketh a fit diſtinction of them: *They were ſlaine*, ſaith he, *as in the Primitiue Church, but they were no Martyrs; the puniſhment all one, but the cauſe different. Otho* died, and not long after *Benedict*, and *Peter* Biſhop of Paula ſucceeded, who was, ſaith *Platina*, *Iohn* the fifteenth; who being ſcarce warme in his ſeat, *Boniface* the ſeuenth (before expeld, through the helpe of a great maſſe of money which by ſacrileage he had gathered together) caſt him into priſon, & there died he of famine or otherwiſe, within eighe moneths following; into the poſſeſſion of whoſe vacant chaire he was admitted by the Romans: who neuertheleſſe left it ſoone after through ſudden death, to *Iohn* the ſixteenth, the ſonne of a Prieſt; and this *Iohn* the ſixteenth left it to *Iohn* the ſeuenteenth, that the ſaying of *Platina* may here be found true, That (to the great good of the Chriſtian Commonwealth) *theſe monſters*, while mutually they banded one againſt another, they liued not long. *Boniface* the ſeuenth is noted by him, *malarum artium*, to attaine to the Popedome by wicked meanes, *ſacrileage, corruption, and tyrannie:* and alſo *Iohn* the ſixteenth to be *prodigall to his kindred and friends of all things both diuine and humane, without any reſpect of the ſeruice of God, or the honour of the dignitie of the See of Rome: Which crowne*, ſaith *Platina*, *he hath ſo left by tradition to his poſteritie, that it continueth euen to our time; inſomuch that the Clergie of this age deſire not the Popedome for the ſeruice and worſhip of God, but that they may ſatisfie the gluttanie and auarice of their brethren, kindred, and familiars.* And ſo of the reſt. At length one *Creſcentius* a citizen of Rome, *Otho* the third being farre diſtant, dared to attempt the gouernment of the citie, the people diſtaſting a ſtrange Empire: *Iohn*, who loued better a Lord farre off, than neere at hand, rather forraine than domeſticall, inuiteth *Otho*, who was afterward the third, to come into Italie, and promiſed to crowne him Emperor: But *Iohn* dying before *Otho* arriued at Rome, *Otho* by his authoritie created at Rauenna, *Bruno* Pope, of the houſe of Saxonie, his kinſman, then in his companie, and ſent him to be created at Rome. This was *Gregorie* the fift, who likewiſe in the yeare 996 ſucceeded him, and crowned him with *Marie* his wife in the citie of Rome. But ſo ſoone as *Otho* was returned into Germanie, *Creſcentius* made chiefe Conſul, taking boutrage to himſelfe, expeld *Gregorie*, as not choſen by the people, but by the onely authoritie of the Emperour, and created a *certaine Greeke, Biſhop of Plaſance, with the conſent both of the Clergie and people; no leſſe rich*, ſaith *Platina*, *than learned, whoſe name hath beene concealed, becauſe hee was vnlawfully created.*

An. 996.

Where-

Whereupon *Gregorie* flyeth to *Otho*, who from Germanie returneth with his armie into Italie, entreth Rome, and aſſayleth *Creſcentius* in the caſtle, taketh this *Iohn* the eighteenth, putteth out his eyes, and reeſtabliſheth *Gregorie*. This *Gregorie* (ſaith *Martin*, and after him *Platine*) who in fauour of him eſtabliſhed a law to continue for euer, *That it ſhould onely appertaine to the Germanes to chuſe the Prince, who is called Caeſar, and King of the Romanes, but yet not held for Emperour, till he were crowned and confirmed by the Biſhop of Rome.* But *Onuphrius* ſheweth by good arguments that they are deceiued, attributing to *Gregorie* the fift that which belongeth to the tenth. And *Baronius* after a long diſputation comes to this, That the Electors of the Empire create him not, but that the Emperours ſhould be choſen by the Princes of Germanie, without anie neceſſitie to goe to Rome to conſult thereon. And theſe matters reach to the yeare 998. As for the affaires of Rome and Italie, euerie man may judge, what their miſerie might be among theſe frequent mutations of Popes, being neuer almoſt without murther, ſedition, ciuile warres, and forreine forces.

Platina in Gregor. 5.

Baron. an. 996. art. 71.

An. 998.

Baronius notwithſtanding atteſting and deteſting all theſe diſorders (the cauſe whereof he could neither diſſemble nor ouerſlip the Hiſtorie) could not endure that the Emperor in a ſolemne Synod of the Church (wherof *Luitprand* deſcribeth all the circumſtances) ſhould bring matters to a better ſtate; but thought it more tollerable that the Church ſhould ſticke in the depth of all filthineſſe and gluttonie, than to be drawne forth by the hands of a lawfull Prince. This Synod (ſayth he) held at Rome, vnder the authoritie of the Emperour *Otho* the firſt, in the yere 963, to depoſe this execrable *Iohn* the thirteenth, whom he tearmeth a monſter, was *a falſe Synod, if euer were anie, wherein the Eccleſiaſticall law was neuer more wronged, more Canons violated, nor pernitious traditions, and iuſtice proſtrate, troddē vnder foot, and oppreſſed with greater ſhame.* But how forſooth? *Becauſe* (ſaith he) *that they hauing once acknowledged him for Pope*, be it right, be it wrong, by freewill or by force (as he hath ſaid before that nothing was lawfully acted in his election) *they could aſſemble no Councell againſt the Pope without his conſent.* And hereupon he groweth verie teſtie and cholericke; a Prieſt fit to adore Antichriſt in the Church, and carrie his traine after him. Now then after he had apparantly demeaned himſelfe as a Tyran and a ruffian in the Church, doeſt thou doubt whether he will be a ſuppreſſer of brothel-houſes, or a ſupporter of them, or that he will recall thoſe by whom he hath beene expelled, or be brought into order by Parliaments? And all that which beſides he alledgeth is nothing but pedantrie. And the ſame ſayth he of the Councell of Lateran, held after the death of this miſerable *Iohn* the thirteenth, that is, they that were ſubrogated Popes in a ſolemne manner, after ſuch a monſter, were all vnlawfull, eſpecially *Leo* the eight: neither doe we greatly labour therein, for whether of them are to be preferred, it matters not greatly; *Iohn*, whom he tearmeth a monſter, is the onely lawfull Pope.

Baron. an. 963. art. 31, 32.

But he could in no wiſe diſſemble the cauſe; for that conſtitution of *Leo* in fauour of *Otho* and his ſucceſſors, which we haue formerly alledged *D. 63*, vext him euen at the heart, whereof he fretteth and fumeth againſt *Gratian*, *Theſe things* (ſaith he) *he handled too vnadviſedly, this Synod was a counterfeit Synod, and this Leo the eight a falſe adulterous Pope.* And to ſpeake a truth, where ſhall we find a true and a lawfull one? Beſides, what neceſſitie was it in him (ſaith he) to pronounce him King and Patricius, when *Iohn* the twelfth had conſecrated him Emperour? Verily, becauſe he did not thinke he could be well conſecrated by ſuch a monſter.

Diſt. 63.

And

A And who did euer ſee (ſaith he) that the conſtitutions of Popes had commination of puniſhment, and yet what more frequent? Was it not decreed in that worthie Councell of Conſtance, that the execution ſhould be left to the politike Magiſtrat? but he ſhould haue reſted himſelfe vpon *Gregorie* the thirteenth, who approued this Conſtitution in a reformed decree by his ſilence, with notes added thereunto. But ſee what he elſewhere ſayth, as a thing verie authentike to proue the right that the Emperors haue by the Popes permiſſion to chuſe a ſucceſſor, *To great Otho* (ſaith he) *this right was firſt graunted by the Biſhop of Rome.* Theſe are his owne words, how then without ſhame dares he call it into doubt?

Baron. an. 964. art. 23.

Baron. an. 996. art. 41.

B

38. Progreſſion.

Of the troubles that aroſe in Fraunce through the faction of Hugh, ſurnamed Capet, and Charles Duke of Lorraine: with the treaſon and treacheries of Arnulphus Canon of Laon.

C HEre let vs now recite what paſt in theſe times in our France, which vpon the declination of the race of *Charles* the Great was diuerſly vexed, vntill the progenie of *Capet*, either through others negligence, or their owne policie, had gotten the vpper hand; whereupon the kingdome of Fraunce, by the conſent of all the States, was tranſlated to *Hugh*, ſurnamed *Capet*, whoſe poſteritie by the prouidence of God doth yet flouriſh. In the meane time *Charles* Duke of Lorraine entred into Fraunce to diſpute his right by force of armes, and firſt worketh with *Arnulphus*, Canon of Laon, baſe ſonne of King *Lothaire*, father of the laſt *Lewis*, by whoſe meanes he poſſeſſed the Citie, and taketh *Adalbero* Biſhop thereof, and putteth him into priſon, who ſoone after eſcaped and came to King *Hugh*, which was not done without ſlaughter and ſpoyle, as appeareth by an Epiſtle of *Gerbert* to the Emperor *Otho*, *He tooke priſoner* (ſaith he) *his owne Biſhop, circumuented by fraud, and with him the Citie of Laon, after much bloudſhed and manie outrages committed.* And writing to the Synod at Rheims, *He became* (ſaith he) *a famous Apoſtate, and held a long time the place of the traitor Iudas in the Church &c.* Neuertheleſſe *Hugh* ſought all meanes to draw him into his faction, hoping to benefit himſelfe thereby; and *Adalbero* Archbiſhop of Rheims chaunceing to die (appointing for his ſucceſſor *Gerbert*, who was afterward Pope *Syluеſter* the ſecond) he made him Archbiſhop, taking of him an authentike promiſe of fidelitie, written with his hand, ſworne with his mouth, and ſubſcribed of all the people and nobilitie of that dioceſſe, *Acceptis ab eo* (ſaith the Synod) *terribilibus ſacramentis*, which the ſame *Gerbert* witneſſeth. His intelligence neuertheleſſe for all that continued with *Charles* of Lorraine, ſo that ſix moneths after he marching with his armie before Rhemes, was receiued into the Citie through the treaſon of the ſaid *Arnulph*, who neuertheleſſe played his part by a Prieſt of his, named *Adalgare*, and the better to hide his villanie, was carried priſoner to Laon, with other French Lords that were then within the Citie. And of this ſecond *periurie* ſaith *Gerbert*; *He betrayed the Citie, he polluted the Sanctuarie of God, ranſacke all, and cauſed the people to be carried away captiue. And preſently after* (ſaith he) *excommunicated his owne proper thefts, and commanded the Biſhops of France to doe the ſame.* In the meane time ſo farre forth did he perſiſt in his diſſimulation, that for the ſpace of eighteene monethes, being carefully admoniſhed by the Biſhops of France to purge himſelfe of ſo great a crime, at length being forſaken of his chiefeſt

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Gerbert in ep. ad Othonem & ad Wilderodonem Epiſcop. Argentinenſem. Synod. Rhemenſ. c. 26.

Synod. Rhemenſ. c. 25. Gerbert. in epiſtola ad Othonem & ad Wilderodonem Ep. Argentinenſ.

chiefest consorts, was not ashamed to submit himselfe to the Kings fauour, and tooke a new oath more strict than the former, and so was admitted to his table: and notwithstanding, returned soone after to the part of the said *Charles*. *Hugh* therefore as yet scarce seated in the kingdome, thinking to deale mildly with him, repaireth to *Iohn* the sixteenth, and both by letters and embassages complaineth of the injuries done vnto him, and at the first was gently accepted. But the Synod sayth, *As the Legats of the Countie Herbert arriued, and had deliuered their presents vnto him*, this man, as *Platina* tels vs *(who prodigally bestowed vpon his kindred all things both diuine and humane that belonged to the seruice of God)* altered his mind: *insomuch that being wearied in waiting at the gates of his palace the space of three dayes*, they returned, not doing anie thing; not onely not admitted, but forced to depart. But *Hugh*, who in the meane time had taken in the Cities of Rheims and Laon, and by the same meane got *Arnulph* into his power, caused a Nationall Councell to be held at Rheims in the yeare 991: Wherein *Arnulph* by his owne proper confession being found guiltie, was in a solemne manner deposed, and *Gerbert*, who was afterward *Syluester* the second, put by the King in his place, who had the charge to put in writing the Acts of this Councell, which also are now read by vs. The Pope then being inwardly moued, not so much for the judgement of *Arnulphus*, as offended at the lawfull libertie of the French Fathers, excommunicated those that had subscribed to the conclusion of this Councell, and straitly forbad *Gerbert* his Archiepiscopall function, in a Synod held at Moson, and threatened the Kings themselues with curses and excommunications. Insomuch, that it is a wonder that these men, infamous in Italie for so much wickednesse, should so impudently abuse our patience, and so boldly mocke vs with their Bulls in Fraunce, vnder the confidence (without doubt) of this our new, and yet but feeble Empire. But *Gregorie* the fift proceeded in the same course, insomuch that *Gerbert* was constrained to forsake that part, and to liue vnder the protection of the Emperour *Otho* the third. But with what constancie neuertheless the French Bishops did entertaine the arrogancie of the Popes, it is now time to consider.

Synod. Rhemens. c.27.

An.991.

Opposition.

There assembled therefore in the yeare 991 at Rheims, vnder *Hugh* and *Robert* his sonne, the most famous Bishops of all the Prouinces, recited by name in this Synod, the Acts whereof were elegantly set downe by *Gerbert*, who was afterwards *Siluester* the second. And first of all they appointed for President *Siguin* the Archbishop of Sens, but the Custos and interpreter of all that was done, *Arnulph* Bishop of Orleance, *because amongst all the Bishops of France he was most famous for his wisdome and eloquence*. First therefore he proposeth vnto them how much it concerned them, truly and strictly to examine the fact of *Arnulph* Bishop of Rheims, his offence being such as came within the compasse of high treason; least (saith he) *for one mans cause we should be accused of perfidious infidelitie, and men may iustly say, If the Bishops vsed iust lawes, and were faithfull to their Kings, why punish they not with their lawes so impure and corrupt a man? Doubtlesse the reason is this, They are willing to conceale the wickednesse of others, that they themselues might be bold to sinne without punishment*. Whereunto *Siguin* Archbishop of Sens answered, *That he would neuer endure that this pretended offence of treason should be discussed, except a promise were made (if he should be conuicted) of pardon*; for which he alledged the 31 Canon of the Councell of Toledo: whereunto the Bishops replied,

Synod. Rhemens. c.1,2.

Synod. Rhemens. c.2,3.

A replied, That if that should take place, *it is to be feared, that the peculiar people would not from henceforward attend spirituall iudgements, owing all iustice and obedience to their King*. Secondly, there was produced the oath of *Arnulph* to the Kings *Hugh* and *Robert*, in expresse words, vsing that imprecation against himselfe which the Prophet did against the traitor *Iudas*, Psalm. 109, *Fiant dies mei pauci, & Episcopatum meum accipiat alter &c. Let my daies be few, and let another take my Bishopricke, or my Charge &c.* beseeching withall his brethren and sonnes (that is, his Dioceſans) not to be backward in approuing the same vnder their hands and seales. Thirdly, the Priest *Adalger* was sent for, by whom he played that traiterous part at Rheimes, who confessed the whole fact, and declared *Arnulph* the captaine and
B author thereof, yeelding himselfe *to put his hand to the fire*, and protesting that he was strucken with horror and feare of that curse which was pronounced against *Arnulph* and his followers, which is there recited in the selfesame words. And it is worthie the noting, that this was done, not by the authoritie of S. *Peter*, or the See of Rome, but *by the authoritie* (say they) *and power giuen to the Apostles, and left vnto vs*; and in like manner that which was pronounced vpon the fact of Laon, set downe in the selfesame stile. *Siguin* asked, Whether *Arnulph* from thenceforward abstained from the companie of those that were excommunicated? to which he answered, That he did quite contrarie, accounting them worthie *of the communion of the faithfull*. And hereupon were read the fourth Canon of the Sy- *Cap.11.12. 13.*
C nod of Antioch, the nine and twentieth and thirtieth of the Councell of Car- *& 14.*
thage, which doe manifestly condemne it. But yet neuertheless *Arnulph* Bishop of Orleans, the moderator of this businesse, requesteth, That it might be lawfull for anie man to defend him, for his Clergie, for his Abbots; yea they are commaunded, vnder paine of the great Curse, with all fidelitie and libertie to speake in defence of his innocencie; which in the name, and by the consent of all the rest was pronounced by *Siguin*. Whereupon there came presently forth *Iohn*, a scholler of Auxerre, *Romulfe* Abbot of Sens, *Abbo* Rector of Floriat, furnished *Cap.17.18.19.*
with bookes, and confessing themselues to be vrged thereunto by the force of *& 20.*
that curse that was layed vpon them, if they should omit anie thing that might
D make for his defence. Fourthly, to auoid the judgement of the Synod, they alledged a certain pretended Epistle of *Stephen* Archbishop of Mauritania to *Damasus* Bishop of Rome, and another of *Damasus* to *Stephen*, whereby they proue, *That the causes of Bishops and other great affaires ought alwaies to be referred to the Bishop of Rome*. They likewise alledged certaine articles out of the Epistles Decretals, by vs formerly confuted, whereby they would seeme to euict, That *Arnulph*, aboue all things ought to be restored, and that without the knowledge and consent of the Pope nothing might be done in his businesse, who in all cases whatsoeuer was to be judged by him and none other. The Synod answereth and determineth out of the tenth Canon of the African Councell, *That if anie Clerke shall neglect*
E *the purgation of his owne cause for the space of one whole yeare together, that he is neuer afterward to be heard, or to be restored againe to his place*. Whereupon there were alledged manie examples, namely, that of *Hilderman* Bishop of Beauvais, *Hebo* Archbishop of Rheims, *Cresson* de Villarege, and others. Letters were there read sent both from Kings and Bishops, whereby *Iohn* the Pope had beene aduertised *Cap.23.24.*
of the whole matter, and entreated to pronounce sentence against this man, honoured with so great a dignitie by King *Hugh*, and that freely, and yet conuicted of such heinous offences, and *who being called to the Palace refused to come, being inuited by the Archbishops and Bishops, answering that he owed them no such dutie*;

and at the last was not onely intreated, but charged to doe that which was fit to be done *concerning this other Iudas, to the end, that by his occasion the name of God might be no more blasphemed, and he from hence forward might not pretend cause of ignorance*: our Bishops adding thereunto these words, *To the end we may know and vnderstand why amongst all others we are to preferre your Apostleship*, iudging him consequently to be, or not to be, the successor of Saint *Peter*, as he should confirme or disallow their sentence, pronounced according to the Canons; which they thought was by no meanes to be called in doubt. But all this notwithstanding, he made little account of these letters, and a white horse giuen by Cont *Herbert* preuailed more than their Legation, who for the better dispatch of certaine *maledicta in reos*, demaunded ten crownes, which he ought not to haue done, if they were not iust, for a thousand. And in the end they had no other answer but this, *That he for whose cause he had beene taken, should order this businesse as it seemed good vnto himselfe*. It was not therefore without cause, that the Councell of Carthage, where were assistants 227 Bishops, and among the rest Saint *Augustine*, ordained, *for a perpetuall memorie, What we are to hold concerning the power of the Bishop of Rome*: Which being all there read, they gathered from thence this conclusion, That all businesse were to be determined in those places where they had their beginning, and that there was no Appeale to be made to the Bishop of Rome. But for as much as the cause of *Arnulph* Bishop of Rhemes was not in question, whether it should be referred to Pope *Iohn* or no, it seemeth good to *Arnulph* Bishop of Orleance, who directed the whole Synod, to repeat the businesse at large; whose whole Oration it shall not be amisse in this place to insert. *We honour*, saith he, *most reuerend Fathers, the Church of Rome, for the memorie of S. Peter; neither doe wee striue to withstand the decrees of the Bishop of Rome, but reseruing still the authoritie of the Nicene Councell, we haue had that Church euer in highest veneration &c. But two things there are which especially we must foresee, that is to say, Whether the silence of the Bishop of Rome, or any new constitution of his, may be preiuditious to the lawes of the Canons, or the decrees of our Forefathers (he being silent) must hold their peace: And if a new constitution, to what end is it to make lawes, when all things are directed according to the will and arbitrement of one man? Doubtlesse you cannot but see, that if you admitted either the one or the other, you bring the state of the Church of God into danger, and so seeking lawes vpon lawes, it will come to passe, that we shall haue no lawes at all; what then, shal we derogat from the priuiledge of the Bishop of Rome? no not at all. But if he be a man commendable for his learning, and of good conuersation, we are not to feare either his silence, or his new constitutions: But if either ignorance, or feare, or couetousnesse, shal make him wander out of the way (which almost euen in these times we haue seene, tyrannie prevailing at Rome) we are a great deale the lesse to feare either his silence, or his new constitutions. For that man that in the course of his life goes against the lawes, can no way be preiuditious vnto them. But ô wretched Rome, who to our forefathers hast brought forth many excellent lights of the Church, and in our times hast yeelded monstrous darknesses, infamous to all future ages. At other times we haue had illustrous Leos, great Gregories &c. What shall I say of Gelasius and Innocentius, who excelled with their wisedome and eloquence all worldly Philosophie? There is no long succession of those that haue filled the world with their learning. Rightly therefore was the Church of God committed to their gouernment and disposition, who in their liues and learning excelled all others: and yet nevertheless euen in the middest of this felicitie this priuiledge was withstood by the Bishops of Africa, rather fearing, as I thinke, those miseries that we endure, than the forme of gouernment. For what haue we seene in these our times? We haue seene a Iohn called Octa-*

A *Octauian, wallowing in the sinke of all licentiousnesse, and Otho, whom he created Augustus, conspiring against him, &c.* And here he reciteth summarily, all the wickednesse, disorders, murders, slaughters, reuenges committed by him and his successors vnder the raigne of *Otho*. *There succeeded at Rome*, saith he, *in the Popedome, that horrible monster Boniface, who had not his peere in all manner of sinne and wickednesse, tainted with the bloud of his predecessors, &c. Is it reason*, saith he, *that infinit numbers of the Priests of God, famous in the world for their knowledge and godly conuersation, should be subiect to such monsters, full of infamie, void of all knowledge, both diuine and humane? What meaneth this most reuerend Fathers? Or by what vice is it come to passe, that the head of the Church of God, who hath beene mounted to so great a height,*

B *crowned with honour and glorie, should fall so low into such infamie and dishonour? It is our fault, our impietie, who seeke our owne, and not that which is Iesus Christs: For if in euerie one of vs that is chosen to a Bishopricke, it be carefully looked into that he be a man of grauitie, of honest life and conuersation, of exquisit knowledge in all manner of learning diuine and humane, how narrowly must we search into him that desires to be thought the Master of all Bishops? How then comes it to passe, that in so high a seat there should be placed a man so base, as not thought worthie to haue any place among the Clergie? What then, most reuerend Fathers, doe you thinke of this man, seated in so high a throne, glittering in a garment of gold and purple, whom doe you take him to be? Doubtlesse if he be destitute of charitie (Si, pro quia, I say, If, where I should say Because) and puffed vp with knowledge, he is Antichrist sitting in the Temple of God, and shewing him-*

C *selfe as if he were God: Or certainely, if he be neither founded vpon charitie, nor elevated with knowledge, he is as a statue or idoll in the Temple of God, of whom to seeke answers, is to consult with stockes and stones.* And here, gentle Reader, content not thy selfe with that which *Baronius* answers, That they are not to denie their obedience to such Popes, *because our Lord and Sauiour, the eternall wisedome, refused not to obey a Carpenter, and his mother the virgin*, for he was not ashamed to abuse these examples in fauor of those monsters; and to say a truth, neuer did *Baronius* more plainly shew his follie. *Whither therefore*, saith *Arnulph*, *shall we goe for counsell? The Gospell saith, that our Sauiour sought thrise for fruit in one fig tree, and because he found*

D *none, he would haue it cut downe, but yet being intreated, he was content to expect a while longer: Let vs therefore expect our Metropolitans so long as we can, and in the meane time let vs seeke and search where the pasture of the word of God may be found. And certainely euen in this holie assemblie there are some that doe affirme, That in the Low Countries, and in Germanie, neere neighbours vnto vs, there are many excellent seruants of God, of singular pietie and learning: And therefore if the courage of our iarring kings did not hinder it, we should rather seeke to them for iudgement, than from that citie, which being put to sale to as many as will buy, weigheth out her iudgements according to the pay. And if any shall say, according to Gelasius, That the Church of Rome hath power to iudge*

E *of the whole Church, and none of her; let him bring forth some one in the Roman Church, of whose iudgement no man can iudge, although the Bishops of Africa haue iudged this thing impossible: vnlesse perhaps, say they, some one doe beleeue, that our Sauiour had power to inspire the iustice of triall to one whomsoeuer it be, and would denie it to infinit numbers of Bishops assembled in a Councell. But for as much as in these dayes there is almost none at Rome (as the fame goeth) that hath any learning, without which neuertheless* vix ostiarius efficitur, *they will hardly make a porter, with what face dare they teach that which they neuer learned?* And so examining all the Canons and Decrees alledged by the defendants, he sheweth them, That nothing hath bin done in prejudice of them, setting before their eyes many examples of the same case of one *Ægidius*

Baron. vol. 10. an. 992. art. 20. 21. 22.

Archbiſhop of Reimes, depoſed in the citie of Metz by the Biſhops of France, and being confined to Strasbourge, *Romulph* was made his ſucceſſor, becauſe contrary to his faith giuen to king *Childebert*, he had joyned in friendſhip with *Chilperic*. *And yet neuertheleſſe*, ſaith he, *Gregorie the Great, an earneſt defender of the priuiledges of the Roman Church, neuer ſpake word for, or againſt theſe.* The ſame he affirmeth of *Hebbo* Archbiſhop of Reimes, depoſed for treaſon by the BB. of France at Thionuille, &c. *What then*, ſaith he, *if our paſſage to Rome ſhould by the ſwords of Barbarians be intercepted, or that Rome it ſelfe ſeruing a Barbarian, his couetouſneſſe and ambition moning him thereunto*, in aliquod regnum efferatur (*note* efferatur) *ſhould be raiſed againſt any Realme, ſhall there be in the meane time either no Councels, or ſhall the Biſhops of the whole world, to the hurt or ouerthrow of their owne kings, ſeeke for counſell, and the calling of generall Councels, at the hands of their enemies, eſpecially ſeeing the Nicene Canon, which the Church of Rome acknowledgeth to be aboue all Councels and Decrees, hath ordained, That two Councels muſt be held euerie yeare, and withall forbiddeth any reſpect to be had to the authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome?* And to proue that the Churches were now in that ſtate, that they needed not any more to haue recourſe to Rome, *To ſpeake more plainely*, ſaith he, *and to confeſſe openly the truth, After the fall of the Empire this citie hath vndone the Church of Alexandria, and loſt that of Antioch, and to ſay nothing of Africa and Aſia, Europe it ſelfe is departed*, diſcedit: *For the Church of Conſtantinople is retired, and the inward parts of Spaine know not her iudgements. There is made therefore a departure, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, not onely of nations, but of Churches; becauſe the miniſters of Antichriſt, who is now at hand, haue alreadie poſſeſſed France, and with all their force begin to preſſe vs too. And as the ſame Apoſtle ſaith, now the Myſterie of Iniquitie worketh, onely that he that now holdeth may ſtil hold, vntill he be taken away, to the end that the ſonne of perdition might be reuealed, the man of ſinne, who oppoſeth himſelfe, and is exalted aboue the name of God and his ſeruice: which now begins to be diſcouered, in that the Roman powers are ſhaken, religion ouerthrowne, the name of God with oathes and blaſphemies troden vnder foot, and that without puniſhment; and religion it ſelfe, and the ſeruice of God, contemned by the chiefe Prieſts themſelues: and that which is more, Rome it ſelfe, now almoſt left alone, is departed from her ſelfe.* By this his ſpeech giuing them plainly to vnderſtand, That then there was no reſpect had, nor is now to be had, of the Church of Rome, but as it ſhall be ſeene to flouriſh with men of worth and learning, at whoſe hands they were to ſeeke for counſell; and if ſuch be wanting, then to ſeeke it elſewhere, in Flanders, Germanie, or the vtmoſt parts of the world, being tied to no particular place in the world. A matter formerly concluded by many other Churches, and therefore to be the rather executed by them, becauſe they felt more neerely the tyrannie of Rome, now no more the ſeat of *Peter* (whoſe memorie they did honour) but of Antichriſt himſelfe. Intreating them for a concluſion, That ſince Rome had beene conſulted by them, but yet no forme of iudgement from thence had beene pronounced, that they would aske counſell of the Canons, *By how many Biſhops, a Biſhop conuicted of a crime may be heard, and what ſentence he is to receiue, who refuſeth to appeare to defend his owne cauſe.* Hereupon were read the tenth and ſeuenth Canons of the Councell of Carthage, to which the defendants of the partie accuſed yeelding themſelues, the Biſhop is ſent for, and commaunded by the Synod to take his place: he preſently either denying all, or endeuouring to couer it, *Arnulph* Biſhop of Orleans made him preſently to bluſh, conuicteth him with his owne words, confronted him with his owne domeſticall ſeruants, who were readie to go through fire & water to make good their teſtimonie. It was requeſted by

Cap.29.& 30.

A by ſome of the Abbots, That he might haue libertie giuen him by the Synod, to make choyce of whomſoeuer he liked beſt to be aduiſed by; which was granted: Whereupon he maketh choice of *Siguin* Biſhop of Sens, *Arnulph* of Orleans, *Bruno* of Langres, *Godzman* of Amiens, in whoſe abſence many Canons were read that concerned this queſtion. In the end being preſſed, after many tergiuerſations, partly by the force of ſuch proofes as were brought againſt him, partly by the pricke of his owne conſcience, *Arnulph* of Reimes breaketh out into an open confeſſion of his ſinnes, with teares and gronings, confeſſing much more than they knew, and acknowledging himſelfe vnworthie of his Prieſthood. Whereupon the Biſhops of the Synod were ſent for, that being his owne witneſſe and his
B owne judge, he might before the multitude relate his owne cauſe. Wherefore, by his owne conſent, nay himſelfe deſiring it, he was depriued of his Biſhopricke; only there was a queſtion of the forme, for which they ſearched the auncient Councels. And whileſt diuers thought diuerſly thereof, ſome pitying him for his race, ſome for his youth, and the Biſhops themſelues moued with the ruine of their brother, and that ſcandall that hereby fell vpon the Prieſtly dignitie, in came the Kings and Peeres of France, who putting themſelues into that holy aſſemblie, thanked the Biſhops for their juſtice, and that zeale and care they had ſhewed in this their Councell for the good and ſafetie of their Princes, and withall deſired to be further ſatisfied touching the whole courſe of their proceedings: which
C preſently was performed by *Arnulph* Biſhop of Orleans. And then the better to diſcharge the Synod of enuie and partialitie, the partie accuſed was brought in to pronounce his owne condemnation with his owne mouth; which he did in expreſſe words, requiring neuertheleſſe *Arnulph* of Orleans, becauſe ſhame ſtopped his owne mouth, to relate the whole matter at large: which hauing performed, he asked him, *Whether he would confeſſe that which he had hitherto ſpoken of him*: which he affirming to be true, the Biſhop *of Orleans willed him to caſt himſelfe downe before his Lords and Kings, whom he had ſo hainouſly offended, and confeſſing his fault, to beg his life at their hands: who being bent to mercie, Let him liue, ſay they, for the loue of you, and remaine vnder your cuſtodie, fearing neither yrons nor bands, vpon condition*
D *that he offer not to ſaue himſelfe by flight.* Whereupon that heigth of honours that by degrees he had attained vnto, by degrees he put off, and reſigning to the king that which he had receiued from him, and deliuering the enſignes of his Prieſtly dignitie into the hands of the Biſhops, he recited with his owne mouth the forme of the depoſition in the middeſt of this aſſemblie, according to the example of his predeceſſor *Hebo*; which was there read word by word, and by all the Biſhops that were preſent ſubſcribed, all of them ſaying vnto him, *according to thy profeſſion and ſubſcription ceaſe from thine office.* Which being done, they diſcharged the Clergie and people from their oath they had made vnto him, that it might be free for euerie man to ſubiect himſelf to the authoritie of any other man. And here the
E Synod ended, which we haue thought good to repeat the more at large, that it might appeare with what grauitie, wiſedome, moderation, circumſpection, our Fathers of France haue proceeded in this buſineſſe, all of them with one accord ſpeaking by the mouth of *Arnulph* Biſhop of Orleans; and withall what they thought and judged of Rome, and the Biſhop thereof. Sixtly, Pope *Iohn* hereupon waxeth angrie, and full of diſcontent, in ſo much that he threateneth his excommunications againſt the Kings. But *Hugh*, leaſt his competitors ſhould thereby take aduantage, ſendeth him the whole courſe of proceeding in writing, and withall ſends him letters to this effect. *We know we haue done nothing againſt your*

Cap.30.& 31. 32.33.34.35. 36.37.38.39. 40.41.42.43. 44.45.46.47. 48.49.

Cap.49.& 50.

Cap.54.55.

Apoſtolike See, and if you vouchſafe not to giue credit to vs that are abſent, being preſent your ſelfe, learne the truth of thoſe that are preſent. Grenoble is a citie ſituat vpon the confines of Italie and France, where the Biſhops of Rome were wont to meet the Kings of France: If it ſhall ſo pleaſe you, you may doe the like, or if it ſhall content you better, to viſit vs and ours, we will receiue you at the foot of the Alpes with all honour, and follow you with all due obſeruances, both ſtaying here and returning backe. This we ſpeake from the bottome of our hearts, that you may know and vnderſtand, that neither we nor any of ours will refuſe your iudgemẽt. But *Iohn* reſolued rather to ſend Legats. And in the meane time whileſt theſe things were thus delayed, *Gerbert* (afterwards Pope *Silueſter* the ſecond) writ an Epiſtle to *Siguin* Archbiſhop of Sens, who to the Pope ſeemed to fauour *Arnulph*, the man accuſed, and now condemned; Which Epiſtle was read at the end of this Synod: *Your wiſedome*, ſaith he, *ſhould haue auoided the wilie ſubtilties of craftie men, and haue hearkened to the voyce of the Lord, which ſaith, If they ſhall ſay vnto you, Here is Chriſt, and there is Chriſt, follow them not: It is ſaid that he is at Rome, who iuſtifieth that which you condemne, and condemnes that which you take to be iuſt; and we ſay, that it is God and not man that condemnes thoſe things that ſeeme iuſt, and to iuſtifie that which ſeemeth euill, &c. God ſaith, If thy brother haue ſinned againſt thee, goe and reproue him, &c. How then doe theſe that emulate vs ſay, That in the depoſing of Arnulph we were to expect the iudgement of the Biſhop of Rome? Can they teach vs, that the iudgement of the Biſhop of Rome is greater than the iudgement of God, when the firſt Biſhop of Rome, and the Prince of the Apoſtles, tels vs, that we muſt rather obey God than men? yea the great Doctor of the world, Saint Paul, tellcth vs, That if any man ſhall preach vnto you any other doctrine than that ye haue receiued, though he be an Angell from heauen, let him be accurſed. Thinke you, that becauſe Pope Marcelline burnt incens to Idols, therefore all the Biſhops muſt doe ſo too? I dare boldly ſay, that if the Biſhop of Rome ſhall ſinne againſt his brother, and being often admoniſhed, ſhall refuſe to heare the Church, this Biſhop of Rome, I ſay, by the commaundement of God, is to be accounted as a Heathen or Publican: For by how much higher his degree is, by ſo much greater is his fall. And if he ſhall therefore account vs vnworthie his communion, or fellowſhip, becauſe none of vs conſent vnto him againſt the Goſpell, yet he cannot therefore ſeperat vs from the Communion of Chriſt. A Prieſt if by his owne confeſſion, or otherwiſe, he be not conuicted, cannot be put from his office, eſpecially ſince the Apoſtle himſelfe ſaith, Who ſhal ſeperat vs from the loue of Chriſt Ieſus? And againe, Sure I am, that neither life, nor death, &c. The priuiledge then of S. Peter, ſaith Leo the great, is not in force, where ſoeuer iudgement is not executed according to equitie. And therefore we are not to giue occaſion to thoſe that emulate vs, to thinke that Prieſthood, that is euerie where one, as the Catholike Church is in all places one, ſhould in ſuch ſort be ſubiect to one onely man, though he be corrupted with money, fauour, feare, or ignorance; none may be a Biſhop but only he that is commended for ſuch or the like vertues. Let the Canon Law of the Catholike Church, the Apoſtles, the Prophets, the Canons ordained by the ſpirit of God, and conſecrated with the reuerence of the whole world, the Decrees of the Apoſtolike See, not diſagreeing from them, &c. Fare ye well, and depend not vpon holie myſteries.* But Pope *Iohn* in the meane time hardly enduring theſe things, appointed a Synod ſometimes at Rome, ſometimes at Aix, where our Biſhops (pretending that they were not bound to goe forth of the realme) would not be found: at the laſt at Mouſon vpon the borders of France, where onely *Gerbert*, whom *Hugh* had nominated Archbiſhop of Rheimes, appeared, and in the preſence of *Leo* Abbot of S. Boniface, the Popes Legat, many of the Biſhops of Germanie and Italie aſſiſting, he defended the cauſe of the Fathers of France, in ſuch ſort, that the Legat durſt not pro-

Gerbertus in Epiſt. ad Siguinum Senonenſ.

A proceed any farther, before he had conſulted with the Pope, and therefore referred the determination thereof vnto another Synod at Rheimes; but yet in the meane time he forbad *Gerbert* to vſe his Epiſcopall function, who not fearing to anſwer him to his face, told him, *That it was not in the power of any Biſhop, Patriarch, or Pope, to remoue from the communion any of the faithfull, who hath not been conuicted, or of his owne accord confeſſed the fact, or hath not refuſed to come vnto the Councell, but of all theſe three was none that might hinder him, ſince he had neither confeſſed, nor was conuicted, and had onely among it all the Biſhops of France appeared at this Councell.* But in the meane time *Gerbert* went into Germanie to the Emperour *Otho* the third, with whom he had been formerly brought vp, who ſhortly after made him Archbiſhop of Rauenna; perceiuing wel that our kings not yet ſetled in their new kingdomes, nor approued by all, did much feare to offend the Pope: and indeed he ſaw, that whatſoeuer our Biſhops could alledge to the contrarie, in the ſecond Synod at Rheimes that foreſaid *Arnulph* was reſtored to his Biſhopricke; which it is likely *Leo* the Popes Legat obtained, becauſe *Iohn had confirmed the mariage of king Robert*, as appeareth in a letter that *Gerbert* ſent to queene *Adeleide*. Adde hereunto, That *Gerbert* would not hold the Biſhopricke vpon ſuch conditions as were propoſed vnto him. But it ſeemeth by an Epiſtle of *Hughes*, which is read among the Epiſtles of *Gerbert*, that this mariage was that of king *Robert* with *Bertha* the ſiſter of *Rodolph* king of Burgonie, which afterward was diſſolued by reaſon of a ſpiritual kindred joyned to that of their bloud; It falling out many times, that circumſtances ouerthrow the ſubſtance. This *Gerbert* could not bridle himſelfe, but that he muſt needs write an Apologie of the Church of France in an Epiſtle to *Wildered* Biſhop of Strasbourge, wherein he proueth out of the auncient Canons of the Church the juſt proceedings of our Biſhops, in theſe words: *The ſilence of the Pope, or his diſſimulation, or his new conſtitutions, are preiudiciall to the lawes eſtabliſhed; but this is but a cauill of wicked men, &c. Thou ſayeſt, that Arnulph practiſing ſeditions, treaſons, captiuities, the vtter ouerthrow of his kings, the betraying of his countrey, contemning all lawes both diuine and humane, is neither to be depriued of the communion, nor by the power of his Prince to be caſt out, without the commaund of the Biſhop of Rome. And the Apoſtle ſayth, That the Prince carrieth not the ſword in vaine, but for the puniſhment of the wicked, and the preſeruation of the good. Fauour me all ye that haue promiſed faith and loyaltie to your Kings, and haue a purpoſe to keepe it, who haue not betrayed, nor purpoſe to betray the Clergie, and people committed to your charge, you (I ſay) who haue abhorred and deteſted ſuch wickednes, fauor thoſe that obey God, commaunding that the ſinner hearing not to the Church, ſhould bee held for a Heathen or a Publican, who crieth vengeance vpon you Scribes and Phariſes, which tranſgreſſe the commaundement of God to eſtabliſh your tradition, &c. To the end that no man here charge vs of enuie derogating from the priuiledges of the Church of Rome, S. Hierome the Roman Prieſt telleth thee, If it be a queſtion of authoritie, Orbis* E *major eſt vrbe, the world is greater than a citie; and if one Prieſt be not ſufficient, then let great Pope Leo come: The priuiledge* (ſaith he) *of S. Peter holds not good, where a man iudgeth not according to the equitie of S. Peter &c. To what end are matters iudged and determined, if matters to be iudged are not thereby informed? Thoſe 318 Fathers of the Councell of Nice, how made they eternall lawes, if it be in the power of one onely man to abrogate them at his pleaſure? Apiarius the Prieſt is condemned by the Africans, and reſtored againe to the communion by the Romans: The Biſhops of Africke writ to Pope Celeſtine, That this was contrarie to the Councell of Nice: Our falſe accuſers after the ſame manner ſay, That Arnulph, a chiefe Biſhop, ought not to be iudged but by the Soue-*

raigne

B *Gerbertus in Epiſt. ad Adelaidam Reginam.*

C *Gerbertus in Epiſt. ad Wilderodonem Epiſc. Argentinenſem.*

D

raigne Bishop of Rome. And Saint Augustine saith of Cecilian the Metropolitan Bishop of all Africke, That if his accusers could ouercome or vanquish him after his death, of that which they could not proue during his life, that after his death without retractation they would pronounce him accursed. Surely then it hath beene lawfull for vs to pronounce against Arnulph liuing, confessing, conuicted, as against a Heathen and Publican; it hath beene (I say) lawfull for vs to follow the Gospell, the Apostles, the holie Councels, the Decrees of Apostolike men, so we disagree not from these foure, &c. Truely the Church of France is wholly oppressed with tyrannie, and by those of whom a man should hope for helpe: But thou art, O Christ, the onely comfort of man. This Rome that was heretofore held for the mother of all Churches, is said now to banne the good, and blesse the wicked, to communicat with those to whom a man ought not to say, God speed, and to condemne the worshippers of thy law, abusing that power to bind and vnbind, which it hath receiued of thee. This *Gerbert* in the meane while, a Monke of the Abbie of Fleurack, not verie happie (as he saith) for his race, nor his plentie of wealth, yet esteemed for his wisedome and capacitie, of men of greatest worth and nobilitie.

An. 1000. And here we come to the thousand yeare: But least any man should thinke that we, or such Authors as we haue alledged, should speake of the Church of Rome out of passion or discontent, it shal not be amisse to insert the iudgement of Cardinall *Baronius* himselfe, touching these times, who in the tenth tome of his Annales hath these words. *What was then the face,* saith he, *of the Roman Church? How foule was it, when strumpets, no lesse powerfull than vncleane and impudent, bare rule at Rome? At the will and pleasure of whom the Sees were changed, Bishoprickes giuen, and that which was horrible and detestable to heare, their louers, false Popes, were thrust into the Seat of Peter, who were put into the Catalogue of the Popes of Rome to no other end, but to make vp the number, and lengthen the time: For who can say that they were lawfull Popes of Rome, that by such strumpets were thrust in without law? There is no mention any where made of any Clergie chusing them, or consenting to their choyce. The Canons were silent, the Decrees of Popes forgotten, auncient traditions, and old customes in the election of the Pope, quite banished, holy rites and ceremonies extinct. Thus had lust and couetousnesse drawne all vnto it selfe, emboldened by the secular power, and carried by a furious desire of bearing rule. Then (as it appeared) Christ Iesus slept in the ship, a profound sleep, when with the blasts of winds so violent it was ouerwhelmed with waues: he slept, I say, not seeming to see these things, and suffering them to be done, in that no man rose vp to reuenge them: And that which seemed worst of all, there wanted Disciples to awaken our Lord with their cries, thus sleeping, yea quite contrarie, all lay snorting in a dead sleepe.* What maner of Cardinals, Priests, Deacons, thinke you, were chosen by these monsters, since there is nothing so naturall, as for euerie thing to ingender his like? And who in the meane time can doubt, that they consented in all things to those by whom they were chosen? who will not easily beleeue that they followed their steps? and who knowes not that they endeuoured nothing more, but that our Lord should still sleepe, and neuer rise vp to judgement, neuer awaken himselfe to know and to punish their wickednesse? Now from this onely place let the Reader judge by what law that succession of the Bishops of Rome, which they so much boast of, may be defended.

Baron. Annal. 10.10. An. 913. art. 5.

We must not forget that *Baronius* reprehendeth our Historiographer *Glaber* in one poynt, wherein neuertheless hee expresseth to the life the beleefe of our French Church. The Earle *Foulke* of Anjou hauing built a Church, went himselfe to Rome with a great summe of money, which he deliuered to *Iohn* the seuenteenth, to the end he would send a Legat to consecrate the place: Whereunto

A unto he agreed, and sent thither a Cardinall, with direction to doe whatsoeuer *Foulk* should commaund. But, saith *Glaber, the Prelats of France hearing thereof, iudged it to be sacrilegious presumption, proceeding from blind ambition, &c. being a thing too vndecent, that he that ruled the See Apostolike, should be the first that did transgresse the Apostolicall and Canonical order, especially being auncientlie confirmed by many authorities, Multiplici authoritate,* that not any Bishop should presume to exercise any such power in anothers Dioceese, except it were at the request, or by the permission of him to whom it appertained; yea not excepting the Bishop of Rome himselfe, whose Dioceese they held not to be the whole world. But thus he proceedeth: *An innumerable multitude of people being gathered together, in a cleere and* B *quiet day, to see the dedication of this Temple, a sudden tempest arose out of the South, which in a moment beat downe the Temple to the ground.* Which strange accident being spread abroad through the whole countrey, there was no man that doubted, that the insolent boldnesse of this presumption had made vaine the vow of *Foulk*, and was a manifest warning to all that were present, and to come, neuer to attempt the like. For though the Bishop of Rome for the dignitie of the Apostolike See, was had in greater reuerence than all other in the world, yet it was neuer permitted that he should transgresse in any thing the order of the Canonical gouernment. For as euerie Bishop and spouse of the true Church hath some vniformitie in his seat with the Image of our Sauiour, so generally it becommeth no man to C doe any thing ouer boldly in the Dioceese of another. Now from the opinion of this Monke let vs know what the judgement of our Church should be.

Glaber. Histo-riar. lib. 2. c. 4. Baron. 10. 10. an. 996. art. 21. 22. 23. 24.

39. Progression.

Of Inchantments and the art of Nigromancie, practised by the Popes to attaine the Popedome, and vsed by them for other wicked and vnlawfull purposes. How the diuill deceiued Sylvester the second, touching the time and place of his death. Of Benedict the ninth his sacrifices to the diuell, who in the D *end strangled him in the forest: and of his strange apparitions after his death.*

THe Age that followeth mends but a little, and therefore a Carthusian noteth, That in the yeare 1000 we enter into a monstrous time, infamous for Magicke artes, and all maner of wickednesse; his words are these, and not without cause: *There began about the yeare of our Lord* 1000, *an effeminat time, wherein the Christian Faith began much to decline from her first virilitie, as appeareth in the prophesie of S. Hildegard, &c. men betaking themselues to sorceries, and inchantments; and the Priest was as the people.* After *Iohn* the seuenteenth succeeded *Gregorie* the fift, E by countrey a Saxon, created by the Emperour *Otho* the third, and chosen out of his companie at Rauenna; who being sent to Rome to be consecrated, the Emperour not long after receiued the Crowne from his hands. But he had no sooner turned his face towards Germanie, but that *Crescens* a Consull constrained him to leaue the citie, and set vp against him another Pope; in such sort that at the request of *Gregorie, Otho* was enforced to returne to Rome, where he vsed much seueritie in punishing the authors of that sedition. But shortly after *Gregorie* being dead, *Otho* (the Clergie and people being assembled together) chose for his successor that *Gerbert* of whom we haue spoken so much before, who in his youth was his

Fasciculus Temporum. An. 1000.

tutor,

tutor, and was called *Silueſter* the ſecond. A man, as appeareth by many of his owne writings (ſtill kept in diuers Libraries) that had penetrated euen the depth of all profound learning, eſpecially the Mathematikes; but yet blamed by many Authors (for eleuated ſpirits neuer keepe a meaſure in any thing) for that his ſtudies extended to Nigromancie it ſelfe, by helpe whereof he made his way to the Popedome. A matter ſo little doubted of, by thoſe that were beſt acquainted with the ſecrets of thoſe times, that they conſtantly beleeued, that whoſoeuer affected the Popedome in thoſe dayes, made profeſſion of this art, and thereby attained thereunto. I ſhould be aſhamed to alledge it, but that *Martinus Polonus, Vincent* of Beauvois, *Malmesburienſis, Anthonie* the Archbiſhop, *Henrie* of Herford, *Carthuſianus, Platina, Stella*, and others, goe before me, and the moſt part of them doe abſolutely affirme, That *Gerbert* had learnt this art in a booke which he ſtole from Seuille in Spaine, that he did homage to the diuill, and had in his cloſet a braſen head, by which the diuell gaue him anſwers: With whom conſulting about the time of his continuance in that See, anſwer was giuen him, That hee ſhould not die vntill he had celebrated Maſſe in Hieruſalem; a voyage farre from his thought to haue euer vndertaken, and therefore he promiſed to himſelfe a long life. But falling ſicke of an ague at Rome, in the church of the holie Croſſe called Hieruſalem, whileſt he was celebrating Maſſe in Lent, by a ſtrange noyſe of diuels, he perceiued his death was at hand, and began to ſee the doubtfull meaning of the Oracle. Whereupon being moued with the horror of his ſinnes, he diſcouered it to ſome of the Cardinals, and deſired them, that for a ſatisfaction his carkaſſe after his death *ſhould be put into a chariot drawne with two horſes, and there buried where the horſes of their owne accord ſhould draw him.* Which deſire of his being performed, it fell out, that the horſes carried him to the church of S. Lateran, where the Cardinals buried him. *And his ſepulchre*, ſay they, *by the noyſe and ratling of the bones, and the ſweating of the ſepulchre, did preſage, a long time after, the death of the Popes.* This hiſtorie neuertheleſſe by ſome in theſe dayes is called into doubt, and eſpecially by *Baronius*, becauſe there is no mention made of any ſuch matter by *Glaber* and *Dithmarus*, but quite contrarie he is commended by them for his almes-deeds and charitie towards the poore. But the Monke of Malmeſburie ſpeakes thereof, as of a matter beyond all controuerſie, and deſcribeth all the circumſtances; yea he affirmeth, That he had an auncient book by him wherein the names of all the Popes were regiſtred, which ſaith, *That Silueſter ended his life after a baſe and villanous manner.* And Cardinall *Benno*, another of that time, ſpeaking of him, hath theſe words: *Gerbert, ſhortly after the yere of our Lord* 1000, *aſcending from the bottomeleſſe pit, by the permiſsion of God, poſſeſſed the See foure yeres, who changing his name, was called Silueſter the ſecond; and by thoſe ſelfeſame means which he had deceiued others (which was the anſwers of the diuels) he likewiſe deceiued himſelfe, being ſurpriſed by the iuſt iudgements of God with a ſudden death.* And afterwards he proceedeth in the hiſtorie as before. *Benno* addeth, That he had for his diſciples *Theophilact* and *Laurence*, who ſacrificed vnto diuels, and that betwixt them and diuers others, after his death, there was much contention by the ſelfeſame arts, who ſhould attaine to the Popedome, and that his ſucceſſors a long time after made it their profeſſion; which hereafter we ſhall ſpeake of more particularly. *Baronius*, though in horror of the miſerable end of *Silueſter* he call it into doubt, yet he giueth but a hard judgement of him, to the end he might both begin and end that Age with the publike abhomination of that See. Before his Popedome he painteth him out *to be a courtier among courtiers, with which profeſsion he began, that by his*

Martinus in Chron. Gaiſridus in ſupplement. Sigiberti Malmesburienſis l. 2. Hiſt. Angl. Anton. Archiep. tit. 16. part 2. ſect. 18. Vincent. l. 24. c. 98. Henric. Erford in Chron. Plat. in Silueſtr. Iohannes Stella ibid.

Benno Card. in vita Hildebrandi.

A *his garrulitie, flatterie, detraction, and double heart compoſed to diſſemble, and to deceiue, he might excell all others.* But being come to his Popedome, he affirmeth that of him which he would haue vs beleeue of all the reſt, That he was no way tranſubſtantiated by his chaire: *But to ſay the truth*, ſaith he, *he was verie vnworthie of that See, but ſuch indignities the church of Rome was conſtrained to endure, becauſe the Roman Biſhops were elected by ſecular Princes.* In the meane time he would not ſee, that better were not choſen by the elections and factions of the Clergie. *Sergius*, ſucceſſor to *Silueſter*, made this Epitaph, wherein he acknowledgeth him to haue bin created by *Otho* the third.

Baron. an. 991. art. 6. 7. & 992. art. 3.

An. 999. art. 2.

B *Poſt annum Romam mutato nomine ſumpſit,*
Obtulit hoc Cæſar tertius Otho ſibi.

After a yeare he ruled Rome with changed name,
Otho the third, then Cæſar, gaue the ſame.

And whereas *Sigonius* affirmeth, That *Otho* the third at his requeſt renewed the Donations which are ſaid to be of *Pepin, Charles, Lewis*, to the Church of Rome; as he alledgeth no Author, ſo it is eaſily refelled by the teſtimonie of *Otho* himſelfe: For in that donation, whoſe letters patents are kept in the Popes regiſter at Aſiſij, he giueth onely eight counties to *Silueſter* his maſter, as before wee haue noted; by which donation he excludeth all the reſt, and withall the palea of *Conſtantine* he reiecteth, and acknowledgeth not that of *Charles* and *Lewis*, and makes as little account of that of *Caluus* himſelfe. Adde hereunto, that not without the diſhonour of the See, this donation is ſaid to be gotten by *Silueſter* by the ſeruice of the diuell. *Iohn Sicco*, a Roman, ſucceeded *Silueſter* in the yeare 1003, according to *Platina* the nineteenth, who continued onely fiue monethes, and yet in that ſhort time it is ſaid that he brought to paſſe, that the election of the Roman Popes ſhould belong onely to the Roman Clergie, without the conſent of the people, whereby the authoritie of the Cardinals was greatly encreaſed; alledging theſe words, *The people are to be led, not to be followed.* An order neuertheleſſe ill obſerued a long time after. *Stella* likewiſe attributeth vnto him the *Feaſt of all Soules*, firſt inuented by *Odilon* Abbot of Clugnie, the obſeruation whereof *Iohn* afterwards impoſed vpon all. *Iohn* the twentieth, called *Faſanus*, ſucceeded him, and preſently *Sergius* the fourth; neither of them prayſe worthie in any thing. Afterwards followed *Benedict* the eigth, *Iohn* the one and twentieth, *Benedict* the ninth, *Silueſter* the third, *Gregorie* the ſixt, which bring vs to the yeare 1045, and were all of one ſtampe, created by the factions of the Earles of Tuſcane, and if we may beleeue their owne writers, all infamous for the art Magicke. Cardinall *Benno* ſpeaking of *Hildebrand*, who was *Gregorie* the ſeuenth, ſaith, *That he had learnt of his maſters the doctrine of the diuels, of Theophilact, whoſe ſurname was Benedict the ninth, of Laurence the Archbiſhop of Amelfis, and of Iohn Archprieſt of S. Iohn Port Latine, who was named Gregorie the ſixt. Particularly of Theophilact or Benedict the ninth*, he ſaith, *That he ſacrificed to diuels in woods and mountaines, and by the art Magicke won vnto him the loue of women: The bookes that were found in his houſe, after he had ended his wicked life in a bad manner, witneſſe the ſame. He was alwayes aſſiſted by Laurence the Prince of Inchanters, who gloried much amongſt the Biſhops, Cardinals, and Senators, that he had ſuch a diſciple.* In the end, ſaith he, *he was ſtrangled by the diuell in the foreſts, his Archprieſt baniſhed, and Laurence enforced to run away.* In all

Othone 3. Diploma Donationis quod Aſſiſij ſeruatur in Archiuis Eccleſiæ Romanæ.

Bacon tor pium in Prologo in 4. ſent. q. 10.

An. 1045.

Cardin. Benno in vita Hildebrandi.

all other things he was so ignorant, that he had a Collegue consecrated with him to doe the seruice: For which cause *Onuphrius* himselfe calleth him *a man of nothing*; and yet neuertheless by certaine intermissions of times hee raigned ten yeares and somewhat more. Many Authors report, and among the rest *Petrus Damianus* the Cardinall, who liued neere about those times, That *Benedict* after his death appeared to a certaine Hermit neere to a mill, in a most horrible shape, being *in bodie, head, and taile, like to an Asse*; *and being asked why he so appeared, he answered, Because I liued in the Popedome like a beast, without reason, without law, & without God.* This *Damian* neuertheless being a great champion of the Popes, as shall be shewed in his due place. The Cardinall *Benno* saith also of *Siluester* the third, *That the Church of God by his occasion was strangely torne and troubled with ciuile wars, and infinit murders.* But *Waltramus* being guiltie of his owne insufficiencie, and perceiuing the Emperour comming to Rome, resigned the Popedome to the Archbishop of S. Iohn Port Latine, for 1500. pounds of gold. And *Glaber* saith he was chosen Pope being *a child of twelue yeares of age*; but *Baronius* saith, *of ten yeares*. *Platina* therefore thus speaketh of them all: *The Popedome was then come to that passe, that he that excelled all others in bountie, and ambition, I say not sanctitie of life and learning, was onely able to obtaine that dignitie, the best sort of men being oppressed and reiected. I would to God*, saith he, *this had not beene the custome of the world in our times, but these are but small matters in respect of those we shall see, if God preuent it not.* Of *Siluester* he expressly saith, *he entred not by the gate, but by the posterne, like a theefe and robber.* And yet these were the men that managed the affaires of the Church, and therein did beare rule at their owne pleasure, euen to the vttermost bounds of the earth; yea they disposed of kingdomes and Empires according to their own lusts, that that Prophesie might be fulfilled, *That they should make drunken the kings of the earth with the wine of their cup.* And therfore *Benedict* the ninth (according to *Glaber*) was not afraid to make this Decree, *That no man should be said or held for Emperour, but whom the Pope should chuse, and for his honestie and sufficiencie should thinke fit for the Commonweale, and to whom he had committed the Imperiall Ensigne*, that is, saith the same Author, *a golden globe or apple, which he caused to be made of purpose, enriched with many pretious Iewels, with a crosse fastened on the top thereof.* The Empire likewise being vacant by the death of *Conrade*, he offered it by his Legats to *Peter* king of Hungarie, with a Diadem whereon was this inscription:

Petra dedit Romam Petro, tibi Papa Coronam.

The Rocke gaue Rome to *Peter*, the Pope to thee the Crowne.

For such Princes as were farthest from them were fittest for their purpose, but yet euer with that condition that they should confirme their donations. But let vs now see what the Church thought of these confusions.

Martinus in Chron. Platina in Benedict. 8. Petrus Damianus in libro qui inscribitur Gratissimus.

Herman. contractus in Chron. Waltramus de inuestitura. Glaber Hist. l. 3. Platina in. Siluest. 3. & alijs.

Glaber. l. 1. in fine.

Opposition.

All this we haue learnt from none other but Monkes, for they were the onely writers in these times, and therefore their testimonie must needs be beyond all exception, being taken as it were out of their owne bosome. *Glaber* therefore the Monke of Clugnie, and writer of these times, in his historie dedicated to *Odilo* the Abbot, brings in the Emperour *Henrie* the second speaking to the Archbishops and Bishpos assembled together, in these words: *All Ecclesiasticall degrees from the Pope to the Porter, are oppressed with the price of their owne damnation, and in all according to the word of our Sauiour, spirituall theft is verie cruell.* The Author addeth,

An. 1047.

Glaber Hist. li. 4. c. 5.

A deth, *And this iniquitie was not onely sprung vp among the Bishops of France, but was farre worse in Italie; for all Ecclesiasticall offices were at that time as vendible as other wares in a market place.* The Bishops astonished and confounded herewith, had no other refuge but to his mercie. He for their comfort gaue them this answer; *Goe your wayes*, saith he, *and what you haue vnlawfully receiued, endeuour to vse lawfully*; and so he made a law for the repressing of such sales. Of the See in particular he saith, *The See of Rome, which is held by right to be the vniuersall Church of the whole world, had for the space of fiue and twentie yeares beene miserably sicke of this aforesaid pestilent disease; for there was chosen to that See an infant of twelue yeares of age, against all law and equitie, whom gold and siluer had more commended, than age or sanctitie of life: who as he had an vnhappie entrance, so he had a worse departure. The foulenesse of his conuersation it is a shame to relate.* In another place the aforesaid *Glaber* saith, *At that time the whole gouernement both of the secular power, and Ecclesiasticall religion, consisted in the person of a child: For the sinnes of the people that saying of Salomon was then verified; Woe be to the earth: For the vniuersall Pope of Rome, who was then chosen by the Romans, was the nephew of two that were his predecessors, Benedict & John, a child of ten yeares of age, and that by the helpe of a great summe of money: who being often reiected, and dishonestly receiued againe, ruled with no power. And as wee haue partly touched before, the rest of the Prelats of the Church in those times, preferred gold and siluer before merit. Out and alas, of these the Scripture speaketh plainely, or rather the mouth of God himselfe, Principes extiterunt & non cognoui.* He speaketh likewise of *Siluester* the third. He telleth vs in another place, That the auarice of Rome was growne to such a height, that it contended with ambition; in such sort that about the yeare 1024 certaine Legats being come from the See of Constantinople to Rome, with wonderfull rich presents as well of the Emperour *Basilius* as the Patriarches, to intreat that by the consent of the Pope the Church of Constantinople might be taken for the vniuersall Church of the East, as the Roman of the West; there wanted but little but that *John* the one and twentieth had yeelded thereunto, *And the Greekes*, saith the Author, *with a dagger of gold had broken a wall of yron:* For he addeth, *That though auarice for a time might be called the Queene of the whole world, yet she had placed at Rome her insaciable couch: for they had no sooner seene the glorious lustre of those riches the Greekes brought vnto them, but their hearts were wholly bent to deuise new fraudes and deuises, how they might priuily yeeld vnto that that they desired.* But the businesse being come to the eares of diuers who opposed themselues against it, the Greekes departed not doing any thing. *William*, an Englishman, and Monke of Malmesburie, sets before our eyes how bad the state of all things was at Rome in these times, speaking thereof as of a publike robberie: *What shall I say*, saith he, *of that citie that was heretofore the habitation of sanctitie? It is now the place where theeues & robbers walke in open market place, a wicked and a craftie generation. If any man come to Rome, euen with the danger of his life, to visit the Churches of the Apostles, he falls into the hands of these kind of people, and seldome or neuer returnes without the losse either of his goods or his life. Vpon the bodies of the holie Apostles and Martyres, vpon the holie Altars, swords are drawne, and oblations are no sooner offered but their hands are vpon them, who take end spend them in banqueting with their whores. Such a tempest of euills troubled the Popedome of Gregorie*, which could not be remedied with Excommunications, the Cardinals themselues withstanding him the whole time of his abode in that See. *Rolwinck* in his *Fasciculus Temporum* speakes *of the pluralitie of benefices which in those times grew to be verie common, and so continued afterwards: Of the lamentable ambition and simonie of the*

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Glaber. li. 4. c. 1.

Willelm. Malmesb. l. 2. de Gestis Regum Anglor.

Fasciculus Temporum.

Prelats, notwithstanding there were found many writings of the Fathers, that bewrayed how much they had in detestation these abuses. Note also that there were some poore Clergie men, and Doctors, that reprehended the pluralitie of benefices, and the pompe of the Clergie, vntill occasion was giuen them to part stakes with them, and to tast the benefit of such pluralities, and then couetousnesse blinded them too. It is written of a great learned Master that solemnely disputed against the riches and pride of Prelats, as being altogether vnlawfull to liue in such a fashion: Which the Pope being giuen to vnderstand, merily answered, Let vs bestow vpon him some good Priorie, and such and such benefices, and he will be quiet ynough; which was speedily done, and so presently he changed his opinion, saying, Vntill now I neuer vnderstood this matter, &c. But he compareth the state of the Church in these times to those of *Hieroboam*, when he set vp the golden calues in Israel. *Many holie men*, saith he, *did commonly affirme, that the same was to be feared in the Ecclesiasticall State, and now we see it performed in many parts of the world. The Clergie, who should possesse nothing but that which in reason was competent for them, nor intermeddle with the affaires of the Temporaltie, will take vpon them to possesse and to gouerne all things; and therefore as S. Bernard saith, such as obserue no order hasten thither where dwelleth eternall horror, &c. Good Reader take heed thou follow not this dangerous custome, neither excuse thy selfe with the Popes dispensation, but follow the counsell of those that are in the heauens aboue with God, least with the golden calues thou burne in hell fire.* In the meane time, in the yeare 1046, the Emperour *Henrie* the second, taketh his journey into Italie, partly to take possession of the Empire, partly at the persuasion of diuers, to procure some remedie against those confusions which had beene brought into the Church by three Popes, *Benedict*, *Silvester*, and *Gregorie*, the one troubling and contending with the other, and within the walls of Rome making barricadoes one against the other, *Silvester* at S. Maria major, *Benedict* at the palace of S. Lateran, and *Gregorie* at S. Peters: whereupon these verses were sent by a Hermit to *Henrie*.

An. 1046.

Otho Frisingens. l. 6. c. 31. Gregor. Hemburg. in admonitione de vsurpat Papar. rum Roman.

Imperator Henrice, Omnipotentis vice.
Vnica Sunamitis, Nupsit tribus maritis,
Dissolue connubium, Et triforme dubium.

Great Emperour *Henrie*, who in Gods stead must be,
The Church, who is but one, is maried to three:
Dissolue thou the knot, and the doubt trebled will be.

Platina calls them *three wicked monsters*, and in his historie of *Silvester* the third saith, *We are like to see worse matters than all these, if God preuent them not, since the good, being oppressed, he onely riseth to promotion that excels in bountie and ambition, not in learning and sanctitie of life. They vse not*, saith he, *in these dayes to enter by the doore, but the window, like theeues and robbers*: and of diuers others in this Age hee affirmes as much. Now by this onely disorder how many other may we imagine? He therefore being receiued King in Lombardie, before he came to Rome, held a Councell of many Bishops at Sutri, wherein *Gregorie* the sixt being conuicted for obtaining the Popedome with money, by consent of them all was deposed; and in like sort were the other two reiected, being deposed, saith *Martine*, *Canonica & imperiali censura*, by a Canonicall and Imperiall censure. And the Romans being altogether ignorant whom vpon the sudden they might nominat to bee Pope, the Emperour proposed vnto them *Suiger* Bishop of Bamberge, one of his owne followers, and a man for his honestie and learning well spoken of, whom he compel-

Platina in Greg. 6. & Silvest. 3.

A compelled them to approue. This is he that was called *Clement* the second. *The Church*, saith *Sigonius*, *hauing beene now sicke for the space almost of two hundred yeres, the disease grew so desperat that it required violent remedies, yea sword and fire, medicines that belong to diseases incurable. Whereupon*, saith *Martin*, per vim substituit, *he gaue them a successor by force, the Romans promising vnto him, and swearing, That they would neuer chuse Pope without his consent.* Leo the Cardinall of Ostia speaking in his Chronicle of these disorders, more briefely saith, *Pope Benedict hauing held the See at Rome twelue yeares, was deposed by the Romans, and Iohn Bishop of Sabins, who was called Silvester, substituted in his place, non tamen gratis, but yet not freely. But three moneths after, this Benedict with the aid of the Tusculans his kinsfolke, draue away Silvester, and by force repossessed the See of Rome. But neuertheless perceiuing himselfe to be odious to all, he deliuered the Popedome to Iohn the Archpriest, who was accounted as it were the more religious, and retired himselfe to his fathers house, that there with better libertie he might fulfill his owne lusts, and practise his wickednesse. He could not in better words haue affirmed, That he that of the three was accounted the best, was starke naught. But Henrie the Emperour*, saith he, *the sonne of Conrade*, his nefandis auditis, *hearing of these execrable things in the Apostolike See, inspired from heauen in the yeare* 1047 *comming into Italie, went to Rome, desirous to purge the Apostolike See of these spots: Whereupon he stayed at Sutri, where deliberating vpon this great and necessarie businesse, statuit, he appointed there a general Councell to be called of all Bishops. There being therefore gathered together at his commaund a great multitude of Bishops, Abbots, and other religious men, he likewise inuited thither the Pope of Rome to be chiefe in that Councell. What should I say more? The Councell being held, Gregorie being by their Synodall Canons and sentence conuicted of simonie, of his owne accord rising from his seat, and putting off his Pontificall habit, humbly and prostrat vpon the ground, asked pardon, for that he had prophaned that dignitie.* Leo therefore, we see, agreeth not in opinion with *Baronius*, who saith, That it is not lawfull for an Emperour to intermeddle with the affaires of the See of Rome; for he saith quite contrarie, That he came inspired by God to that end, yea and he addeth withall, That he procured vnto him a successor: *And because these things were done with so prosperous and good successe, the Romans gaue vnto the sayd Henrie the honour of a Patriciat, as they did sometimes to Charles the Great, and decreed, that, besides the Crowne of the Empire, he should weare a Chaine.* This selfesame yeare, in hope, or rather vnder some shew of a reformation of the Church, a Synod was held, where first a question was made concerning simonie, which sin was then growne to such a height, saith *Sigonius* (*the Popes either winking at it, or no way hindering the course thereof*) that it was a vsuall thing for Bishops to sel Orders to Clergie men, & consequently for Clergie men to put their function to sale to the Laitie: and therefore a question was made, *Whether such as were instiated by a Simoniacall Bishop should hold their Orders. It was decreed, That if a Clerk when he was initiated knew the Bishop of whom he tooke Orders to be Simoniacall, he should doe penance for fortie dayes, and so the sinne should be expiat, and he continue in his Orders*, otherwise he must take his Orders againe. And to pacifie those tumults that were risen amongst them by reason of the bad obseruation of that law which made the nomination of the Pope, without the authoritie of the Emperor, of no force, it was decreed againe, *That all auncient honours should be restored to the Emperour Henrie, and he should still continue a Patritius*, and disposed of the Church of Rome at his pleasure; and that it should neuer hereafter be lawfull to create a Pope of Rome without his authoritie. The Author is *Petrus Damianus* Bishop of Ostia. By this meanes *Henrie* seemed to haue restored all things to their auncient order;

Sigon. l. 8. de regno Ital. Martinus in Chron.

Leo Ostiensis. c. 80

Sigon. l. 9. de regno Italic.

Petrus Damianus in lib Gratissimus. Platina & Onuphr. in Clement. 2.

order; who neuertheleſſe was hardly returned into Germanie, but the Diſciples of *Benedict* the ninth, *Gerardus Brazutus*, and *Hildebrand*, poyſoned *Clement*, ſo that he had not continued in all aboue ſix monethes, but they thruſt *Benedict* into the ſeat. But yet neuertheleſſe the Emperour taking ſtil hold of his priuiledge, ordained for Pope *Poppo* Biſhop of Brixen, who was afterward called *Damaſus* the ſecond; who likewiſe, not without the induſtrie of the ſame men, continued in the See but three & twentie dayes: in place of whom he named againe by the ſame right *Brunus* Biſhop of Toul, who was called *Leo* the ninth: For the Romans, as it is likely, being wearied with thoſe factions that aroſe about the election of the Popes for the ſpace of two hundred yeares, wherein the moſt factious commonly preuailed, perceiued that had not the Emperours interpoſed their authoritie (which neuertheleſſe they endured with much impatiencie) they could neuer haue obtained peace. Neither muſt we forget that which Cardinal *Benno* noteth, That *Gerardus Brazutus*, a familiar friend of *Benedict* the ninth, *by his ſlie and ſubtile familiaritie, in the ſpace of thirteene yeares killed ſix Popes of Rome, that is, Clement, Damaſus, Leo, Victor, Stephen, by poyſon, Benedict the tenth by fraud and violence.*

Baron. vol. 11. an. 1002. art. 5. 6.

Here what will *Baronius* ſay, and what iudgement will he giue of all theſe times? Truely hauing in the whole precedent volume proclaimed for execrable monſters all thoſe Popes that had held the See for a hundred yeares before, at the laſt he pronounceth ſentence againſt the race of the Emperours *Othoes:* That in the perſon of *Otho* the third, by the juſt iudgement of God, that race ended, being poyſoned by the wife of *Creſcentius*, becauſe (like *Oſias*) they durſt to put their hands to the Arke, though it were to vphold it; and to adde their authoritie, though it were with good zeale, to remoue thoſe monſters, and to place others in their ſeats. Are monſters then by the Canon law in *Baronius* countrey ſuffered to liue? or muſt we ſtay and attend till they of their owne accord remoue and diſplace themſelues? Emperours, yea and Chriſtian Kings, are they not bound, as ſometimes *Ezechias*, *Ioſias*, and others were, to repaire the Temple of God, and to reforme the Church? And to betray the Church of Chriſt vnto Antichriſt, to leaue it as a prey to the enemie, needed there any other thing? In this interim therefore, which containeth about fiftie yeres, were there in his owne judgement any that were more honeſt, or more tollerable than others? Let vs heare what he ſaith of *Iohn*, whom he calls the twentieth, the brother of that execrable *Benedict*, whome for his wickedneſſe he placeth in the bottome of Purgatorie: *Vnworthie as he was*, ſaith he, *he vnworthily and tyrannically occupied the place, and by ill meanes aſcended vnto it.* And again, *The ſecular power*, that is to ſay, the Marqueſſes of Tuſcane, *hath brought forth monſters vnto vs.* This monſter neuertheleſſe by his owne teſtimonie, put S. *Romwald* into the Canon of Saints, pronounced S. *Martial* an Apoſtle, and that by an expreſſe decree, in fauour of thoſe of Limoges. *Benedict* the ninth ſucceeded this *Iohn*. But what ſaith *Baronius*? The Earle *Alberick* had of his familie two Popes, who were brothers, *Benedict* and *Iohn*; and hardly he could endure that the Papall dignitie ſhould be transferred to any other; and therefore he thruſt in his ſonne, a child of ten yeares of age, by gifts, who againe, by the teſtimonie of *Baronius* himſelfe, proued a tyran, and the ſhame and monſter of the Church. For to omit other things, what could be more monſtrous, than an infant of ten yeares of age to be the vniuerſall Pope, and Father of Fathers? And yet if any man ſpeake againſt it he is angrie, and growes furious, yea he makes profit of this ſhame, and glories therein; and by this intruſion which he confeſſeth he defends his right. You ſee (ſaith he) how great the authoritie of the

Idem vol. eodem an. 1024. art. 3. & 4.

Glaber. l. 4. c. 1. 2. 3.

Idem an. 1027. art. 13. & 14. & an. 1032. art. 2. 3.

Baron. an. 1031.

Church

A Church of Rome then was; for though he were a child, and an intruder too, yet he was acknowledged by the whole Church for Pope, in ſo much that the Archbiſhops of Hamburge receiued the Pall of him; neither was there any thing that belonged to the Papall function which he did not vndergoe. Dares he then to maintaine the Orders of an infant, who himſelfe was capable of no Order? He was himſelfe a ſimoniacal perſon, created by gifts, and it was his maner by all ſorts of ſimonie to create others; as *Petrus Damianus* Biſhop of Oſtia, and one of the Popes chiefe champions, deſcribeth him vnto vs: *O wickedneſſe, O prodigious monſter* (ſaith he) *is Peter himſelfe enforced to pay for the foreſtalments of Simon Magus out of his owne ſtore, who was knowne with an euerlaſting curſe to condemne Simon with*
B *all his marchandiſe!* And againe in his verſes, *What pitie is it that the Apoſtolike See, ſometimes the glorie of the world, ſhould now, out and alas, be made the ſhop of Simon? Thy hammers beat the anuill, and thy money is the money of hell:* And yet this *Benedict* ſat in the chaire about twelue yeares, ſo that the greateſt age he arriued vnto was but two and twentie yeares. Now theſe people that boaſt ſo much of their ſucceſſions & vocations, with what face can they defend the miſſions of this man? Neither were thoſe of *Siluеſter* the third any better, who by the faction of *Ptolomie* a Conſull of Rome, interrupted the See of *Iohn*; of whom ſaith *Baronius, This man was Biſhop of the Sabines, who alſo,* malis artibus, *by bad meanes, that is, by money, made himſelfe way to the Papacie*; which without wrong done vnto his Authors he
C could not conceale: For *Hermannus* a Chronicler of thoſe times, and *Leo* Biſhop of Oſtia, had witneſſed before, That the Romans being wearied with the wickedneſſe of *Benedict*, expelled him, and ſubſtituted, *though not without money, Siluеſter* in his place. And that ſome few monethes after *Benedict* with the helpe of his kindred and friends, recouered it againe: who that he might with more libertie betake himſelfe to his owne pleaſures, he ſubſtituted *Iohn* the Archprieſt, *who was accounted almoſt the more religious* (he would haue ſaid, the more hypocrite.) And of all three *Otho Friſingenſis* recounteth before vnto vs the pitifull eſtate that Rome was then in, *I my ſelfe*, ſaith he, *haue heard it in the city from the Romans themſelues.* To conclude, *Baronius* calls thoſe three *falſe Popes*, tricipitem Beſtiam, *a Beaſt*
D *with a triple head riſing from the gates of hell.* Where is then that See againſt which the gates of hell cannot preuaile? Now *Cerberus* himſelfe (as that which the Poet ſpeakes of) is choked with a ball of pitch. And where is that euer-running ſpring of the ſpirit of God, or in whom did it now reſide? This ball of pitch, ſaith he, a certaine good man and a zealous, called *Gratian*, made for them; and ſee how he did it: *He went to the aforeſaid men, and perſuaded them with money to forſake the See, and to Benedict he left the reuenues of England, becauſe he ſeemed to be a man of greateſt power and authoritie.* The Romans in recompence thereof, as to the purchaſer of their freedome, made him Pope, who was *Gregorie* the ſixt. I aske now, Whether this tranſaction may bee borne with amongſt the Canoniſts? or whe-
E ther all this may redownd to his profit without ſimonie? And to ſay the truth, for this either cauſe, or preſence of cauſe, hee was afterwards in the Councell of Sutri, by the authoritie of *Henrie* the Emperour, and the conſent of the Romans, expelled his See, and the Biſhop of Bamberge, who was *Clement* the ſecond, inſtalled in his place, choſen from amongſt ſtrangers, becauſe, *alas therefore*, there were none capable thereof at Rome. But *Baronius* is much grieued with theſe words, who calls this election *a deteſtable preſumption of the Emperour Henrie*; and doth vehemently endeuour to proue, that therefore the Popedome of *Clement* could not be lawfull. But in all this time, when will he find vs any

Baron. an. 1044. art. 2.

Herman. in Chron. Leo l. 2. c. 80.

Otho Friſingenſis ſupra.

Baron. an. 1045 & 1044.

Leo Oſtienſ. l. 2. c. 80.

Pope,

Pope, and how will he fill vp that gulfe of pretended ſucceſſion which they ſo much boaſt of? Except he meane to ſupplie it with the abhominations of *Benedict* the ninth, who yet continuing euen after the death of *Clement*, thruſt himſelfe thrice into the chaire. We muſt not forget (that you may vnderſtand that the libertie of the Churches was not yet wholly taken away) that *Henrie* the King of Germanie, in the yeare 1006, held a Synod at Frankford, whereof *Dithmar* thus ſpeaketh: *The generall Councell is appointed at Frankford by the King, and was viſited by all thoſe that are on this ſide the Alpes.* Which was done to make Bamberge a Biſhopricke, and being done, *Eberard* was nominated Biſhop by the Emperour, and conſecrated by *Willegiſus* the Preſident of the Synod, and all this without the knowledge or conſent of Rome. *Henrie* his ſonne likewiſe called another Councell in the yeare 1047, wherein he ſharply repreſſed all ſimoniacal perſons. *Glaber* ſaith, *Coadunare fecit, He aſſembled as well the Archbiſhops as the Biſhops &c.* And for a concluſion, after he had pronounced a curſe againſt all thoſe that had committed ſimonie, he proteſteth and ſaith, *As God hath giuen me of his meere mercie the Crowne, ſo will I freely giue that which belongs to his religion.* Here is no mention made of Rome. But *Baronius* wittily, after his manner, ſaith, That he thinkes that *Clement* the ſecond was at this Synod, though without any Author: for, ſaith he, the Emperour ought in duetie to giue his helping hand vnto him by this his Edict, which he likewiſe performed in fact. But ſuppoſe that Pope *Clement* were preſent thereat, and in all theſe proceedings not remembred, doth it not hurt his cauſe the more? So likewiſe in Spaine, in the yeare 1012, there was a Councell held at Leon, in which thus ſpake the Fathers: *We*, ſay they, *are met together at Leon, and by the commaundement of King Alphonſus the fift we haue made theſe Decrees*, which are intituled, *The Decrees of the King Alphonſus and Geloira the Queene.* And in France, in the yeare 1017, a Councell was called by King *Robert* touching the cauſe of Hereſie, notwithſtanding that he by the teſtimonie of all the writers of thoſe times, was commended for his pietie and deuotion.

Dithmar. l. 6.

An. 1047. *Glaber. l. 4. c. 5.*

Baron. vol. 11. an. 1012. ex ſcript. Anto. Auguſt. art. 16. Glaber. l. 3. c. 8.

40. Progression.

Of the wicked inuentions of Hildebrand, and the Popes of this time, to enlarge their power and authoritie. Of the doctrine of the redemption of penitentiaries, by whom, and when it came in. Of the fained myracles of Alexander the ſecond to deceiue the people. Of the troubles that roſe in Milan, through the Popes intruſions there. Of the Peter pence that were granted at this time by diuers Princes, to the Pope. Damianus Biſhop of Oſtia exclaimeth againſt the laſciuious life of the Roman Clergie.

THe thirtie yeares that follow vnder diuers Popes, vſing rather the magiſtracie than miniſtrie of *Hildebrand*, who eſpecially ſwayed in thoſe times, gaue occaſion vnto them to vſurpe againe that which the Emperour *Henrie* the ſecond had taken from them, by reſtoring that auncient law which was made in a ſolemne Synod betwixt *Hadrian* the firſt and *Charles* the Great, and was in force vnder the gouernment of his whole race, and afterwards confirmed vnder the *Othoes*, and other Kings of Germanie. This *Hildebrand* was by nation a Tuſcan, by profeſſion a Monke of Clugnie: He obtained that dignitie by bad meanes, as Cardinal *Benno* and the Roman Archprieſt doe witneſſe. The minoritie of *Henrie* the third, the

A the ſonne of the Emperour *Henrie* the ſecond, being a child of fiue yeares of age, and brought vp vnder the tuition of *Agnis* his mother (as the minoritie of Princes produce many times weake counſellors) was a great occaſion why *Hildebrand* abuſing his youth, did dare to enterpriſe ſo much: But the diuell eſpecially by his meſſengers thruſt himſelfe into the buſineſſe, whileſt they, that they might the more eaſily obtaine that they deſired, abuſed the people vnder the name of two pretended Hereſies: the one was Simonie, the ſale for ſiluer, or other thing equiuolent thereunto, of Eccleſiaſtical charges, though at that time there was nothing at Rome more cõmon, where the Popedome it ſelfe was ſet to ſale to whomſoeuer would giue moſt, where the Popes ſold all Eccleſiaſtical dignities, and themſelues
B to the diuell, as we haue often ſeene, Simons and Magitians together: But they made the ſignification of this word Simonie, to extend verie far, including within the compaſſe of that ſinne, the Princes, who joyned their authoritie in the election of the people and Clergie, and inueſted Biſhops into their dignitie; whom they likewiſe held to be heretikes, becauſe they had receiued their inueſtiture from Princes: thereby ſtirring vp the ill humors of both States, the people to murmure againſt their Biſhops, the Nobles to rebell againſt their Princes. The other was the Hereſie of the Nicholaits, directly (whether by errour or ſubtiltie) againſt the truth of the hiſtorie of *Nicholas*, who being a Deacon in the Primitiue Church was therefore reprehended, becauſe vnder a colour of continencie he forſooke
C his wife, and afterwards betooke himſelfe to a more licentious and vncleane life, as we haue elſewhere ſhewed out of *Epiphanius*. But of that ſinne there were none more guiltie than the Roman Clergie, the Popes themſelues of the precedent world frequenting common brothel-houſes at Rome, as we haue ſeene. But they wreſting it otherwiſe, will haue vs to vnderſtand and include vnder the name of Nicholaits, thoſe Biſhops and Prieſts, who according to the law of God, and rule of the Apoſtles, and cuſtome of the Primatiue Church, and Decrees of the firſt generall Nicene Councell, and diuers others, doe allow of lawfull mariage, and liue with thoſe women whom they haue maried in the face of the Church. Both the one and the other was the inuention of *Hildebrand*, or rather of his maſter,
D who ſometimes by the one, ſometimes by the other, bewitched the people, troubled the Princes, traduced the Biſhops. But the end of all was this, to ouerthrow their Empire, and to bring all power and authoritie to their See, which others afterwards did by this example.

As touching the firſt, *Leo* the ninth being choſen Pope by *Henrie* the ſecond (others call him the third) and being then in Germanie adorned with his purple robe, it hapned that taking his way through France he paſſed by Clugnie, where he ſaw *Hildebrand*, who told him, That it was *vnlawfull to enter violently into the gouernement of the Church by the hand of a lay man*: But if he would follow his counſell, he would ſhew him a way how the libertie of the Church ſhould be
E preſerued in the Canonicall election, and yet no occaſion of offence giuen to the Imperiall Maieſtie; and that was, To put off his purple robe, and to goe to Rome in the habit of a Pilgrim. *Leo* yeelds to his aduice, and *Hildebrand* betakes himſelfe to the journey with him, and cauſed him againe to be choſen by the Clergie and the people. Some adde, that he ſet before his eyes *Damaſus* the ſecond, who by the juſt judgement of God liued but a few dayes; but he opened not vnto him the myſterie, that is, That he had found the way to ſhorten his life: which *Benno* before gaue vs to vnderſtand. *Leo* dyeth in the yeare 1054, and the Romans partly feareing the Emperour, and partly (ſaith *Sigonius*) not finding any man amongſt them

Otho Friſing. l. 6. c. 25.

An. 1054. *Sigon. de Regno Ital. l. 8.*

them worthie the succession, sent *Hildebrand* vnto him, to intreat him in the name of the people and Clergie of Rome, to nominat one vnto them. This was *Guebhardus* the Bishop of Eichstat, who was *Victor* the second, who by an art familiar in those dayes was poysoned by his Subdeacon in his Challice: And so this man left all things in their former state and condition. But about the yeare 1056 *Henrie* the second died, leauing *Henrie* the third his sonne, about the age of fiue yeres, and vnder the tuition of his mother *Agnis*: and in the yeare 1057 *Victor* the second died at his returne from Germanie, whereupon the Romans assembled themselues to chuse a successor, and as it were by force consecrated the Cardinall *Fredericke* the sonne of the duke of Loraine, and presently by a Legat signified all they had done to *Agnis*, who was not hardly intreated to approue their choyce: and this was *Stephen* the ninth, according to *Baronius* the tenth, who as he prepared himselfe to goe to *Henrie* the third, to be inuested (which they called simonie) departed this life, and presently there succeeded him by the faction of the Tusculan Earles, partly by buying voyces, partly by threatning open violence, *John* Bishop of Velitre, their kinsman, being altogether ignorant, as Authors report, of all manner of good learning, and constrained *Petrus Damianus* Bishop of Ostia, notwithstanding his protestations to consecrat him, and afterward offer him to the people, corrupted with gifts, to be adored. This was *Benedict* the tenth. Now consider how much they abused their pretended libertie, and by what law they accused the Emperours of simonie, whereas contrarily they made choyce of the most worthie men in authoritie and learning they could find out. But because the Clergie had promised to *Hildebrand*, That if the See should be void, to chuse no man in his absence; he shortly after sets vp an Antipope, *Gerardus Burgundus*, Bishop of Florence, who was *Nicholas* the second: to whom *Benedict* the tenth, rather moued with shame than conscience, gaue place. But he tooke assistant vnto him *Hildebrand*, by whose helpe he might be eased in his greatest affaires. And therefore by his counsell a Synod was held at Lateran, vnder pretence to preuent those precedent inconueniences, but indeed it was to supplant the Emperours: For in that Synod it was ordained, *That the Pope dying, first the Cardinall Bishops should diligently inquire and consider of the election of a successor, then ioyne vnto them the Cardinall Clerkes, and so the rest of the Clergie and people should consent to the new election: That he should be chosen out of the bosome of the Church of Rome, if any bee found fit, if not, out of some other.* But there was added for a fashion, *Hauing euer a due respect to the honour and reuerence of our beloued sonne Henrie, who at this present is held for King, and hoped hereafter by Gods permission to be Emperour, as we haue granted vnto him and to his successors, who from this Apostolike See haue obtained that right.* Whereas before the approbation of the Pope was in the Emperour, and it was necessarie, vnder paine of high treason, to attend his commaund and consent, before he were consecrated, and he in the meane time to be accursed and declared Antichrist, that by any other meanes shall be placed in that throne. After this Decree (before attempted by *John* the ninth, but with ill successe) the authoritie of the Cardinals began to encrease, in so much that *Petrus Damianus* of these times began to say: *The Cardinals principally doe both chuse the Bishop of Rome, and in some prerogatiues they are not onely aboue the law of all Bishops, but of the Patriarchs and Primats too. These are the eyes of that onely stone, the candles of that onely candlestick.* Were there therefore before no eyes, no candles in the Church? Againe *Nicholas* the second, that he might extend the signification of the word Simonie in despight of *Henrie* the third, made a law, *That no man could accept of a Church, or any*

*An.*1056.

Sigon. de Regno Ital.

D.23.c.In nomine.

Leo Ostiens. l.3.c.25.

any Ecclesiasticall office, either freely, or for money from the hands of a Lay man. Whereas that which is said to be freely giuen, doth properly exclude Simonie, & makes no difference betwixt the Lay and the Clergie. This *Nicholas* did also increase vnder the minoritie of Henrie, by another occasion: *Robert* and *Richard Guiscbar*, who were come from Normandie to follow the warres in Calabria against the Sarasins, had there set footing with happie successe; *Robert* called himselfe Duke of Apulia and Calabria; *Richard* held Capua, and ouerranne the countrie euen to the gates of the citie of Rome: both the one and the other were excommunicated by the See of Rome. But *Nicholas* called in his excommunication, vpon condition they should hold their seigniories in fee farme of the Church of Rome, swearing faith and loyaltie thereunto, and paying for a yerely rent twelue pence for euerie yoke of Oxen: from whence there arose matter of new contention with the Empire and the Emperour. And these things bring vs to the yere 1060. But the progression was no lesse in the corruption of manners and doctrine, than in tyrannie ouer the Church. Touching manners, the sinne of Sodome, by the rigorous execution of those lawes that concerned single life, had taken such root in the Roman Clergie, that *Petrus Damianus* enforced to betake himselfe to an Hermitage, writ a book, intituled *Gomorrhæus*, in which he deciphers al the kinds thereof, wherein they did riot and sensually passe their time. And he dedicated the book to *Leo* the 9 whose helpe he imploreth against this great and grieuous sin. *Wicked brambles, thornes, and nettles haue filled the field of our Lord and Master, which grow out of the strength of the flesh, and the doung of corruption; for all flesh hath corrupted her wayes, insomuch that not onely a flood of waters seemes not sufficient to wash away the filth thereof, but this great and grieuous wickednesse cries for that Gomorrhean fire from heauen, that burnt the fiue Cities.* And hereupon by this admonition of *Damianus*, *Leo* made some lawes, and ordained some punishments for this sinne. But presently after it appeared that he lost the grace and fauour of Leo: And afterwards Alexander the second obtayning the Popedome, gets this booke from the authour thereof, vnder colour to lend it to the Abbot of Saint Saniour, but in deed to suppresse it, making the reason thereof to be, his ouer-plaine dealing in that he had expressed the matter in more obscene or grosse termes than was fitting; As if such filthinesse could be stirred, but there must rise a stinke. Whereupon *Damianus* in an Epistle to *Hildebrand* and *Stephen*, Cardinals, eagerly complaines, & yet not without a manifest flout; And indeed, saith he, *is this a token of Priestly cleanlinesse, or rather an argument of papall puritie?* But as touching doctrine, In the time of *Victor* the second about the yere 1055 was brought in the redemption of *Penitentiaries*, vnder pretence that sins multiplying, men were not able to endure a penance for so many yeares deferred; And besides, sometimes men may dye, before the penance be accomplished. Wherefore in fauour of the rich it was ordained, that either for mony, possessions, or any thing else equiualent thereunto, they might buy it out, according to the number of the yeres appointed and agreed vpon. And of this it was that *Damianus* saith, *Thou art not ignorant that when we take lands and possessions of Penitenciaries, according to the proportion of the gift, we release them in the quantitie of their penance.* Which he himselfe did to the Archbishop of Millan in his legation: whereupon saith *Baronius*, *He sheweth that the goods of the church shall increase by these ransomes, which in time shall grow to a cinstone.* But it pleased him that the poorer sort should redeeme those yeares with corporall afflictions, a certaine number of Psalmes sung in the Church, fasts with bread and water, fillips, whips, and the like: whereupon saith the selfesame

*An.*1056.

*Petri Damian. Lib. qui inscribitur Gomorrheus ciui praefixa Epist. Leonis 9. Baron. an.*1049. *Art.*10. *& seq.*

*An.*1055.

*Baron. an.*1055. *Art.*3. *& seq.*

*Petrus Damian. in Epist. ad fratres. Baron. an.*1056 *Art.*6. *&* 7.

Dami-

Damian, Tria ſcorparum millia; three thouſand laſhes with a whip or a holy-buſh, with the ſinging of certaine Pſalmes, doe ſupply one yeres penance, &c. And ſo he calculates it, *that twentie Pſalters ſung with diſcipline ſhould ſerue for the penance of a hundred yeres.* So farre at the laſt did this corruption of doctrine proceed, that *Petrus Damianus* preſcribed to the Monkes that liued vnder his obedience in the ſame Hermitage, *that euerie day with their Canonicall houres, they ſhould ſay the ſeruice of the virgin Marie.* And ſaith *Baronius, As he was the author hereof in his monaſterie, ſo it is manifeſt that from the ſame ſourſe it ſprang, that in all the Weſt churches not only the Monkes, but Clergie, and Lay men and women, by the admonition of Pope Vrban did euery day their taskes.* And he acknowledgeth to be of the ſame age and inuention, the cuſtome of whipping themſelues, in imitation of *Dominicus Loricatus*, The maſſe vpon Mundaies, for the dead that are in Purgatorie; vpon Friday, in honor of the paſſion; on Saturdaies, in the honour of the Virgin; to the end that ſuperſtition with the Popedome ſhould aſcend to their higheſt pitch.

Petrus Damianus in Epiſt. ad Deſiderium Caſſinatem.

Alexander the ſecond ſucceeded *Nicholas* the ſecond, who taking aduantage of the minoritie of *Henrie* (for he was then about eleuen yeares of age) was choſen either by the decree of *Nicholas*, or the bould counſell of *Hildebrand*. Which *Agnis* the mother of *Henrie* vnderſtanding to be done without her commaund, called a Councell at Baſill, where by the conſent of moſt of the Biſhops of Italie *Cadalous* Biſhop of Parma was created Pope, who was called *Honorius* the ſecond. Now was Italie diuided in two parts by theſe two Popes, who raiſed their forces and bare armes one againſt the other. And *Henrie* himſelfe ſent *Hanno* Archbiſhop of Collen, who in the ſame Sinod reproched *Alexander* the ſecond, and told him that he had no power to enter into the chaire without the commandement of the Emperour, and therefore he was either to leaue it againe, or to giue a reaſon of that he had done. But *Hildebrand* anſwereth him, the interpreter (for the moſt part) of the Popes in thoſe daies, that *Alexander was ſuddenly conſecrated without the authoritie of Henrie, to auoyd ſome imminent tumults; And that the church of Rome his ſpirituall mother, tooke more care of his right, than his mother Agnis, who was tied vnto him by bloud only.* So that they renounced not what they had done; but with this art, that they might attaine their purpoſe, did they thinke to hide their counſels and intentions. But the deciſion of this matter was put off to another Councell held at Mantua; which place was choſen, becauſe it was vnder the power of the counteſſe *Matilda*, who tooke part with *Alexander*. There it was graunted at the inſtance of *Hanno*, that he ſhould purge himſelfe by oath, that he had not obtained the Popedome with money: by which meanes he was confirmed by all, and the decree againſt ſimoniacal perſons is renewed in the ſame ſence that it was before: and preſently he ſends *Petrus Damianus* his Legat into Germanie to ſignifie to *Henrie* the third and not without ſome threats, *that if he would not be perſwaded by councell, he muſt neceſſarily adde his Eccleſiaſticall cenſures*; & ſo preſently he cites him to Rome, there to giue account of the whole matter, vpon paine of excommunication. Thus by the aduantage of his minoritie, they eaſily get the vpper hand. And that they might the better blind the eyes of the people, theſe men who thought of nothing but the world, and the things that belong thereunto, become workers of miracles; *Alexander* at Caſſin diſpoſſeſſed one of a Diuell; going to Aquin did helpe one that was lame, by giuing him the water to drinke wherewith he waſhed his hands after the ſacrifice. And to what end were theſe miracles? what law doe they confirme, or what goſpell? or doe they not rather ſerue onely to vphold their ambition? friuilous therefore they are and

Leo Oſtienſ. L.3.ca.30.

and childiſh, yea though we did yeeld them to be true; yet are they lyes, and proceeding from the father of lyes, becauſe the vpholders of a lye. At the laſt in the yeare 1072, *Alexander* being dead, the Roman Clergie commaunded *Hildebrand* to ſucceed, hauing alreadie vnder three or foure Popes beene throughly acquainted with the Papall ſubtilties, and himſelfe therein a verie good ſcholer; and we may ſay more than a Pope, ſince *Damianus* calls him *Dominum Papæ*, the Maſter of the Pope, and is not aſhamed to ſay; *An.*1072.

Papam vtè colo, ſed te proſtratus adoro,
Tu facis hunc Dominum, te facit ipſe Deum.

I honour the Pope, thee proſtrat I adore,
Thou makeſt him a Lord, he thee a god, or more.

In ſo much that though he were Pope, yet he depended vpon him and his counſell: but he being nouriſhed in pride, left nothing vndone that might enlarge his territories. And thus with a falſe pretence of ſimonie they encreaſed their power.

Neither were the deſinements of the Popes leſſe furthered in theſe times, vnder the colour of the Nicholaits. The Church of Milan did then in Italie hold the ſecond place, being made more eminent by the ſuppreſſion of Rauenna. There were in it eighteene Biſhops Suffragans, two and twentie ordinarie Cardinals, twelue Canons, whom they called Decumans, and many other officers of good place. The king in ſuch a manner inſtituted the Archbiſhop, that he was not bound to goe to Rome, and he contrariwiſe conſecrated the king, to bring him in the way to the Empire. Wherefore this note, as it were in his eye, the Pope did hardly beare with, and ſo much the rather, becauſe the Biſhop and Clergie of Milan would hold nothing of him; in ſo much that their libertie being many times attempted by the Popes, they could neuer make any breach thereinto. Wherefore in the yere 1059 *Stephen* the ninth being Pope, *Arialdus* a Decuman Clerke, who agreed not well with *Wydo* his Archbiſhop, conſpired againſt him, with *Landolfus Cotta*, the gouernour of the people: and this he doth vnder a pretence of depoſing maried Prieſts, in execution of the Papall Decree, many times reiterated, as we haue ſaid before; and for his better helpe herein he hath recourſe to *Stephen*. *Wydo* held a Councell at Fontanet, neere to Nouaria, where by the conſent of all the Suffragan Biſhops, it was ordained, That the Clergie men of what Order ſoeuer, might lawfully marie wiues; and in the citie the matter was decided with much controuerſie, the common people taking part with *Landolfe*, the Nobilitie with the Archbiſhop. *Landolfe* therefore in the yeare 1059 ſends *Arialdus* to *Nicholas* the ſecond, to ſignifie vnto him the obſtinacie of the Church of Milan, and to intreat that there might be Iudges appointed to determine of this pretended hereſie; who preſently not willing to omit ſo good an occaſion, diſpatched away *Petrus Damianus* the Cardinall of Oſtia, with all the power and authoritie he could giue him; who took for his aſſiſtant in this his legation, *Anſelmus* Biſhop of Lucques, who was afterward *Alexander* the ſecond: and ſo they came to Milan. There what was done by *Damian* we cannot better learne than of himſelfe, who particularly ſets downe the whole progreſſion of his legation. Hee had no ſooner deliuered his charge touching the depoſing of maried Prieſts, as heretikes, but preſently the people began to be moued, ſaying, That the Pope had no authoritie ouer the Church of Milan, and that they would not diſhonourably loſe *An.*1059. *An.*1059.

that

that libertie which their auncestors had gotten, and they had hitherto maintained, A
and ſubiect themſelues to the yoke of another Church: and therefore at the ring-
ing of a bel, and ſound of a trumpet, they gathered themſelues together, to which
they were the more animated, becauſe *Petrus Damianus* had placed the Biſhop of
Milan on his left hand, and *Ambroſe* of Lucques, his aſsiſtant, on his right. The tu-
mult neuertheleſſe being pacified, beginning his Sermon with the Supremacie of
the Church of Rome, and the abſolute power thereof, he told them, That all o-
ther Churches were ordained of men, but the Church of Rome onely had her
foundation from God himſelfe: and therefore from her all other, but eſpecially
the Church of Milan, had taken their firſt beginning and rudiments of diſcipline,
to which likewiſe and to the Biſhop thereof it was neceſſarie to be ſubiect, be- B
cauſe at his pleaſure the heauens themſelues were opened and ſhut; and therfore
he that ſhould derogat any thing from his priuiledge, ſhould preſently be cenſu-
red for an Heretike. Iudge therefore, gentle Reader, how well he had beene re-
ceiued by Saint *Paul*, if he ſhould haue ſaid, That thoſe famous Churches which
he founded from Ieruſalem to Sclauonia, had taken their beginning from man,
and not from God. As for the Church of Milan, he ſaid, That *Nazarius* a re-
nowmed Martyr had receiued *S. Peters Baptiſme*, *Petri Baptiſma*, of *Linus* his ſuc-
ceſſor, and afterward with *Celſin* was martyred at Milan, *Sicut Scripturæ teſtantur*,
As the Scriptures beare witneſſe: And that the holie Martyrs *Protaſius* and *Geruaſi-*
us, whoſe bodies they did there worſhip, had beene the Diſciples of S. *Peter*, as *Am-* C
broſe himſelfe witneſſeth; and therefore the Church of Milan, as a daughter of
the Roman Church, did owe vnto her obedience, as to her mother. This con-
cluſion is of the ſame nature as the reſt before, that is, friuolous, falſe, blaſphe-
mous: For where doe we read in the Scriptures, of *Nazarius* baptized by *Linus*,
ſince Cardinall *Baronius* himſelfe in his Martyrologie ſaith, That he is enforced
Card. Bar. in Martyrolog. Iuny 19. p. 341. to beleeue that *Nazarius* and *Celſus* ſuffered vnder the Emperour *Marcus Aure-*
lius and *Lucius Verus*, two hundred yeares after, which the Legendaries doe like-
Iacob. de Vora-gine Geruaſio & Prothaſio. wiſe make good: and doe alſo tell vs that *Geruaſius* and *Protaſius* being twinnes,
were the ſonnes of S. *Vital* and S. *Valerie*, remaining then at Ambrun neere to S.
Nazarius, and therefore both liuing at one time, farre from the raigne of *Nero*. D
And now after all this, how will he proue that of S. *Ambroſe*? eſpecially that S.
Nazarius receiued *Peters* Baptiſme? Where doth he find in the Scripture a Bap-
tiſme of *Peter*? Is there any other than of Chriſt? Can it be ſpoken without blaſ-
1. Cor. 1. 11. 12. 13. phemie, ſince *Paul* himſelfe ſaith, *Is Paul crucified for you, or are you baptized into*
the name of Paul? ſhall we doubt that he would likewiſe haue ſaid, *in the name of*
Peter? who ſo ſharply reprehended thoſe that ſaid, *I am Pauls*, *I am Apolloes*, *I am*
Peters. This good Apoſtle of Rome likewiſe addeth, That *Ambroſe* ſeeing hee
could not ouercome the Hereſie of the Nicholaits (who euer at that time heard
of any ſuch Hereſie?) craued helpe of Pope *Siricius*, who for the ſuppreſsing there-
of, ſent a Prieſt, a Deacon, and Subdeacon, that they by his example in the like E
difficultie ſhould ſeeke the like remedie. By theſe toyes in the meane time he boa-
ſteth, That he had preuailed ſo farre with the people, that he could make them do
what he would haue them, that is to ſay, for the eſtabliſhment of the law of ſingle
life, which we haue ſpoken of elſewhere, hauing appointed a penance of a hun-
dred yeares to the Archbiſhop, which neuertheleſſe for a certaine ſumme of mo-
ney yearely to be paid, he might redeeme. But as *Damianus* ſaith, *The chiefeſt thing*
is to know of what power the priuiledge of the Church of Rome is. But the matter ſtay-
ed not there: For he was no ſooner returned to Rome, but the Clergie preſently
reco-

A recouered their libertie. *Erlembaldus Cotta* being choſen gouernour of the people
by the death of *Landulph*, who by the inſtigation of *Arialdus* renew the ſedition,
and ſendeth againe to *Damianus*; but he being much moued therewith, ſpareth
not *Ambroſe* himſelfe: *This*, ſaith he, *is no new thing in the Church of Milan, which*
hath alwayes had men of diuers opinions, begun at the firſt by Auxentius, and Ambroſius.
It is true that *Auxentius* was an Arrian, but what fault hath *Ambroſe* committed,
that he ſhould be accuſed of that fault, whom lately he propoſed vnto vs, as a pa-
tron of his negotiations? To this paſſe it is come, that *Erlembaldus* himſelfe went
to *Alexander*, being at Lucques in the yeare 1065, about this buſineſſe, of whom *An.* 1065.
he obtained a Decree againſt the Clergie, which being brought to Milan, the
B Archbiſhop purpoſed to diſpute the caſe vpon the day of Pentecoſt. But ſo had
Arialdus and *Erlembaldus* ordered the matter, that hauing framed their faction to
ſedition, the Archbiſhop could not withſtand them. The yeare following 1066, *An.* 1066.
the other part became ſo ſtrong, that *Arialdus* was conſtrained to betake himſelfe
to flight; but being taken, as the author of all theſe euils, he endured a miſerable
and ſhameful puniſhment; by whoſe example *Erlembaldus* being terrified,
thought it the beſt way for him to be quiet. But in the yeare 1067, by reaſon of *An.* 1067.
the abſence of the Biſhop, *Erlembaldus* hauing gotten more ſtrength, compels the
citizens to ſweare, and ſpares neither Prieſt nor Archbiſhop, in ſo much that the
Biſhop being returned to pacifie this ſedition, he feared not to lay violent hands
C vpon him; and at the laſt, that we judge of this whole Progreſsion by the end, he
obtaineth another Decree from Pope *Hildebrand*, *That no Biſhop ſhould be accounted*
true and lawfull, without the commaund of the Pope, notwithſtanding he were declared
to be ſuch by the Clergie, the people, and the King. For the ſtrengthening of which De-
cree he binds both the people and Clergie of Milan, with an oath. At which the
Archbiſhop *Wydo* being aſtoniſhed, as being now old and deſirous of reſt, gaue o-
uer his Archbiſhopricke, and ſent his enſignes of honour into Germanie to *Henry*
the third. All theſe things were propoſed vnto the people, and eaſily deuoured
with the ſauce of Simonie and Nicholaiſme, which whoſoeuer ſhould contradict,
was preſently with *Dathan* and *Abiron*, *Iudas* and *Caiphas*, damned to the pit of
D hell: For ſo ſaith *Mainardus* Biſhop of Syluacandida, and *Iohn* the Prieſt and Car-
dinall, the Popes Legats and Commiſſaries in this buſineſſe. The Emperor there-
fore in the yeare 1068 beſtowed that dignitie vpon *Godfrey Chaſtillon* a Milanois, *An.* 1068.
and of a noble houſe, whom the Pope preſently interdicted, and *Erlembaldus* his
partaker made him to flie the citie. But the Pope after the death of *Wydo* gaue it
to *Atho* a clerke of Milan, brought in and receiued by *Erlembald*, not without the
great griefe of the people, who now ſaw this dignitie to be carried and diſpoſed
according to the will and pleaſure of the Romans. And from hence ariſeth a new
controuerſie with the Emperour *Henrie* the third: for from theſe fained Here-
ſies, as once from that difference that fell out touching Images, the Popes reaped
E a great commoditie, that is, the oppreſsion of other Biſhops, and diminution of
lawfull Empires.

But to proceed in the Progreſsion, we muſt not forget that there were in theſe
times diuers Kings that made themſelues tributaries to the Romiſh Babylon,
that that from time to time might be fulfilled, which was foretold in the Apoca-
lyps, Of Kings that ſhould fall down and worſhip the Whore, and be made drun-
ken with her cup.

Caſimire therefore King of Poland in the yeare 1045 made his kingdome feo-
datarie and tributarie to the Pope, that miſerable monſter *Benedict* the ninth, and

bound all his ſubiects to pay euerie yere a poll halfepenie, in ſo much that neither he nor his ſucceſſors could afterward free themſelues from that bondage. The like did *Sueno* King of Denmarke in the yeare 1069, being ſummoned by *Alexander* the ſecond, who demaunded it of him, as a thing long ſince promiſed by his predeceſſors, and therefore exacted it now as a due: which by the ſame right, in the yeare 1068, he extorted from *William* King of England, whom he would perſuade, That from the time that the name of Chriſt was firſt knowne in England, the kingdome had beene *Sub manu & tutela Petri, Vnder the hand and protection of Peter*; that is, the Popes of Rome; whereas there were many Chriſtian Kings in Britaine before Rome had heard of a Popedome. And this exaction went vnder the name of *Peter* pence. And as for *Gregorie* the ſeuenth, or *Hildebrand*, he was not ſlower herein than the reſt. That oath which he made *Richard* Prince of Capua to take, is verie notable: *I Richard, by the grace of God and Saint Peter, Prince of Capua* (by what diuinitie doth he couple the creature and the Creator together?) *from this houre and euer hereafter, will be faithfull to the holie Church of Rome, and to the Apoſtolike See, and to thee a helper, to hold, obtaine, and defend the royalties of Saint Peter, and his poſſeſſions, with a true faith, againſt all men: and I will giue my beſt aſſiſtance that thou maiſt ſecurely and honourably hold the Popedome of Rome, and the dominions of S. Peter:* (Theſe clauſes, according to his owne interpretation, goe farre) *And I will neither ſeeke to inuade or obtaine thy principalities, nor preſume to rob, or waſt them, without the leaue and licence of thee, and thy ſucceſſors that to the honor of S. Peter ſhall enter.* What other words could he vſe to a captaine of theeues? *But to King Henrie, when I ſhall be admoniſhed by thee, or thy ſucceſſors, I will ſweare alleageance, reſerning ſtill my fidelitie to the holie Church of Rome.* Theſe things fell out about the yeare 1073. And the ſame oath tooke *Robert* for Apulia and Calabria, doing his homage. And if we may beleeue the Epiſtle of *Gregorie* the ſeuenth, in the yeare 1073, there came to Rome in pilgrimage the ſonne of *Demetrius* king of Ruſſia, whom he inueſted into his kingdome in the name of S. *Peter, Vndoubtedly affirming, that this his petition ſhould be ratified and confirmed by the conſent of his father,* if he ſhould poſſeſſe his kingdome by the gift of the See of Rome: Thus abuſing, as it appeareth by the ſtile, the ſottiſh deuotion of this young man. In like manner in the yeare 1081 was the Earle *Bernard* beſotted, who gaue for the remiſſion of his ſinnes the earldome of Prouence. As for the donation of the Counteſſe *Mathilda*, we ſhall ſpeake thereof in his due place. But it is worthie the conſideration from what ground it ſhould ariſe, that he writes to *Philip* K. of France, daring to promiſe him remiſſion of his ſinnes, if he would take part with him: *we will*, ſaith he, *and in the name of the Apoſtle we commaund, that thou hinder not in any ſort that election which the people and Clergie of the Church of Rheimes are to make, whereby it may be thought leſſe canonicall; but if any man ſhall goe about by any endeuor whatſoeuer to hinder it, thou ſhalt giue thy beſt helpe to withſtand him. Goe forward therefore, that we may not be thought in vaine to haue ſpared the ſinnes of thy youth, and to haue expected thy amendment, but eſpecially endeuour to make S. Peter thy debtor* (that is, *Hildebrand*, who makes himſelfe *Peters* ſucceſſor) *in whoſe power is thy kingdome and thy ſoule, who can bind and looſſe thee in heauen and in earth, by which thy diligence and execution of iuſtice thou maieſt deſerue his eternall grace and fauour.* Here I may aske who diſcernes not the voyce of the diuell tempting our Sauiour in the Goſpell? But the Aphoriſmes, which they call the Popes Dictats, publiſhed by him about the yeare 1076, lay him open to the view of euerie man, *That the Church of Rome hath no other foundation but from God.* Why then alledge they *Peter*? *That the Biſhop*

Epiſt. Alexand. 2. ad Sueonem Regem Dauiæ.

Eiuſdem ad Guilielm. Regem Angliæ.

Gregor. 7. in Epiſt. poſt 21. & l. 1. & l. 8. poſt Epiſt. 10.

Gregor. l. 2. Epiſt. 71.

An. 1080.

A *Biſhop of Rome onely is by right called Vniuerſall:* and therefore he alone hath right, according to S. *Gregorie* the Great, to be either the forerunner of Antichriſt, or Antichriſt himſelfe. *That he alone may depoſe and reſtore Biſhops*; what then ſhall we ſay of ſo many Biſhops that in the Church for ſo many yeares and ages, in ſo many countries, haue beene lawfully, by good and worthie lawes, without any reſpect of him, nay in deſpight of him, placed and diſplaced? *That his Legat, though otherwiſe inferiour in degree, muſt take place aboue all other Biſhops in Councels, and may denounce the ſentence of depoſition againſt them.* The reuerend generall Councels therefore, in which diuers Biſhops haue beene Preſidents, and taken the vpper place, and pronounced ſentence in the preſence of his Legats, yea & many times

B againſt them too, whither are they now gone? *That the Pope may depoſe ſuch as are abſent.* And this, ſaith *Baronius*, is to cut off occaſions and excuſes from our aduerſaries, yea the Emperor himſelfe, who being abſent he had excommunicated; why then doe they ſo much wonder that he ſhould vſe the ſame law againſt him? *That we muſt not remaine in the ſame houſe with ſuch as he hath excommunicated.* What is this but like the Pagan high Prieſts to interdict fire and water? But how happie is it for Chriſtendome, that few beleeue it? To conclude, *That it is lawfull for him onely, according to the neceſſitie of the time, to make new lawes; to ordaine colonies, of a religious houſe to make an Abbie, and contrarily to diuide a rich Biſhopricke, and to vnite the poorer. That he onely may vſe the Imperiall enſignes. That all Princes are to kiſſe the*

C *feet of the Pope onely. That his name onely is to be recited in Churches. That no generall Synod is to be called without his commaund. That no booke may be accounted canonicall without his authoritie. That all cauſes of greateſt importance, of what Church ſoeuer, muſt be referred to him. That he may abſolue ſubiects of their allegeance towards their Prince. That he can iudge of all men, and no man can iudge of him. And all this becauſe the Church of Rome hath neuer erred, nor (as the Scripture witneſſeth) ſhall euer erre. That the Pope of Rome, if he be canonically ordained, is vndoubtedly made holy by the merits of S. Peter. That there is but one onely name in the world, that is the Pope*; he had almoſt ſaid that which the Apoſtle ſpeaks of our Sauiour, *A name aboue euery name, the onely name vnder heauen whereby we muſt be ſaued.* Now, gentle Reader, what

D doeſt thou expect, but that ouer and aboue all this he ſhould adde, Becauſe the Pope is Chriſt, he is Antichriſt himſelfe.

But before we come to the chiefe Oppoſitions, we are to note ſome particular things not to be contemned. *Leo* the ninth, ſaith the Abbot of Vrſperg, being at Menze, and the Archbiſhop himſelfe celebrating Maſſe, it fell out that a certaine Deacon called *Humbert*, read a leſſon that made not for the Pope. *Leo* being admoniſhed hereof by one of his friends, commaunded him twice or thrice to bee ſilent, who neuertheleſſe proceeded. The leſſon being ended, he called him before him, and preſently degraded him: Wherewith the Archbiſhop being offended, and much moued, proteſted, That neither he nor any man elſe ſhould end the

E ſeruice at that time, except his Deacon were reſtored vnto him in the ſame ſtate he was in before; in ſo much that the Pope to ſatisfie the Archbiſhop, was enforced to reſtore him againe with all his habiliments. Here, ſaith the Author, *in this thing we are to conſider the Prelats authoritie, and the Popes humilitie, whileſt the one contended to defend the dignitie of his office, the other, though his dignitie were greater, yet thought it fit to yeeld to a Metropolitan in his owne Dioceſſe.* But *Baronius* growes into choller againſt the Abbot, and cenſures him; and in like manner againſt *Petrus Damianus*, though verie jealous of that See, becauſe he did not allow that the Pope ſhould intermeddle with matter of armes, and likewiſe becauſe he durſt to

An. 1052.

Abbas Vrſperg. in Chronico.

Baron. an. 1052. art. 16. 17.

Idem an. 1053. art. 53. & ſe-

say, That an Emperour was to doe that which became an Emperour, and a Pope that which was befitting a Pope. For, saith *Damianus* in his Epistle to *Firminus*, *as the sonne of God himselfe ouercame all the obstacles of this furious world, not by a reuengefull and strict examination, but by an inuincible maiestie of vndaunted patience: so he teacheth vs rather willingly to beare the furious rage of this world, than to raise armes, and to answer wrongs with wrongs, especially since betweene a Kingdome and a Priesthood their proper offices are distinguished: a King must vse the arms of this world, a Priest gird himselfe with the spirituall sword, which is the word of God, &c.* And to this purpose he alledgeth many places of Scripture, with other reasons and examples; yea he extendeth this law euen to the Pope, and particularly to *Leo* himselfe: *if any man shall obiect against this I haue said*, saith he, *that Pope Leo doth often trouble himselfe with warlike affaires, yet I affirme that which I say to be true, because Peter obtained not the chiefe place among the Apostles, because he denied Christ; nor Dauid was therefore a Prophet, because he defiled another mans bed: for good and bad actions are not iudged according to the merit of the persons, but their owne proper qualities. Haue we euer read that Gregorie euer did this, or by his letters taught it, who endured so many wrongs and violences by the raging crueltie of the Lombards? Did Ambrose make warre against the Arrians, who cruelly vexed him and his Church? Or haue we read of any of the holie Popes that haue risen vp in armes? Let the lawes therfore decide all Ecclesiasticall causes, or the Edicts of Councels, least that which should be determined in place of iudgement, being decided by warres, turne to our greater shame and reproach.* What then saith *Baronius*? The Maximes of *Damianus* are contrarie to those of the Catholike Church, which condemne those of Heresie who attribute not both swords to the Pope; and so of a worthie Cardinall, because he diued into this mysterie, he makes him an Heretike: but by what iudges? *Gregorie* the ninth, and *Boniface* the eigth, who were long after him, than whom there was neuer more insolent tyrans, who in their owne proper causes, and the heat of their furie, vomited out their Decrees against the Emperours. He that knowes but the principles of Logicke, will here presently obiect *Principij petitionem*. He addeth againe, *That the vse of the Church approueth this doctrine.* What will he say if we replie, Not the vse, but the abuse, the corruption? And here hee alledgeth certaine places of S. *Gregorie*, exciting those that were called to armes by the commaund and authoritie of the Emperour against the Lombards. But did he make warre with his owne powers? Did he proclaime warres? Did he goe into the field in his owne person? He replieth, Neither did Pope *Leo* fight, but was onely present at the warres, and when they came to ioyne battell he withdrew himselfe out of the field, where with safetie he might attend the euent: and so of this his Monarch he maketh a Trumpeter, or an inciter vnto warre. Here let the Reader note this mans impudencie, who feared not to accuse *Damian* of the heresie of *Tertullian*, who dissuaded Christians from warre; or rather of *Iulian* the Apostata, who commaunded Christians, according to the Gospell, to suffer all manner of wrong and violence, without resistance. Is therefore the vocation of all Christians one and the same? By that argument a Captaine may be permitted to say Masse as well as a Priest, by which it is made lawfull out of *Baronius*, for the Prince of Priests to make warres, or to be a Leader in the field. But the state of the Court of Rome we may no where better learne than out of *Damianus*, who in horrour of the abhominations thereof, of a Cardinall became an Hermit, and being drawne from thence vpon some pretence of seruice to be done to the Pope, he seemes to be brought into hel againe, and expostulats this great wrong done vnto him with the Pope and *Hildebrand*.

Petrus Damianus in Epist. ad Firmin.

Baron. an. 1053. art. 14. 15. 16. & sequent.

Wri-

Writing therefore to *Hildebrand*, though he tooke part with *Alexander* against *Honorius*: *But it may be*, saith he, *that this flattering tyran, who with a Neronian pietie condoles my estate, strokes me when he buffets me, handles me gently with the talants of an Eagle*; that is to say, the Pope, that he might retaine him at Rome, and get him thither againe, *will complainingly breake out into these speeches, Behold how he seekes a lurking corner, & vnder colour of penance forsakes Rome; he goes about to gaine idlenesse by his disobedience, and whilest others run into the field to fight, he seekes to hide himselfe in the darkenesse of a degenerat ignoble shadow, &c.* And he protesteth to *his holie Diuell* (for so he calls the Pope) that he will euer be readie vpon all occasions to assist him against *Honorius*, vpon condition that he may returne againe to his hermitage. What then moued him hereunto? Doubtlesse, if we beleeue him, the lasciuious life of the Clergie of Rome, from which he did flie, as from a pestilent infection that inuaded his bowels, his heart, his mind; which he expresseth in all kind of actions and speeches vnworthie Church-men: *From which grieuous enormities*, saith he, *if we striue either for shame or feare to free our selues, presently we are iudged to be rude and vnciuile, descended from the tygres of Hircania: but I stay my pen.* And speaking of their excesse and superfluitie, *There are euerie day kinglie feasts, daily preparations, nuptiall banquets, whilest the poore abroad dye for hunger, &c. And that which is worse than all the rest, and more than diabolicall, is, that hauing spent their reuenues at the warre, they lay their hands vpon the tithes, and make them temporall too.* To conclude, speaking of the generall corruption, *It is such*, saith he, *that the Spiritualtie is discerned from the Temporaltie, by the shauing of their beards onely, not the sanctitie of their actions; neither doe they meditate vpon the sacred Scriptures, but vpon the ciuile lawes, and controuersies of temporall Courts. The tribunall seats of Iudges, and the Courts of Princes, are not sufficient to receiue the Monkes and Friers. The cloysters are emptie, the Gospell is shut vp, and nothing more common in the mouthes of Ecclesiasticall persons, than temporall lawes, &c.* And with the selfesame mind he writeth to the Cardinals, preparing themselues to the Councell, That they come not thither, as he hath often seene it, to sell their voyces, thereby the better to helpe their luxurie; which he there describeth to be princely, exceeding that of *Sardanapalus*; and that he had seene those that haue exulted for joy when they heare of a Synod, *as if the threshing time after Haruest were at hand.* This hee speakes of that part of the Church that held with *Alexander* the second, & which he himselfe defended; which I thought good to tell you, that no man might obiect, that hee spake of the faction of *Honorius* the second, whom he accounted schismatikes. Wherefore being inuited by *Alexander*, and violently incited by *Hildebrand* to be present at the Councell at Mantua, against *Honorius*, by whose good name they hoped to weaken the contrarie faction, he falls to foule tearmes with them: The Epistle is intituled *Patri & filio, To the father and the sonne, the Pope and the Archdeacon*, wherein wounding *Hildebrand*, or rather the Pope through his sides, *I humbly beseech*, saith he, *my holie Diuell, that he would be pleased not to be so cruell vnto me, and that his venerable pride would not weare and wearie me with so long stripes, but that he would become more mild vnto his seruant; my shoulders beaten black and blew, faile me, and my backe is furrowed with stripes, &c. And therefore, saith the Wise man, the stroke of the rod makes markes in the flesh, but the stroke of the tongue breaketh the bones: But I represse my spirit, and put my finger vpon my mouth, and seeke for mercie thought it be late.* But let vs now come to the Opposition.

Petrus Damianus in Epist. ad Alexand. & Hildeb.

An. 1064.

OPPOSITION.

The minoritie of *Henrie* the third was a great helpe to the Popes proceedings,

notwithſtanding that *Agnis* the Regent, and the Princes whoſe counſell ſhe vſed to interrupt the preſcription, did alwaies ſomething to maintaine their authoritie, though it were not alwaies anſwerable to their deſires. A ſucceſſour to *Nicholas* the ſecond was to be thought of, about which there aroſe a ciuile warre at Rome, the voyces being diuided betwixt *Alexander* and *Honorius*; The Romans in the middeſt of theſe tumults ſent Embaſſadors to the Emperour, lying then at Ausbourge; and among others, that man that had conſecrated *Alexander*, who requeſted his help againſt this vſurpation: *Alexander* (ſay they) *troubleth all againſt the lawes of our anceſtors, & without your conſent, he vſurpeth the holy prieſthood bought the Popedome of the Normans, holds it by force; he is a wolfe, and a theefe, not a Paſtor, a tyran not a Pope: Behold here I am that enforced by the Normans, God I take to witneſſe, conſecrated him; ſuccour vs therefore ſpeedily before this plague diſperſe it ſelfe any farther.* The Emperour therefore taking knowledge thereof, ſendeth *Becon* the Biſhop of Halberſtat to enquire into the truth hereof; who ſo long as the controuerſie continued, maintained *Alexander* in his place. But *Honorius* hardly enduring that, entreth with his power into Rome; The Lombards defend *Alexander*, the Normans *Honorius*, and Rome is diuided, the townes and other ſtrong places of the citie parted betwixt the Popes. But *Godfrey* of Lorraine, who comaunded for the Emperour in Italie, interpoſed himſelfe; by whoſe authoritie the Popes lay aſide their armes, and euerie Citizen betakes himſelf to his own home: But preſently calling them both before him, *You are*, ſaith he, *the Shepheards that are clothed with the wooll, and nouriſhed with the milke of thoſe ſheepe whom yee abuſe, who violate that peace, pollute that pietie, which Chriſt our Lord and Sauiour hath left vs: Goe into Germanie to the Emperour, and there decide the matter by Law, not heere by armes, who ſhall be Pope: And ſo let him whom the Emperour, Princes, and Biſhops ſhall iudge the more worthie, enioy the Popedome peaceably, without force.* Wherefore both of them conſenting therunto the buſineſſe is referred to the Synod at Mantua, but yet ſo as *Alexander* being conſecrated, and poſſeſſed of the Temple of Lateran, retayned ſtill the name and title. But both of them being impatient of delayes (the Emperour being imployed in the warres of Hungarie, by meanes whereof he could make no great ſpeed, to order and pacifie theſe matters) each other by Synods in his owne faction, excommunicated one another. Inſomuch that the Emperour being hardly thirteene yeares of age, was faine to ſend *Hanno* the Archbiſhop of *Collen*, and *Wenceſlaus* of Altaich, with diuers other Biſhops and Princes to Mantua; where *Alexander* yeelding himſelfe to the law, *Honorius* on the other ſide ſignified to *Hanno, That it became not the maſter to be taught by his diſciples, and that he would not come but as the Vicar of Chriſt, and Preſident of that Councell.* *Hanno*, preſident of the Synod, and repreſenting the perſon of the Emperour, anſwered him by the aduice of the Councell, *That he muſt obey the ſentence of the Church, and the maſters of that Councell, and ſubmit himſelfe to the diuine Oracle.* Whereupon *Alexander*, being lawfully heard, and, becauſe there wanted an accuſer, willed to purge himſelfe by oath, they pronounced him Pope, who neuertheleſſe as we haue ſeene, took no great care of the imperiall dignitie. Theſe things fel out in the yere 1066. But ſo ſoon as *Hildebrand* without the knowledge of the Emperour had got the Popedome, he who in the elections of his predeceſſors had beene often the author to chuſe them without the conſent of the Emperors, not fearing to doe any thing, reſolued with himſelfe to preuaile in this buſineſſe, after another manner than others had done. Which, foraſmuch as *Henrie* the third was now more growne in yeares, as it was an occaſion of great tumults in

Auentinus L. 5. Annal. Baiorum ex antiquioribus.

An. 1066.

in Chriſtendome, ſo it inforced the truth out of many mens mouthes. This onely man, ſaith the Apologie of the Clergie of Liege, in the yere 1066, *Offered hard meaſure to the ſacred Canons, but let vs know how; He did it not as Gregorie the firſt who would not intermeddle with the death of the Lombards, nor as all the Popes after him, who by the example of Gregorie the firſt, vſed the ſpirituall ſword onely, vntill Gregorie the laſt, that is Hildebrand, who was the firſt (and by his example encouraged others to doe the like) that armed himſelfe againſt the Emperour. Vntil this man came,* ſaith a graue writer, *the Popes were choſen by the Clergie, the Nobilitie, the people, the Senat, the Emperour ratifying their choice, who had power to call them, and other Biſhops to Councels, and was acknowledged by them (according to that which the holie Fathers, and Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe did, and taught others to doe) to be next vnder God, their ſupreame Lord, who likewiſe reuerenced him as a Father. Gregorie the ſeuenth contrarily, who was Hildebrand, putting his confidence in the armes of the Normans, who then raged and rioted throughout Apulia, Calabria, Campania, which by violence they had poſſeſt, and truſting likewiſe vpon the riches of Matilda an inſolent woman, and the diſcord of the Germans, was the firſt that againſt the cuſtome of his Elders, contemning the imperiall authoritie, poſſeſſed the Popedome, and durſt to ſay That Chriſt had put vpon him both perſons, giuing him power to bind and to looſe, to exercise both charges (Eccleſiaſticall and ſecular) to transferre all power vnto himſelfe, not to indure any equall, much leſſe a ſuperior, to contemne Emperors and Kings, as holding their Dominions at his will and pleaſure, to bring Prelats and Biſhops into order, to denounce, to chaunge States, to ſow diſcords, to raiſe warres, to authoriſe factions, to abſolue oathes, and though he wrong the Emperour himſelfe, yet in a certaine Epiſtle of his he gloreth that he muſt be feared, becauſe it is he that cannot erre, that hath receiued of Chriſt our Lord and Sauiour, and S. Peter power to bind and to looſe how and whomſoeuer he pleaſe. Then*, he likewiſe addeth, *began thoſe perillous times, which Chriſt and Peter, and Paule had ſo long before foretould; Then were thoſe fables of Silueſter and Conſtantine, no leſſe ſottiſhly, than impudently deuiſed, and diuers others which it becomes not Chriſtian modeſtie to relate; then did counterfeit religion put on the ſhape of pietie; Then began robberies, the ſale of holie things, and diuine Philoſophie to be polluted, corrupted and violated, by Sicophants ſubtile interpretations, lyes & old wiues tayles; Inſomuch that without the vtter ouerthrow of many, true religion cannot be reſtored to her auntient maieſtie. All this began with Hildebrand, who firſt built vp the pontificall Empire, which his ſucceſſors for 450 yeares retayned in deſpite of the world, and the Emperours, in ſuch a maner that they brought the infernall ſpirits beneath, and gods aboue into ſeruitude, making all ſubiect to their yoake, and terrifying the whole world with their thunderbolts.*

Quo bruta tellus, & vaga flumina,
Quo Stix, & inuiſi horrida Tænari
Sedes, Atlanteusq; fines
Concutitur, mutant ima ſummis.

As farre as earth, as Sea extends,
As Stix or horrid Tænaris,
Yea where the hill Atlanteus ends,
His fearefull power carried is.

Apologia Cleri Leodienſis. an. 1066.

And all this this Author deliuereth, notwithſtanding he were by profeſſion a Roman, being willing perhaps to haue ſaid more, if it had beene lawfull, for he concludeth with theſe words; *The Roman Emperor is now no more than a bare name with-*

without a bodie, without forme, notwithſtanding the fruit be knowne by the tree, and no A
man gathereth grapes of thiſtles, and the ſouldier knoweth his captaines colours, but yet
we muſt not iudge before the time, but according to the rule of S. Paul we muſt attend the
perpetuall decree of the eternall Iudge: As if he would haue alluded to that place of the Apoſtle ſpeaking of Antichriſt: *And now ye know what withholdeth* (the Roman Empire) *that he might be reuealed in his time.* What manner of man this *Hildebrand* was, we ſhall ſee in his due place.

But yet at the firſt he bewrayes not his boldneſſe, but when the Emperor *Henrie* ſent the Earle *Heberard* to Rome, to admoniſh the Romans of their offence, and threatning withall, that except they did ſatisfie him he would pronounce the election void; he humbly anſwered, That he was enforced to vndertake the Pope- B
dome againſt his owne will, neither would he euer haue ſuffered himſelfe to be conſecrated, had he not vnderſtood by the relation of his Legats, that the election was approued by the Emperour: By which words he ſo pacified the Emperor, that he eaſily yeelded his conſent to his conſecration. But preſently after he held a Councell at Lateran, where he renewed the Canons againſt thoſe his Hereſies of Simonie and Nicholaiſme, ſufficient pretences to diminiſh the authoritie of *Henrie*; and if he ſhould oppoſe himſelfe againſt them, to make him an Heretike. The one of them tooke from him all authoritie at Milan, if any were left, the other ſhould daily diminiſh that power which he retained in Germanie by the right of Inueſtiture. The ſumme of them was this, *It ſhall not be lawfull for a Clergie man to* C
marie a wife, nor to take their inueſtiture at the hands of a lay man, vnder paine of excommunication. But it is worth the noting, that the Counteſſe *Mathilda* was preſent at this Councell, a woman no leſſe infamous for her vnchaſt life, than her pride. *Erlembald* gouernour of Milan put the firſt Decree in execution, continuing his rage againſt the Clergie; and vpon the day called *Cœna Domini*, the Supper of the Lord, he forbad *Godfrey*, whom the Emperour had made Biſhop, to conſecrate the
An. 1075. oyle, and prouided other. The yeare following 1075 he did the like, he himſelfe miniſtring the oyle in the Paſchall ceremonies; but all the Prieſts refuſed to receiue it at his hands, except *Luitprand* onely, Curat of S. Paul. Whereupon the people being much offended, forſooke the citie, proteſting that they would obey D
no Biſhop but him whom the Emperour ſhould nominat; and not long after entring into the citie againe, they killed both *Erlembald* and his *Luitprand*. *Godfrey* in the meane time not being accepted by the Pope, ſtood ſtill excommunicated, not without the great indignation of *Henrie*, who neuertheleſſe, to accommodat himſelfe a little vnto him, named in his place *Theobald Caſtillon*, who was kindly receiued by thoſe of Milan. And from this onely act let euerie man iudge how vnwillingly this yoke of ſingle life was receiued in Italie. *Gregorie* vrgeth the ſame in Germanie, writeth to the Princes and their wiues, That they ſhould not frequent the Maſſes of maried Prieſts, That they ſhould execute his Decree, and account thoſe for excommunicat perſons that obeyed it not: declaring vnto E
them, *that they were neither Prieſts, nor might ſacrifice.* Whereupon the common people grew inſolent againſt them, *and trampled the Hoaſt conſecrated by them, vnder their feet*, though it were at that verie time when the opinion of the reall preſence began to ſpread abroad. *From this occaſion*, ſaith *Auentinus*, *many falſe Prophets did ariſe, who with fables & myracles* (examples they cal them) *turned the people of Chriſt from the truth, interpreting the Scriptures ſo, as that they might ſerue their owne turnes, whileſt in the meane time, vnder the honeſt name of chaſtitie, whoredome, inceſt, adulterie, were euery where freely committed.* But yet in the meane time, notwithſtanding

A withſtanding the attempts that were made at ſome Councels in Germanie, and the threats that were thundered out by the Legats *à Latere* of Pope *Gregorie*, they could not perſuade the Biſhops to yeeld their conſent to this Decree, or to depoſe thoſe Prieſts that were maried, defending themſelues by the authority of the Scriptures, the auncient Councels, and the Primitiue Church; adding thereunto the commaundement of God, and humane neceſſitie, directly oppugning the Popes Decree. From hence there aroſe new matter of malice againſt *Henrie*, becauſe he did not his beſt endeuour to countenance the Bulls of *Gregorie*: But another thing there was that troubled him more, which was the right of inueſtiture, which *Gregorie* called ſimonie, for which *Alexander* the ſecond had already threat-
B ned to excommunicat him, becauſe according to the manner of his predeceſſors he confirmed by his authoritie ſuch as were choſen Biſhops by the Clergie and people, and perhaps tooke ſome money for thoſe great reuenues they poſſeſſed thereby, which *Gregorie* would willingly haue got into his owne purſe. For let no man thinke he did it out of zeale to diſcharge the Clergie of that burthen, becauſe the hiſtorie witneſſeth that there was none of his predeceſſors that made a more publike ſale of Church liuings and dignities than he did. He giues him therefore to vnderſtand, That vnder paine of excommunication he muſt abſtaine from inueſtitures, and preſently excommunicated *Otho* Biſhop of Ratiſbone, *Otho* of Conſtance, *Bernard* of Lozanna, and the Earles *Eberardus* and *Vlricus*, his counſellors,
C and he ſent preſently into Germanie the Biſhops of Oſtia, Preneſt, Coire, and Come, to enquire into the matter; who meteing the Emperour at Noremberge, refuſed to ſpeake with him, becauſe he had beene excommunicated by *Alexander*. But yet neuertheleſſe they demaund a generall aſſemblie in Germanie, in which they were to inquire of Simoniacall Biſhops and Abbots, amongſt whom they ſhut them eſpecially out of the Church that were knowne to be ordained by *Henrie*, and firſt of all the Biſhop of Bamberge. And in the yeare 1075 the Emperor *An.* 1075.
hauing appointed a meeting of the Biſhops and Princes at Goſlaer, to deliberat of this buſineſſe, in the name of the Pope they let him vnderſtand, That the ſecond weeke in Lent he muſt make his perſonall appearance at Rome, to anſwer
D to ſuch crimes as ſhould be obiected againſt him, otherwiſe he was againe to bee cut off from the bodie of the Church. And this is that which *William* of Malmeſburie ſaid, ſpeaking of *Gregorie*: *That which precedent Popes ſpake as it were betweene their teeth, this pronounceth with open mouth, excommunicating the elect, who had receiued their inueſtiture into the Churches from the hands of a lay man, by the ring & the ſtaffe.* Which the Clergie of Lieg do likewiſe affirm in their Apologie in the yere 1106: *Hildebrand onely hath offered violence to the ſacred Canons, &c.* deriding that zeale which he pretended. The Princes therefore and people of Saxonie, being for ſome pretended griefes moued againſt the Emperour, and obiecting againſt him for the better ſtrengthening of their cauſe, his youthfull laſciuious life, cra-
E ued the helpe of *Gregorie*, who preſently ſets ſpurres to thoſe that were forward ynough of themſelues to rebell, promiſing to be the firſt day with them in Germanie, and to free them from the power of the Emperour. But yet for as much as this was an enterpriſe of weight and difficultie, he joyned himſelfe in league with a more ſtrict band than before, with the Counteſſe *Mathilda*, whoſe poſſeſſions and wealth were then great in Italie; and alſo with the Normans, then lords of Apulia and Calabria, which he performed ſo much the eaſier, becauſe the diminution of the power of *Henrie* made much for the increaſe of both their goods. But indeed the Pope had another purpoſe, that once hauing gotten authoritie,

Malmesb. l. 3. de Geſtis Regum Anglor.

ritie, he might thruſt out both *Mathilda*, to whoſe dominions he chalenged a right, A
and the Normans, who defended themſelues by no other title than of robbers and
Leo Oſtienſ. l. 3. c. 48. theeues. And therefore, ſaith *Leo* of Oſtia, *The Counteſſe Mathilda fearing the armie of Henrie the Emperour, deuoutly offered to Pope Gregorie, and the holie Church of Rome, the Prouinces of Liguria, Tiguria, and Tuſcia: Which was the firſt ground from whence ſprung the ſeed of hatred and diſcord betwixt the Pope and the Emperour. Whereupon the Pope tooke occaſion to excommunicat the Emperour, for vſurping the rights of the Church.* But he addeth in his Epiſtle, *That he commaunded Mathilda, vpon remiſſion of her ſinnes, to make warre with the Emperour:* wherein it ſhall be neceſſarie to note the diuinitie of this good man. *Henrie* in the meane time omitting no
Clerus Leodienſ. in Apolog. an. 1106. Auentinus l. 5. Annalium Baier. opportunitie to procure peace, ſent Orators to *Gregory* to juſtifie himſelfe againſt B
the calumnies of the Saxons: but, ſaith *Auentine*, *The Emperours meſſengers who came to confute thoſe crimes that were obiected by the Saxons, and to withſtand their attempts, he caſt into priſon, tormented them with cold, and hunger and thirſt, and being lead vp and downe through the citie, draue them out of Rome; becauſe*, ſaith he, *he ought to haue come in his owne perſon. Henrie* therefore (his patience being ſo much moued that he could beare no longer) commanded a meeting at Wormes, to which there came many Biſhops out of Italie, and out of France, and Germanie all, except thoſe of Saxonie, yea and from Rome it ſelfe came Cardinall *Hugo Blanus* with letters from the Cardinals, and principall of the people of Rome, wherein
Lambert. Schaffnab. de rebus Germ. Sigon. de Regno Ital. l. 9. Author vitæ Henrici 4. they accuſed *Hildebrand of ambition and periurie, complaining that he had done many* C
things couetouſly and proudly, and therefore this their Paſtor being reiected they deſire another. There, vpon mature deliberation, a ſentence is pronounced againſt *Hildebrand. Hildebrand, who calls himſelfe Gregorie, is the firſt that without our conſent, is gainſt the will of the Roman Emperour, eſtabliſhed by God himſelfe, againſt the cuſtomes of the Elders, againſt the lawes, hath by his ambition long ſince inuaded the Popedome. He will doe whatſoeuer pleaſeth him, whether by right or by wrong. He is an Apoſtat Monke, who by his new opinions adulterateth the ſacred diuinitie, the Scriptures by his falſe and forced interpretations he accommodates to his owne affaires and purpoſes, he breakes the peace and concord of the Colledge, he mingleth things ſacred with prophane, diuine with humane, and polluteth both the one and the other, he lendeth an eare, and giues credit to* D
the diaboliſall, and impure and falſe accuſations of our deadlieſt enemies, to the maledictions of wicked men. He is both witneſſe, and Iudge, and accuſer, and partie, himſelfe. He ſeperateth husbands from their wiues, preferres whores before chaſt matrons, whoredome, inceſt, adulterie, before chaſt mariage. He ſtirreth vp the people againſt the Prieſts, the vulgar ſort againſt the Biſhops. He teacheth that there is no man truely initiated, but he that begs his Prieſthood of him, or buyes it of his bloud-ſuckers. He ſtudieth how to gratifie the baſer ſort, and deceiueth and circumuenteth the common ſort of people: Inſenatulo mulierculorum, *In a Councell-houſe of women he diſcourſeth of the holie myſteries of religion, the law of God wherewith he hath bound himſelfe, he looſeth: as the Decij and worſhippers of falſe gods were woont to doe, he vſurpeth both the Empire and the* E
Popedome, &c. He reſiſteth the diuine maieſtie, and the moſt Chriſtian King ordained from aboue, and inaugurated by God himſelfe, he impugneth. And cunningly and craftily, and cloſely, he goeth about in a ſheepes skin, and vnder the title of Chriſt, to get into his hands the Empire of the whole world. For theſe cauſes the Emperour, the Biſhops, the Senat, the people, pronounce him depoſed, being vnwilling to commit the flocke of Chriſt to the gard and cuſtodie of ſuch a wolfe. And ſo both thoſe pretended hereſies of Simonie and Nicholaiſme with one conſent they ouerthrew, and this verie Decree not onely the Biſhops of Germanie and France, but of Italie it ſelfe, in a Synod holden

A den at Pauia did vnder their Seales, and by oath confirme. They writ likewiſe by the authoritie of the Synod of Wormes to *Hildebrand*, that he ſhould giue ouer the Popedome, and betake himſelfe to a priuat life, and alſo to the Clergie and people of Rome, that according to the Law of their auncеſtors they ſhould chuſe another, but yet ſo as that they ſhould lay no violent hands vpon the perſon of *Hildebrand*, but leaue him to the iuſtice of God. Amongſt all theſe Biſhops there was not any that contradicted the decree but *Albert* of Witthſbourg, and *Herman* of Metz, who likewiſe were ſoone perſuaded by the admonitions and reaſons of *William* of Vtrecht to be of the ſame opinion, and to ſubſcribe with the reſt. *Gregorie* ſo ſoone as hee vnderſtood hereof, is nothing at all
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C *meddle with the Sheepefold of Chriſt.* And preſently turning himſelfe towards the aſſemblie; *Moſt holie brethren* (ſaith he) *chuſe according to your owne Law a Paſtor, which choice of yours, the ſacred Conſull Tribune and your Prince according to the manner of your anncеſtors will authoriſe: For this Hildebrand is neither Paſtor, nor Father, nor Pope, but a theefe, a wolfe, a robber, and a tyran.* Whereupon they ruſhed vpon him, and he wanted not much of being ouerborne by the people. In the Letters which he deliuered there were theſe words: *Becauſe thine entrie began with ſo many periuries, and the Church of God by the abuſe of thy nouelties hath beene endaungered in this ſo great a tempeſt, and haſt diſhonoured thy whole life by thy infamous converſation, as we haue promiſed vnto thee no obedience, ſo will we neuer performe any to thee. Gregorie* therefore returning the fault vpon themſelues, the day following depriued
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S. Peter

ritie, he might thruſt out both *Mathilda*, to whoſe dominions he chalenged a right, A
and the Normans, who defended themſelues by no other title than of robbers and
Leo Oſtienſ. l. 3. c. 48. theeues. And therefore, ſaith *Leo* of Oſtia, *The Counteſſe Mathilda fearing the ar-*
mie of Henrie the Emperour, deuoutly offered to Pope Gregorie, and the holie Church of
Rome, the Prouinces of Liguria, Tiguria, and Tuſcia: Which was the firſt ground from
whence ſprung the ſeed of hatred and diſcord betwixt the Pope and the Emperour. Where-
upon the Pope tooke occaſion to excommunicat the Emperour, for vſurping the rights of
the Church. But he addeth in his Epiſtle, *That he commaunded Mathilda, vpon re-*
miſſion of her ſinnes, to make warre with the Emperour: wherein it ſhall be neceſſarie
to note the diuinitie of this good man. *Henrie* in the meane time omitting no
Clerus Leodienſ. in Apolog. an. 1106. opportunitie to procure peace, ſent Orators to *Gregory* to juſtifie himſelfe againſt B
Auentinus l. 5. Annalium Baior. the calumnies of the Saxons: but, ſaith *Auentine*, *The Emperours meſſengers who*
came to confute thoſe crimes that were obiected by the Saxons, and to withſtand their at-
tempts, he caſt into priſon, tormented them with cold, and hunger and thirſt, and being
lead vp and downe through the citie, draue them out of Rome; becauſe, ſaith he, *he ought*
to haue come in his owne perſon. Henrie therefore (his patience being ſo much mo-
ued that he could beare no longer) commanded a meeting at Wormes, to which
there came many Biſhops out of Italie, and out of France, and Germanie all, ex-
cept thoſe of Saxonie, yea and from Rome it ſelfe came Cardinall *Hugo Blancus*
with letters from the Cardinals, and principall of the people of Rome, wherein
Lambert. Schaffnab. de rebus Germ. Sigon. de Regno Ital. l. 9. Author vitæ Henrici 4. they accuſed *Hildebrand of ambition and periurie, complaining that he had done many* C
things couetouſly and proudly, and therefore this their Paſtor being reiected they deſire a-
nother. There, vpon mature deliberation, a ſentence is pronounced againſt *Hilde-*
brand. Hildebrand, who calls himſelfe Gregorie, is the firſt that without our conſent, a-
gainſt the will of the Roman Emperour, eſtabliſhed by God himſelfe, againſt the cuſtomes
of the Elders, againſt the lawes, hath by his ambition long ſince inuaded the Popedome. He
will doe whatſoeuer pleaſeth him, whether by right or by wrong. He is an Apoſtat Monke,
who by his new opinions adulterateth the ſacred diuinitie, the Scriptures by his falſe and
forced interpretations he accommodates to his owne affaires and purpoſes, he breakes the
peace and concord of the Colledge, he mingleth things ſacred with prophane, diuine with
humane, and polluteth both the one and the other, he lendeth an eare, and giues credit to D
the diaboliſall, and impure and falſe accuſations of our deadlieſt enemies, to the maledi-
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S. Peter

S. Peter ſaying, feed my ſheepe, that he excepted Kings? And ſo what he would he obtayned. Thus *Hildebo and* being by the Biſhops of Italie, Germanie, and Fraunce depoſed in a Councell at Wormes, and *Henrie* excommunicated and depriued his kingdome by *Hildebrand* and the Clergie at Rome, they both endeuour to ſtrengthen their owne part. But, foraſmuch as ſuch Kingdomes as are long time gouerned vnder a minoritie, are ſeldome or neuer without factions, there aroſe preſently againſt *Henrie* many Princes of Germanie: to whom *Hildebrand* alledged that Pope *Zacharie* had depoſed *Childerick* king of Fraunce, onely for his negligence, and placed *Pepin* in his Throne; Why then ſhould it not be lawfull for him to do the like, againſt whomſoeuer ſhould rebel againſt S. *Peter*? And they on the other ſide vnder his patronage are content to comfort, and to flatter their conſciences with theſe toyes: Of this number was *Hugh* Duke of Alſatia, who was growne far in debt, *Rodulphus* Duke of Sueuia, the Emperors brother in law, fed with the hope of the Empire, *Bertholdus* Duke of Zaringia his ſonne in law, *Welfo* Duke of Bauaria, the Biſhops of Mence, Mets, and Wormes, and certaine Abbots, eyther ſtroken with a feare of the excommunication, or for ſome ſpeciall cauſes bound to theſe Princes; who with one conſent reuolt from the Emperour, ioyne their counſels and forces to the Saxon rebels, and fill all Germanie with robberie, ſword and fire. Inſomuch that the Hiſtoriographers of thoſe times want words to expreſſe the horror and abomination of that diſordered confuſion, *which by all good men was imputed to Gregorie*, who crie out againſt this vnworthie and wicked act, *in their ſermons curſe Gregorie, wiſh all ill to Hildebrand, publiſh him to be Antechriſt: vnder a ſhew of pietie* (ſay they) *he exerciſeth his furies, with honeſt words he makes ſhew of ſeeking the publike good, vnder the title of Chriſt, he playes the part of Antechriſt, in Babylon he ſits in the Temple of God, and extolleth himſelfe aboue all that is worſhipped, as if he were God: he glorieth that he cannot erre, and for the greater increaſe of his glorie, he takes vpon him to make an Emperor at his pleaſure: he abſolues men not of their ſinnes, but the Law of Chriſt Ieſus and his Sacraments, he weakneth the peace and pietie of our Religion, ſtirres vp warres and ſeditions: He giues himſelfe to whoredome, murder, periurie, treacheries, rapines, burnings: And the better to hide his ambition, he doth not onely find out new fables, corrupt the Annales, alter the Hiſtories, but he likewiſe adulterateth the heauenlie Oracles, giues falſe interpretations of the Scriptures, making them to ſerue his turne, he teares in pieces the ſacred Hiſtorie, and amongſt women diſcourſeth of holie writ: whatſoeuer he ſaith, he will haue it to be thought the Law of God: he ſeekes teſtimonies that are too weake to defend his auarice, and wreſts the Scriptures to his owne will againſt the true ſence. He ſauours too much of the pride of the Phariſies, in that he makes men beleeue, that he bindes and looſeth as he pleaſeth, whereas with God it is not the ſentence of the Prieſt, but the life of the man that is required. Moreouer Hildebrand oppugneth the Diuine maieſtie, reſiſteth the moſt Chriſtian Prince, ordayned from aboue, and inaugurated by God himſelfe. To this end tend all his endeauours, that the captaine of the flocke being oppreſſed, and brought into order, he might the more freely exerciſe his tyrannie againſt the poore ſheepe deſtitute of the Emperours protection. If all power be of God, much more the imperiall, and greateſt of all other. Chriſt Ieſus, when the people would haue crowned him, and made him gouernour, refuſed it, and thoſe two that were at variance for the inheritance, and would haue choſen him for their Iudge, he ſent to Cæſar to whom the Empire of the whole world was committed. Solikewiſe he commaunded the chiefe Prieſts of the Iewes to giue vnto Cæſar thoſe things that did belong vnto Cæſar, to whom they payed their cuſtomes, their tribute, their ſubſidies. S. Peter teacheth vs the ſame, Feare God, honour the*

A *the King: The precept of Saint Paul is, To keepe faith to the King, &c. To this man, and ſuch as are like him, belongs that ſaying of our Sauiour to Saint Peter, Goe behind me Satan, thou art an offence vnto me: And againe, He that ſtriketh with the ſword ſhall periſh with the ſword.* Here let euerie man imagine what opinion all Chriſtendome had of this pretended Apoſtle.

They in the meane time in Germanie that tooke part with *Gregorie*, gaue him to vnderſtand, That theſe his violent proceedings had got him many enemies; whereupon, hiding the crueltie of his mind, he writ a more moderat Epiſtle to thoſe that tooke part with the Emperour; the ſumme whereof was, That if he would become a new man, he ſhould find, that what he had hitherto done, he had done
B for his good, and that all former matters being vtterly forgotten, which he erneſtly proteſted, he would receiue him into the Church. *Henrie* therefore, being now brought into great danger of the loſſe of his kingdome, to the end he might take away the cauſe of all theſe euils, accepteth of the condition, and is content to vndergoe any manner of ſubmiſſion, ſo he may pacifie the anger of *Gregorie*, and reconcile himſelfe vnto him. Departing therefore from Spire, with a ſmall traine came to Bezanſon, paſſed the Alpes, & ſo came downe into Lombardie. And notwithſtanding all the Biſhops and Prelats that tooke part with him, vpon juſt ſuſpition did giue him warning of that he did, in the meane time neuertheleſſe ſeeking their owne grace with the Pope; yet he proceedeth in his purpoſe, to appeaſe the
C wrath of *Gregorie*, and came neere to Canuſe, where the Pope was with the Counteſſe *Mathilda*, who, as the Authors of thoſe times affirme, did ſeldome part from his ſide. There he earneſtly intreateth *Mathilda*, *Azo* Marqueſſe of Eſte, and the Abbot of Clugni, and ſome others whom he knew to be in the grace and fauor of *Gregorie*, to be interceſſors for him, That firſt he might be abſolued, and receiued into the Church, and ſo into the grace of *Gregorie*. To which their earneſt ſupplications *Gregorie* at the laſt anſwereth, *If he repent from the bottome of his heart, let him deliuer vnto me in token thereof, his Crowne, and other enſignes of his kingdome, and confeſſe himſelfe, after this his great contumacie, vnworthie the name and honour of a King.* To which they replying, that it was too heauie a ſentence; *Let him come*
D *then*, faith he, *and purge that ſinne which he hath committed againſt the Apoſtolike See, by obeying the Decrees thereof.* And hauing obtained thus much at his hands, they thought they had brought the matter to a good paſſe. This wretched man *Henrie* therefore came, as he was commaunded, neere vnto him, and being receiued within the ſecond wall (for the citie had three) all his companie left without, and diſrobing himſelfe of his princely attire, bare footed, in the coldeſt time of Winter, and faſting vntill the euening, he expected his anſwer of *Gregorie*. *William* of Malmesburie addes, *That he came barefooted with a paire of ſlippers and a ſcourge in his hands*; to ſignifie, that he was there readie to be polled and whipped. There he gaue him leaue to attend his anſwer within that ſecond wall vntill the euening,
E but had it not. He came againe the ſecond and third day, and he handles him in the ſame manner. At the laſt, the fourth time, partly moued with his conſtancie, partly fearing he ſhould be blamed by euerie man for his rigor, he admits him to his preſence. The reſolution was this, that *Henrie* at a day and place appointed by *Gregorie*, ſhould appeare in a common aſſemblie of the German Princes, and there anſwering to ſuch crimes as ſhould be obiected by the Pope, ſhould ſtand to his judgement. In the meane time he ſhould lay aſide all the ornaments belonging to his princelie dignitie, nor intermeddle with matters of State: hee ſhould remoue from him the Biſhop of Bamberge, *Vlrick* of Coſheim, and the

reſt, whoſe counſell he had formerly followed, and abſolue all thoſe that had A
ſworne faith and allegeance vnto him: all which when hee had ſolemnly bound
himſelfe by oath to performe, he receiued him into the Church. Neither did *Henrie* all this while thinke but that he had made a good market. But he had no ſooner trampled this Prince vnder his feet, but, according to the proportion of his humilitie, his pride increaſed, and the more ſubmiſſe the Emperour became, the more perfidious was he. He diſpatched therefore to his aſſociats in Germanie, eſpecially the Saxons, *Bernard* a Cardinall of Rome, and the Abbot of Matſelles, to let them to vnderſtand, That he would not haue them to reſt themſelues vpon that which he had concluded with *Henrie*; *For though he were reconciled to the court of heauen, yet not to his kingdome.* His confederats therefore joyning with his Le- B
*An.*1077. gats, aſſembled themſelues at Forchame, in March 1077, and by a generall conſent choſe *Rodolph* Duke of Sueuia and Burgondie, and brother in law to *Henrie*, King, vpon condition, *That he ſhould renounce all right to the creation of the Pope, and inueſtiture of the Biſhops, and declare his children to be no ſucceſſors of his by right of inheritance:* for that he had euer in his mind. And ſhortly after he ſent vnto him in ſigne of his confirmation, the Imperiall Crowne, with this inſcription:

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus Diadema Rodolpho.

This change neuertheleſſe was ſo odious, that *Sigefridus* Biſhop of Mence annoynting him, the citizens roſe in armes againſt them, as traitors to their coun- C
trey, and faith-breakers to their Prince, and after much effuſion of bloud on both ſides, *Rodolph* and his followers were compelled to ſaue themſelues by flight in the night time, and to retire themſelues into Saxonie.

In the meane time *Henrie*, partly inſtigated by this great diſhonour the Pope had done vnto him, and partly by thoſe his followers, whom to purchaſe his own grace he had left as a prey to the Pope, reſolues with himſelfe to ſhake off this yoke, calls his friends about him, and by all the meanes he could reconciled himſelfe to his [illegible], and by the indignitie of the fact ſtirres vp all that had good minds, and [illegible]gious hearts, to indignation, and ſo ſhortly after brings his armie into the field, [illegible] *Rodolph*, giues him battell, puts him to flight, and with a great D
ſlaughter of his men giues him the ouerthrow. There dyed in the field amongſt others, *Bernard* Archbiſhop of Magdeburg, the author of the ciuile warre, the great Duke of Saxonie, and *Herman* his vncle: [illegible] the Biſhop of Mence, who conſecrated *Rodolph*, and *Warnerus* of [illegible], being dragged to the gallowes by the ſouldiers, were freed from their [illegible] *Henrie*, not ſuffering any man in ſo juſt a warre to be ſlaine, the [illegible] being ended. From thence forward, *Rodolph* not know[illegible] to renew his hope vpon the ſudden, *Henrie* is not idle in vſing his v[illegible] welcome this newes was to *Gregorie* the Reader judge, who [illegible] the Crowne to *Rodolph* vſed theſe words: *In our name* (of Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul*) *I giue to all thoſe that ſhall keepe faith and loyaltie to Ro-* E
dolph remiſſion and pardon of all their ſins, both in this life and in the life to come: And as I haue depoſed Henrie from his royall dignitie, for his pride, ſo I haue placed Rodolph, for his humilitie and obedience, in his throne. And with this aſſurance he expreſſed his law in harder tearmes: *If any hereafter ſhall receiue a Biſhopricke, or an Abbotſhip, or other Eccleſiaſtical dignitie, of any lay man, let him not be numbred among the Biſhops or Abbots, neither let any doe obedience vnto them, as to a Biſhop or Abbot, and let him be interdicted the grace of Saint Peter, and entrie into his houſe. And if any Emperor, King, Duke, Marqueſſe, Earle, or other ſecular power, or perſon, ſhall beſtow any Biſhop-*
ricke,

A *ricke, or other Eccleſiaſticall dignitie, let him be ſubiect to the ſame ſentence.* At the humble intreatie therefore of *Rodolph* he excommunicateth *Henrie* againe, vnder pretence, That againſt his oath he had taken into his hands the ornaments or marks of the Empire: *All thoſe that follow Rodolph he freeth from hell, and placeth in heauen, and whatſoeuer may make for the ſtrengthening of their warres, as fire and ſword, and the like, he aſſureth vnto them: but all that take part with Henrie, and refuſe to fall from him, and to ioyne with his enemie, he accurſeth to hell and damnation, &c. But all this,* ſaith *Auentinus, to moſt of the Biſhops, and all learned and honeſt ſimple people, except thoſe that were of the conſpiracie, ſeemed a new doctrine, and the moſt dangerous hereſie that euer troubled the Chriſtian Church.* On the other ſide there aſſembled toge-
B ther in the yeare 1080, the Biſhops of Italie, Germanie, France, at Brixen in Ba- *An.*1080.
uaria, and condemne *Hildebrand* againe of ambition, hereſie, impietie, ſacriledge: *Becauſe,* ſay they, *he is a falſe Monke, a Magitian, a Diuiner, an expounder of dreames and prodigious wonders, hauing an ill opinion of Chriſtian religion; he hath bought the Popedome, againſt the order of his auncеſtors, and the wills of all good men, and in deſpight of vs, and as the Lord of the whole earth endeuoreth to keepe it, &c. He is a ſworne enemie to the Common wealth, Empire, and Emperour, who hath oftentimes offered peace to him and his followers: He lyeth in wait for the bodies and ſoules of men: Diuine and humane lawes he peruerteth: For truth he teacheth lyes, allowes for good, periurie, falſehood, homicide, yea and commends them, and giues incouragement thereunto: According*
C *to his manner, he defends a perfidious tyran, ſowes diſcord among brethren, friends, kindred: Procures diuorcements betwixt maried couples: Denies thoſe Prieſts that are lawfully maried to chaſt and ſober matrons, to ſacrifice, and admits whoremaſters, adulterers, and inceſtuous perſons, to the Altar. We therefore, by the authoritie of Almightie God, pronounce him depoſed, and remoued from his Popedome. And if, whenſoeuer he ſhall heare hereof, he ſhall not willingly depart, but refuſe to obey this our Decree, we iudge him excluded, and withſtand his entrance. Sigonius* reciting this Decree, addeth, *He was a manifeſt Negromancer, poſſeſſed with a Pythonicall ſpirit:* [illegible] worth the noting, becauſe of that which ſhall hereafter be ſpoken of his [illegible]. But being famous in the art of Diuination, the better to giue heart to [illegible] the Saxons,
D he tels, nay aſſures them, as ſaith *Sigebert*, that he knew by [illegible] that the falſe *Hiſtor. Saxon.*
King muſt this yeare dye, whom he interpreted to be *Henrie*: [illegible] proue not to be true, ſaith he, *and that this my propheſie haue not effect before the firſt aforeſaid, account not me for Pope.* *Rodolph* trulling to this Oracle, makes warre the ſecond time, and the third, and euer with happie ſucceſſe; and the fourth time, reſoluing to trie the vtmoſt, he is not onely ouerthrowne, but his right hand, by which hee had plighted his faith to the Emperour, being cut off, [illegible] his life. *Gregorie* preſently thinkes of a ſucceſſor like vnto him; and therefore writes to the Biſhop of Paſſaw, and the Abbot of Hirtzaugen, his faithfull friends, That they ſhould with mature deliberation prouide that there ſhould be no Prince choſen that was
E not true and faithfull to the Church of Rome, or leſſe true than he that was lately *An.*1081.
dead; and withall ſends the forme of an oath, as followeth, which they ſhould enforce him to take.

From this houre, and euer after, I will be faithfull in all true loyaltie to Saint Peter the Gregor. li. 5.
Apoſtle, and his Vicar Saint Gregorie, who now liues and ſits in his chaire; and whatſoe- Epiſt. 3.
uer he ſhall commaund me vnder theſe words, Per veram obedientiam, *By true obedience, I will faithfully, as becomes a Chriſtian, obſerue. As touching the ordination of the Churches, and the lands and reuenues which either Conſtantine the Emperor, or Charles, gaue to Saint Peter, and all the Churches and lands that haue beene at any time offered or*

granted by any men or women to the Apoſtolike See, and are, or ſhall be in my power, I will A
ſo agree with the Pope, that I will neuer incurre the danger of ſacrilege, and the perdi-
tion of my owne ſoule; and to God and Saint Peter, by the aſſiſtance of Chriſt, I will doe all
worthie honour and ſeruice; and the firſt day that I ſhall ſee him (that is, *Gregorie*) *I will*
plight my faith with my hands, to be a faithfull ſouldier of S. Peter and his for euer. But
Henrie in the meane time gaue him no leaue to doe what pleaſed him: for hauing
by his victories and proſperous ſucceſſe appeaſed the tumults of Germanie, he
takes his journey with his armie into Italie. And this was the laſt act of *Hilde-*
brands tragedie. *Henrie* therefore, who in the Synod held at Brixen had cauſed *Gil-*
bert of Corrigia, Archbiſhop of Rauenna, to be named Pope, who was called
Clement the third, was abſolued by him, and ſo paſſed the Alpes, and remouing all B
obſtacles that ſtood in his way, or did any way detract from his Empire, pitching
his tents, as the manner is, in the Neronian fields, he determined to beſiege the ci-
tie of Rome: but being encountred at the firſt with ſtrange difficulties, by reaſon
it was Winter, he retired himſelfe to Rauenna, and there wintered. But the yeare
An. 1082. following 1082, in the beginning of the Spring, he ſets forward in the ſame ſteps
An. 1083. as before, and aſſailes the Vatican; and in the yeare 1083, after a long ſiege he
tooke the citie, and entring into the Capitoll, there fortified himſelfe. *William* of
Malmesburie, and others, that writ the hiſtorie of *Godfrey* of Bulloine, ſay, That
he was the firſt who with a ladder ſcaled the citie, & entred into Rome; for which
ſeruice the Emperour granted vnto him the inueſtiture of the Duchie of Lorain. C
There remained the fort of *Creſcentius*, otherwiſe called the caſtle S. Angelo, in-
to which *Gregorie*, with ſome of his deereſt friends, was fled. Theſe wearied by
Henrie, reſolued with themſelues to offer twentie hoſtages, and to take day vpon
certaine conditions to deliuer the citie. But *Gregorie* vnwilling to fall into his
hands whom he had ſo much offended, made choyce rather to hazard the bring-
ing of *Robert* with his Normans to Rome, though it were a courſe full of danger.
This *Robert* therefore being at an appointed time let in by the gate Flaminia, by
ſome of *Gregories* friends, tooke the Pope out of the caſtle, and caried him to Caſ-
Sigebert. in Chron. Math. Paris in Hiſtor. Angl. ſin, and from thence to Salerne. Whereupon *Henrie* returned into the citie, by
whoſe authoritie *Gregorie* was againe condemned, and *Clement* confirmed, who D
crowned and annoynted the Emperour, with *Bertha* his wife. But *Henrie* retur-
ning into Germanie, to appeaſe ſome tumults that were newly riſen, *Gregorie* ma-
king benefit of the occaſion, though he were abſent, ſtirreth vp his followers at
Rome to rebellion; but in the moneth of May being ſuddenly taken with a diſ-
An. 1085. caſe, he died in the yeare 1085: but yet not without aduiſe giuen to the Cardi-
nals, to chuſe either *Deſiderius* Abbot of Caſſin, or, if he refuſed it, *Hugh* Biſhop
of Lyons, or *Otho* of Oſtia, that it might be ſaid, That the ambitious enterpriſes
of *Gregorie* outliued himſelfe. But *Sigebert* Abbot of Gembloux, a writer of thoſe
times, ſaith in expreſſe words, That he called one of the twelue Cardinals, whom
he loued aboue the reſt, and confeſſed himſelfe vnto him, *That by the ſuggeſtion of* E
the diuell he had ſtirred vp that anger and hatred againſt mankind, hauing neuertheleſſe
publiſhed his Decree throughout the whole world, vnder a colour of the encreaſe of Chriſti-
anitie. Whereupon he ſent the aforeſaid Confeſſor to the Emperour, and to the whole
Church, receiuing both him and all Chriſtian people that ſtood excommunicated, into the
Church, both dead and liuing, Clergie and Laitie, deſiring them and the whole Church to
pray for the remiſſion of his ſinnes.

It is now of ſome importance to know what manner of man this *Hildebrand*
was, becauſe the judgement of him throughout all Chriſtendome was diuers,
ſome

A ſome imputing all this to his ambition, more than humane, ſome to his zeale of
the glorie of God. Touching his priuat life therefore, *Lambert* of Schaffnabourg
Abbot of Hirtzaw, a graue writer, ſpeaking of the Counteſſe *Mathilda*, his good
friend, ſaith, *That ſhe, her husband Goſelon, Duke of Loraine, yet liuing, pretended a*
kind of widowhood, farre from her husband, ſhe refuſing to follow her husband to Lorain,
out of her natiue countrey, and he employed about the affaires that belonged to his duke-
dome, tooke no care for the ſpace of three or foure yeares to viſit his Marquiſat in Italie;
after whoſe death ſhe ſeldome or neuer parted from the Popes ſide, following him with a
ſtrange affection. And for as much as a great part of Italie obeyed her, and ſhe abounded
aboue all other Princes with whatſoeuer men moſt eſteemed of, whenſoeuer the Pope had
B *need of her helpe ſhe was preſently at hand, and was euer dutifull to doe any office vnto*
him, as to her Father and Lord: Whereupon ſhe could not eſcape the ſuſpition of an ince-
ſtuous loue, the Kings fauourers euerie where reporting, and eſpecially the Clergie, whom
he had forbidden lawfull mariage, againſt their Canons, That night and day the Pope did
impudently ſleepe in her boſome, and ſhe preoccupated with the ſtolne loue of the Pope, af-
ter the loſſe of her huiband, refuſed to marie againe. Others adde, That ſhe hauing
maried *Azo* Marqueſſe of Eſte, the Pope impatient therewith, the yeare follow-
ing diſſolued the matrimonie, *vnder a pretence of kindred in the fourth degree of con-* *Sigon. l. 9. de regno Italie.*
ſanguinitie. Whereby that ſuſpition of adulterie that was before, did more ap-
peare to be a manifeſt truth: and deſeruedly too, nothing in thoſe dayes being
C more common than diſpenſations in an equall degree of kindred, and neerer. And
if he loued her not but in the way of honeſtie, what reaſon had he but to diſpence
with *Mathilda* too? There is therefore one that ſpeakes yet more freely: *By this* *Traffatus de unit. Eccl. conſeruanda.*
their frequent and familiar conuerſation he ingendred a cruell ſuſpition of diſhoneſtie,
whileſt he obſerued not more carefully that diuine precept of Pope Lucius, That a Biſhop
ought not at any time to be without the companie of two Prieſts, and three Deacons, as
witneſſes of his conuerſation. Which he ſhould ſo much the more carefully haue ob-
ſerued, by how much the more ſeuerely he proceeded againſt lawfull matrimo-
nie. In this all Authors conſent, That *Mathilda* ruled both Pope and Popedome,
and by her the goods of the Church were adminiſtred. Whereupon, ſaith *Benno*, *Benno Cardin. in vita Hildeb.*
D *Rome hath ſeene and heard how he liues, with what perſons day and night he conuerſeth,*
how he hath remoued the Cardinals from him, who ſhould be witneſſes of his life and do-
ctrine. Neither was *Sigonius* aſhamed to write, *That he appointed a place in Councels* *Sigon. l. 9. de regno Ital. Annales Godefrid. Monachi.*
to Mathilda. Doubtleſſe the Monke *Godfrey* ſaith plainely, *That being circumuen-*
ted by the Pope, ſhe gaue vnto S. Peter, without the knowledge of the Magiſtrats and ru-
lers, the Marquiſat of Ancona.

But as touching his publike life and gouernement, *Gerochus* his follower, who *Gerochus in vita Hildebrand.*
writ the hiſtorie of his life, deſcribes him to be verie obſtinat and proud in his own
conceit. *The Romans*, ſaith he, *vſurpe a diuine honour, they will giue no reaſon of their*
actions, neither can they endure it ſhould be ſaid vnto them, Why doeſt thou this? and they
E *haue alwayes in their mouthes theſe Satyricall words:*

Sic volo, ſic iubeo, ſit pro ratione voluntas.

So I will, ſo I command,
For reaſon my will ſhall ſtand.

And that indeed was his humor, according to the deſcription of all writers. *Si-*
gebert, who writ of thoſe times, ſaith, *That by his example, and by reaſon of his new*
decrees, many things were done in the Church againſt all lawes diuine and humane, and

there aroſe in the Church by this occaſiõ Pſeudomagiſtri, *falſe Doctors, who by their pro-* A
phane nouelties had diuerted the people from the diſcipline of the Church, and that he ex-
communicated the Emperour, for this very cauſe, that the Peeres of the Realme ſhould
withſtand their King being for iuſt cauſe excommunicated. Againe, that the Pope meet-
ting the Emperour in Lumbardie vnder a falſe ſhew of peace abſolued him; For all
they who had firſt abiured Hildebrand, adding periurie to periurie, abiure the Emperour,
and appoint Rodolph Duke of Burgundie their King, the crowne being ſent vnto him by
the Pope. Hereby we may eaſily gather what opinion he had of him. Another
ſaith, *He receiued for accuſation of the King the writings of his enemies, and thereupon*
excommunicated him. And with what furie he was caried appeareth by that his
Apothegme, *I will either die, or take from thee thy life, and kingdome.* But Cardi- B
nall *Benno* noteth *the manifeſt iudgement of God; As* (ſaith he) *he roſe from his chaire*
to excommunicate the Emperour, then newly made of ſtrong timber, by the ſudden hand
of God it was ſtrangely torn into diuers peeces, to giue all men to vnderſtand how many &
horrible ſchiſmes, by that dangerous excommunication and preſumption, he that ſate in
that chaire ſhould ſowe, both againſt the Church of Chriſt, and the Sea of S. Peter, how
cruelly he ſhould diſſipate the chaire of Chriſt, trampling the lawes of the Church vnder
his feet, and beaxing rule with power and auſteritie. And another ſaith, *From hence*
there aroſe a more than ciuile warre, without reſpect of God or man: the Diuine and hu-
mane lawes were corrupted, without which, neither the Church of God, nor common-wealth
could ſtand, and the publike and Catholike faith is violated. And if you aske them C
where the fault was, they tell you, ſpeaking of the extraordinarie ſubmiſſion of
Henrie to *Gregorie*, that hee omitted nothing that might mollifie the heart of
Gregorie, and regaine his grace and fauour, *inſomuch that at the laſt, for a*
teſtimonie of his reconciliation, he receiued the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt
Ieſus, at the hands of the Pope, ſits at table with him, and ſo is ſent backe in peace; But
the author addeth, *That peace which Iudas diſſembled, not which Chriſt left*: Inſo-
much that *Leo* Biſhop of Oſtia, who then flouriſhed, ſaith, *The buſineſſe being*
brought to an end, the Pope by the counſel of Mathilda, ſent one of his ouer the mountains
with the crowne of the Empire, to Rodolph perſuading him to rebell againſt the Empe-
rour. And the letters whereby he incited him, are yet to be read in the Hiſtorie of D
Saxonie; yea, ſome repeat his owne words: *Trouble not your ſelues* (ſaith he,) *I*
reſtore him vnto you more faultie than before, for the perſon of the King ſhalbe more con-
temptible in his kingdome, if ſatiſfying he lay aſide the enſignes of his kingdome; and if
without permiſſion he reſume his regal ornaments, I ſhall haue the iuſter cauſe to excom-
municate him. But of both the kings this is his iudgement: *Henry borne & brought vp*
in the kingdome, by the ordinance of God ſucceeded his progenitors in the kingdome &c.
But Rodolph (ſaith he) *was obedient to the Pope, who had diſcharged him of his faith*
and allegiance, and aſſured him that bearing armes againſt Henrie, he could be no way
condemned of periurie and diſloialtie, becauſe being excommunicated he could be no lon-
ger King, it being the dutie of all the faithfull in the Church, to perſecute and kill all thoſe, E
who fauouring Henrie the King excommunicated, refuſe to forſake him. This was a new
Doctrine (ſaith the Authour) *neuer heard of before, there being no other ſword per-*
mitted in the Church, than that of the ſpirit, which is the word of God. But the iudge-
ment of God acknowledged by *Rodolph* himſelfe, giues better ſatisfaction, *who*
being neere his end, vſed this ſpeech to ſome of his familiar friends, *You ſee heere my*
right hand wounded: with this right hand, I ſware to my Lord Henrie, that I would neuer
hurt him or hinder his glorie; but the commaund of the Pope and requeſt of the Biſhops
haue brought me to this, that laying aſide all reſpect of mine oath, I ſhould vſurpe an ho-
nour

Hiſtor. Saxonica in literis Henrici ad Hildebrand.

Benno Cardin. in vita Hildebrand.

Apologia Henrici.

Leo Oſtienſ. li. 3. Chron. Caſſinen. c. 48.

Hiſtoria Saxonica. Apologia Henrici.

Helmold. in Hiſtoria Sclauorũ. c. 28. 29. 30.

A *nour that was none of mine: But what comes of it, you now ſee, In that hand which hath*
violated mine oath, I am wounded to death. Let thoſe therefore conſider hereof that
haue prouoked vs hereunto how they haue led vs, leaſt perhaps we fall into the bottomleſſe
pit of eternall damnation, And ſo with theſe wounds and great anguiſh of heart he de-
parted this life. The ſame author addeth that the Saxons gathering heart againe,
choſe one *Herman* ſurnamed *Cluffloch* king, who had conquered *Henrie* in the field,
Who by the iuſt iudgement of God, entring victoriouſly into a Citie, the Gate fell off the
hinges, and killed him and diuers others: Whereupon the Saxons ſeeing their pur-
poſes fruſtrated, they gaue ouer the creating of a new King, or to beare armes any more
againſt Henrie, manifeſtly perceiuing that the kingdome was reſerued vnto him by the
B *approbation and permiſſion of God himſelfe.* What now remaineth, but that we adde
the confeſſion of *Gregorie* himſelfe, alledged before by *Sigebert* and confirmed by
Mathew Paris? That by the inſtigation of the Diuell, he had ſtirred vp wrath and re-
uenge againſt mankind. I willingly here omit the contradictorie writing of this
age, with the replications and duplications of thoſe that tooke part with *Gregorie*
to maintaine his excommunication; who ſay, that a Pope excommunicated *Chil-*
perick King of Fraunce for his idleneſſe, and vnprofitable gouernement onely,
and eſtabliſhed *Pepin* in his place; That Kings are not leſſe ſubiect to the key of
Rome, then the reſt of his ſubiects, for they are all ſheepe; That whom God
hath made a ruler ouer things Celeſtiall, he hath made him much more ouer
C things terreſtrial, and therefore the Pope had power ouer all: Hereupon they al-
ledge, or rather abuſe the examples of ſome Princes that haue beene cenſured
by the Paſtors of the Church. Such as tooke part with *Henrie*, on the other ſide
replied that *Chilperick* was depoſed by the common conſent of the States of the
Realme, and not by the Pope, that it is the office of a Paſtor to feed, not to kill, to
inſtruct not to deſtroy; that the examples that were alledged by them, were either
falſe, or impertinent; That *Henrie* refuſed not to doe any thing, nay had perfor-
med whatſoeuer belonged to his place; That *Gregorie* on the other ſide carried
himſelfe as an actor, not as a Iudge; That God onely ruleth Kings and King-
domes, and thoſe ſubiects that God hath giuen them, no man can abſolue of
D their oath & allegiance: This they confirmed by places of Scripture, and the te-
ſtimonies of the Fathers; whereupon they conclude *Gregorie* to be Antechriſt, who
taking vpon him the name of Chriſt, did vtterly ouerthrow the Lawe of Chriſt,
and his doctrine. But this is nothing, among the reſt they ſtrongly maintained,
that the Catholike Church is not with him that deſtroyes the Church, and that
the title of Catholike belongs not to him or his followers, who ſpeake and hold
againſt the holie Scriptures, againſt the Goſpell of the ſonne of God; But rather
according to S. *Iohn* he and his ſocietie are Antichriſts, *qui Ieſum ſolaunt*, betray
Chriſt, offer him violence, whileſt they violently wreſt the Scriptures. And it is
well noted of a learned Hiſtoriographer of our time, that in this whole contro- *Vignier in Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt.*
E uerſie, there is no mention made by the Gregorians, either for the donation of
Conſtantine, or the renunciation of *Lewis*. A manifeſt proofe vnto vs, that there
was no ſuch thing as yet found out.

But there is none that better layeth open vnto vs the myſteries of the iniquitie
of *Hildebrand*, then Cardinall *Benno* the Roman Arch-prieſt. As touching his
Magick, all writers diſplay him to be skillfull in this art, as likewiſe that truely
diabolicall Oracle wherewith he deceiued *Rodolph*, and was himſelfe deceiued by
the diuell: for which qualitie alſo he was condemned in many Synods, by innu-
merable Biſhops of France, Germanie, Italie, in the Councels of Wormes, Pa-

uia,

uia, Brixen, and Rome, where in the ſentence it ſelfe, in verie ſignificant words, he is called a Magitian, a Diuiner, a Southſayer, poſſeſſed with a Pithonicall ſpirit, a Negromancer. And if this had not beene apparent ynough, they had ſpoken doubtleſſe much more, there wanting not matter to obiect againſt him. But *Benno*, who penetrated into the hidden ſecrets of *Gregorie*, ſets downe all circumſtances, That he had learnt Magick of *Theophilact*, who was Pope *Benedict* the ninth, of *Laurence* his companion, and of *Iohn* the Archprieſt of S. *Iohn Port Latin*, afterwards *Gregorie* the ſixt, who by his commerſe with diuels, and the ſinging and flying of birds, told of thoſe things that were done in farre countries, of the euent of warres, and the death of Princes: That he, whileſt they liued, yea euen in the Popedome, was the chiefe inſtrument and companion of all their wickedneſſe, yea the heire of *Gregorie* the ſixt, not onely of his money, but his perfidious treacherie: That he enforced Pope *Nicholas*, by fearing him with ſtrange apprehenſions of death, and preſenting before him horrible viſions, to make him Archdeacon: That none of the Cardinals ſubſcribed to his election, all forſaking him, but he was created by the open force of the ſouldiers: That comming one day from Alba to Rome, he had forgot a certaine booke of Negromancie, without which he ſeldome or neuer went, which he in his journey remembring at the entrance of Portlateran, he haſtily called vnto him two of his familiar friends, and faithfull miniſters of his wickedneſſe, & commanded them with all ſpeed to fetch that booke vnto him, and withall terribly threatned them, not to preſume to open the booke vpon the way: but by how much the more they were prohibited, by ſo much the more were they kindled with a curious deſire to prie into the ſecrets of that book. In their returne therefore vnclaſping the booke, and curiouſly reading the precepts of that Diabolicall art, there appeared preſently before them certaine of the diuels angels, whoſe multitude and horror ſo frighted theſe young men, that they were almoſt beſide themſelues, &c. And theſe are the verie words of *Benno*, That it was a common thing with him, to ſhake ſparkles of fire out of his ſleeue; and with theſe and the like myracles to blind the eyes of the ſimple, as if they were ſignes of ſanctitie: That he ſent two Cardinals, *Alto* and *Cuno*, to S. Anaſtaſia, to performe a faſt of three dayes, euery one euery day to ſing a Pſalter and Maſſes, to the end that God might ſhew a ſigne which of the two thought more truely of the bodie of our Lord, the Church of Rome, or *Berengarius*; which neuertheleſſe came not to paſſe: That he conſulted the Sacrament it ſelfe, as it had beeene an Oracle, againſt the Emperour; and the Cardinals withſtanding him, caſt it into the fire: That he had layed a trap for the Emperour in the Church of S. *Maries* in Mount Auentine, and obſeruing the place wherein he commonly ſtood or kneeled, he commaunded a great ſtone to be laid vpon the beames of the Church ouer his head, *that being let fall vpon his head whileſt he was praying, might daſh out his braines:* But the ſtone with the weight thereof bare downe with it the inſtrument of this villanie, who by the juſt judgement of God was bruiſed to peeces vpon the pauement: and for as much as this ſucceeded not wel, he ſubomed murderers to kill him. In the meane time whileſt he depoſed the Emperour vnder a pretence of Simonie, he had no ſooner depriued thoſe Biſhops, of whom he complained, of their authoritie, but he reſtored it to them againe, thereby binding them vnto him, and againſt the Emperour. In honour of Pope *Liberius*, who was an Arrian, he ordained a Feaſt, and committed many outrages beſides, againſt all law and equitie, murders, oppreſſions, violences, which it would be too long to relate. For which cauſe, ſaith he, *the bloud of the Church crieth out againſt him,*

Benno Cardin. in vita Hildeb.

A *him, &c.* I could wiſh the Reader would read the booke.

But here we muſt anſwer to the obiections of *Bellarmine*, who ſtriues to affirme that this booke is not to be beleeued: Firſt, becauſe it is likely to be ſuborned by ſome Lutheran or other. *R.* If he had ſaid, of ſome malicious perſon, it might haue beene borne with; but I referre it to the iudgement of any Reader that can diſcerne the ſtile, weigh the circumſtances, conſider of the phraſe, and I thinke there is none to be found that will take it to be ſuborned. Secondly, ſome man perhaps, ſaith he, in *Gregorie* the ſeuenth, would take vpon him to deſcribe vnto vs the Idea of a moſt wicked Pope. *R.* Why then hath he marked eight or nine Popes with the ſame coale, and as many Cardinals? Neither is *Benno* the only author of theſe
B narrations, ſince we haue produced before ſuch and ſo many witneſſes of the like things. Thirdly, this *Benno*, ſaith he, was a Cardinall created by the Antipope, *Clement* the third, and therefore no friend of *Gregories*: and *Onuphrius*, ſaith he, placed him among the Cardinals of *Clement*. *R.* How eaſie a matter it is to lye, where there is no man to contradict? But *Benno*, who could not foreſee *Bellarmines* fiction, named himſelfe among the Cardinals that were created before *Hildebrand: Leo*, ſaith he, *the Archprieſt of the Cardinals, and Benno, and Hugobaldus, and Iohn, and Peter Cardinals ordained before his time, Natro, Innocent, and Leo, conſecrated by himſelfe.* And *Onuphrius* himſelfe among the preſent Cardinals, promoted by *Alexander* the ſecond, the predeceſſor of *Gregorie*, nameth *Benno a German a Prelat*
C *Cardinall, afterward the Archprieſt of the Church of Rome.* This is that *Benno* no doubt, who in the title of his booke is deſcribed by theſe names; for he that by *Onuphrius* is placed vnder *Clement*, hath no other but the title of a Prieſt. And ſo the teſtimonie of *Benno* ſtands yet good. In the meane time it is to be noted, That this Magitiã, that is, this diſciple or feudatarie of the diuels, is the very ſame that thundered ſo loud, that ſpit his fire and flame againſt the lawfull mariage of Eccleſiaſticall perſons, and who for this verie matter filled both Church and commonwealth with fire and ruine; which putteth vs in mind of that which the Apoſtle ſpake to *Timothie, That in the later times ſome ſhall depart from the faith, and ſhal giue heed to ſpirits of errour, and doctrines of diuels, which ſpeake lyes through hypocriſie, and*
D *haue their conſciences burned with a hot yron, forbidding to marie, &c.* And from hence he confeſſeth before that he raiſed this doctrine. Adde hereunto, That it was about the middle of theſe times that the diſputation grew hot about the carnall preſence of Chriſts bodie in the Sacrament, vnder the Popes *Victor* and *Nicholas* the ſecond, *Hildebrand* being the brand that kindled it, who made *Berengarius* ſubſcribe vnto it, That all the faithfull in the Sacrament doe really teare with their teeth the bodie of Chriſt; which Theſis neuertheleſſe in theſe dayes is with them accounted hereticall. And to ſay the truth, they really teare the bodie of Chriſt, who by their ambition doe miſerably teare in peeces the Church of Chriſt.

Onuphr. de Pontificibus maximis Alexand. 2. & Clement. 3.

1. Tim. 4. 5. c. 2. 3.

E *Baronius* endeuoureth to defend *Gregorie* in all things, yea following the other extreame, he ſtriues to make him a Saint: He begins with his natiuitie, *He was*, ſaith he, *borne at Soane in Tuſcane, the ſonne of a Carpenter.* And hereby he thinks he hath gotten much, becauſe, ſaith he, our Sauiour taking our fleſh vpon him, by reaſon of *Ioſeph* his father was called the ſonne of a Carpenter: But which is more, from his infancie he wrought myracles; *For being a child, and playing at the feet of his father*, who was hewing of timber, with the chips that flew from it, before he knew letter in the booke, he formed certaine characters, that being ioyned together, expreſſed that Dauidicall Oracle, *Pſal. 72. Dominabitur à mari vſq; mare, His*

Baron. an. 1073 art. 16.

Pſal 72.

Dominion

Dominion ſhall be from ſea to ſea; which the princelie Prophet did once ſpeake of our Lord and Sauiour. What could he gather from hence, but that this *Gregorie*, as it was foretold, ſhould leape into Chriſts place, inuade the throne of God himſelfe? From what ſpirit did this wicked blaſphemie proceed, and conſequently what was this myracle but that of *Pytho*, which the whole remainder of his life made good? Secondly he cries out againſt Cardinall *Benno*, calling him ſchiſmatike, and a man in no ſort to be beleeued, &c. But we haue ſhewed *Bellarmine* out of *Onuphrius*, that he deceiues himſelfe in this point: neither can a Cardinall be called a ſchiſmatike, when for ſo long a time together theſe Popes contended one againſt the other, neither of them both approued by *Baronius*. To conclude, is *Benno* alone? Doth not *Sigebert*, a writer of theſe times, ſo many other recited by *Auentine*, ſo many Biſhops aſſembled in generall Councels of Germanie, France, Italie, ſpeake *An.*1074. the ſame? Doe they not giue the ſame teſtimonie of his violences, poyſonings, Negromancies? Thirdly he endeuoureth to excuſe the loue of *Gregorie* and *Mathilda*: But how doth he it? By contradicting all hiſtorie. He thinkes he hath proued, that this *Mathilda* maried to *Azo* Marqueſſe of Eſte, which mariage *Gregorie* did vndoe, is not the ſame that is here ſpoken of; which wee will giue him leaue to diſpute with his owne fellowes and friends: But ſo long as he doth acknowledge, that this *Mathilda*, of whom we ſpeake, was firſt maried to *Godfrey le Boſſu* Duke of Loraine: that preſently by the authoritie of *Gregorie* they made a diuorce, with the great offence of her husband: that this diuorce, ſaith he, was not for any cauſe of conſanguinitie, which he proueth, not for any impotencie, for he maried another, and had children by her, not for fornication, for he might haue maried another; *Yet*, ſaith he, *this diuorce was lawfull, becauſe ſo great and ſo holie a Father did it, & by his authoritie permitted it.* Doth not he giue vs reaſon to beleeue what the hiſtorie told vs before? And to ſay the truth, with what face could this holy man familiarly conuerſe with *Mathilda* farre from her husband, from whom by his authoritie ſhe was diuerted, ſeduced, taken? How ſeemely a thing was it for her to follow him, in euerie place to accompanie him, for him to ſit with her in Councell, in Conſiſtorie, in Senat? Did this become the modeſtie of a virgine, if ſo he will haue her, or if one that had beene maried, the grauitie of a matron? who ought to haue beene the more modeſt, the more baſhfull, the more ſolitarie, by how much the more ſubiect ſhe was to calumnie by reaſon of her diuorce. At the laſt, when ſhe was fortie fiue yeares of age, according to *Baronius*, after the death of *Gregorie*, this virgine maried *Welpho*, a young man, the ſonne of the Duke of Bauaria. Will any man now vpon the faith of *Baronius* warrant her chaſtitie, nay her virginitie? or admit of his excuſe, That it was done for the good of the Church, by the commaund of *Vrban* the ſecond? At the laſt it pleaſeth him to couer all this turpitude with fables, *That the garments of Gregorie, after his death, wrought myracles, as Pauls Semicinctia did in the Acts of the Apoſtles; which ſelfeſame power and vertue was in the apparell of Gregorie*: And to proue this true he alledgeth the *Legend of S. Anſelme Lucenſis*. But in this cleere light, in this Sun-ſhine wherin we liue, where is the ſhame? And for as much as he compares him in this with *S. Paul*, let him heare what *Paul* ſaith: *The comming*, ſaith he, *of the man of ſinne, and ſonne of perditon* (that is Antichriſt, of whom he foretold before) *is by the working of Sathan with all power and ſignes, and lying wonders*: Which words of *S. Paul* are they not accompliſhed?

Baron an. 1085 *art.*14.

Tuo Epiſt. 58. 65.

2. *Theſſal.* 2.

41. Progression.

Of the factions that aroſe in the Popedome by the death of Gregorie the ſeuenth. Of the rebellion of Conrade againſt the Emperour Henrie his father. Of the diuiſions, and ſtrange opinions that grew among the people through the ſchiſme betweene Clement the third and Vrban the ſecond.

G*Regorie*, if we beleeue ſome Authors, neither doth *Baronius* himſelfe denie it, had prouided, as we ſee, that his enterpriſe ſhould not dye with himſelfe, for he nominated to the Cardinals thoſe whom he thought fitteſt to ſucceed him in the Popedome: which *Deſiderius* the Abbot of Mount-Caſſin failed not to giue thoſe Cardinals to vnderſtand that tooke part with him. And as he was the firſt of the three that *Gregorie* had commended, ſo all mens eyes were eſpecially caſt vpon him; who, whether it were out of a conſideration of the greatneſſe of the charge, or to the end he might be the more earneſtly intreated, twice or thrice refuſed it, yea and diſrobed himſelfe of his Pontificall ornaments, and retired himſelfe to his Monaſterie at Caſsin, euen then when it was thought that he had yeelded to the perſuaſion of his friends. *Sigonius* giues a little touch: *Eight dayes after his retire to Caſsin, the Counteſſe Mathilda aduertiſed him of her arriuall at Rome, and that ſhe deſired much to conferre with him: whereupon he returned to the citie, and being by her and her armie with all duetie receiued, for the ſpace of eight dayes he continued in the Vatican.* Auentine ſpeakes more plainely: *Mathilda and the Normans create him*, that is to ſay, in hatred of *Clement*, who neuertheleſſe held the ſeat at Rome, and was called *Victor* the third. But as ſoone as *Hugh* Biſhop of Lions, one of the three that *Gregorie* had commended, thought that *Deſiderius* had in good earneſt accepted of the Popedome, he preſently banded himſelfe againſt him, and in a Synod held at Bencuent he excommunicated him, and with him *Richard* of Marſelles. But *Deſiderius* liued little aboue a yeare after: and if we may beleeue *Williams* of Malmesburie, he was poyſoned *in the Chalice ſaying his firſt Maſſe*. In that ſhort time neuertheleſſe that he liued, he had publiſhed new excommunications againſt *Clement* and *Henrie*, and vnder the ſelfeſame pretence that *Gregorie* did. He retired himſelfe to his Abbie at Caſsin, for the better recouerie of his health, and there, vpon his death-bed, according to the tradition of *Gregorie*, he recommended vnto thoſe that were his aſsiſtants, *Otho* Biſhop of Oſtia, who had beene brought vp at Clugni, for his ſucceſſor: in ſo much that taking him by the hand, he peremptorily ſaid vnto them, *Take him and place him in the Roman ſeat, and vntill you haue done it hold my place. Benno* calls him *Pediſſequum, the Pageon Lackey of Hildebrand.* The Biſhops therefore that tooke part with him in the yeare 1088, meet at Terratina to conſult of a ſucceſſor. There were firſt preſent, in the name, and by the commaund of the Romans, who did adhere to this part, for the Clergie *John* Biſhop of Portua, and for the Lay *Benedict* gouernour of the citie. A new kind of proceeding it was, becauſe *Clement* held the place in the citie: neither was there here any mention at all of expecting the Emperours conſent herein. There without any other ſolemnitie they nominated *Otho* Pope, called *Vrban* the ſecond, who was no ſooner entred into Rome, but he was driuen out againe by *Clements* faction. Hereupon, ſaith *Leo* of Oſtia, if we will judge of the validitie of this election, we muſt ſay, *That he was choſen by the ſtatutes of Gregorie.* But *William* of Mal-

Sigon. l.9. de regno Ital.

Guillelm. Malmesb. l.4.

Leo Oſtienſ. l.3. c.72.

*An.*1088.

Leo Oſtienſ. l.3. c.72.

Malmesburie more freely: *To that part that ſeemed to be the more iuſt, the armie of Mathilda ioyned; who forgetting her ſex, not vnlike to the auntient Amazons, led her armie into the field, and by her voyce Vrban obtained the Apoſtolicke throne.* But another ſaith more plainely: *Vſing the helpe and ſuccour of moſt wicked people, with whom the Law of God and man had no place. Sigonius* confeſſeth, that *Mathilda* (who called her ſelfe *the daughter of Peter*) tooke vpon her the protection of *Vrban*, and that *Vrban* was the cauſe that ſhe married *Welfo* Duke of Bauaria, to the end he might ſtrengthen himſelfe by him, againſt the Emperour in Germanie: *Not ſo much* (ſaith *Bertholdus*) *for incontinencie, as for obedience to the Pope, that ſhe might be ſo much the more able to giue ayde and ſuccour to the Church of Rome againſt the Schiſmatikes:* & therfore he preſently addeth, *that he wholy ſequeſtred & kept himſelfe free from her*, being more greedie of the principalitie than the woman. Are theſe then the lawfull ends of marriage?

Herfeldenſ. Theol. in tractatu de vnitate Eccleſ. conſeruand. an. 1092. Sigon l. 9. de regno Italiæ.

Bertholdus Conſtant. Presbyter in Chron.

Neither is it here to be omitted, that there were certaine lots drawne at Rome to know who ſhould be ſucceſſour to *Gregorie* the 7 (which was then a thing vſuall at Rome) and it was found that one *Otho* ſhould ſucceed him: whereupon *Otho* Biſhop of Baieux, and brother to *William* the Conqueror, King of England, though he were Earle of Kent, and Lieutenant generall of his Realme, conceyued a hope of obtayning the Popedome; whereupon he ſent to Rome great preſents, and there built great, and goodlie houſes, and left nothing vndone with the Senators, that either gifts, or his other beſt endeauors could worke. But hauing embarked himſelfe for this voyage, taking with him diuers of the Nobilitie, king *William* vnderſtanding in Normandie of this expedition, tooke ſhipping for England, & meeting him in the Iſle of Weight, there arreſted him, & for many offences he had committed in the carriage of his matters of State, caſt him into Priſon. The other *Otho* therefore, *Vrban* the ſecond, obtained the chaire; and his firſt exploit was in a Synod holden at Melfe to excommunicat *Clement* and *Henrie*, and all thoſe that receiued either orders of the one, or inueſtiture of the other, & to be briefe, all thoſe that in any reſpect had any commerce with them. Moreouer, he confirmed *Roger Guiſchard* of the race of the Normans, Duke of Apulia and Calabria, the better to retaine his friendſhip and fidelitie towards him. But *Henrie* paſſing into Italie in the yeare 1091 got into his poſſeſſion, and waſted the greateſt part of thoſe Countries that belonged to *Mathilda*: but for ſome important cauſes being enforced to returne into Germanie, he left his eldeſt ſonne *Conrade* in Italie, whom he had deſtinated to be his ſucceſſour; him *Mathilda* wonne partly by flatterie, partly by terrifying him that he ſhould neuer poſſeſſe the Empire, if he had not the grace and fauour of the Pope, and ſo promiſing an aſſurance thereof vpon his ſubmiſſion to the Pope, made him to rebell againſt his owne father; And to make this band of amitie more firme, married him to the daughter of *Roger* King of Sicilia. *Sigonius*, after *Dodechin*, ſaith that *Conrade* was enforced thereunto, becauſe (his father commaunding him) he would not abuſe his mother in Law *Adelheida*, by which meanes he would haue defamed her, and ſo conceyuing hatred againſt his ſonne forſooke him. But *Auentine* hath no ſuch matter, but quite contrarie, ſaith he: *There are certaine crimes obiected againſt Henrie, whoſe names are vnknowne to all Frenchmen and Germans, and are no where to be found but amongſt thoſe, that haue red the liues of the Emperours according to the deſcription of Suetonius.* Neither doth *Sigonius* himſelfe beleeue it, ſince he ſaith that the rebellion of *Conrade, was both godlie and neceſſarie*, as ſeruing much to the ſetling of the Popes affaires. Neither doth he diſſemble that he fled to *Mathilda*, who

Fragmentum Monaſtici Cadomenſ. an. 1084.

Dodechin. an. 1093.

Auentin. l. 5.

who joyned him in mariage with the daughter of *Roger* King of Sicilia, her ſelfe perhaps beeing taken with his loue; according to that which his father *Henry* ſpake in an aſſemblie at Cologne: *My ſonne being intangled with the allurements of a woman, endeuoureth to deprriue me both of my dignitie and life. Vrban* in the meane time abſolues him of all duetie and obedience towards his father, and vpon condition that he do him homage, he promiſeth him all helpe and aſſiſtance to obtaine the Empire. It was therefore a matter of no great difficultie for him, ſtaying ſome yeares in Italie, to win vnto him ſuch as were friends to the Empire, & to ſettle his affaires there. *Henrie* had created *Arnulph* Archbiſhop of Milan, and according to the cuſtome inueſted him by the ring and the ſtaffe. But for as much as the Biſhops made a queſtion of his conſecration he retired himſelfe into a Monaſterie. *Vrban* in fauour of *Conrade* went to Milan, and there tooke him out of the Monaſterie, made him Gouernour of his Church, and adorned him with the Pall, but yet vpon condition (for nothing came freely) that the Church of Milan ſhold be ſubiect to the Church of Rome, which hitherto had neuer acknowledged him. There was alſo at that time an occaſion offered of the recouerie of the Holie Land, by means of one *Peter* an Hermit Picard: *Vrban*, who cold not ſtay at Rome, tooke this occaſion to paſſe the Alpes, *Partly*, ſaith *William* of Malmesburie, *to ſolicit the Churches on the other ſide the mountaines to reuerence him, partly (and this was the counſell of Boemond) that all Europe being buſied* about the expedition into Aſia, *in ſo great a tumult, the forces of all Prouinces being diſperſed, Vrban might make himſelfe maſter of Rome, and Boemond inuade Sclauonia and Macedon, which countries, and all beſides that lye from Dyrrachium to Theſſalonica, his father Guiſchard had vſurped, againſt Alexius Emperour of Conſtantinople, vpon which title Boemond challenged them to be his by right of inheritance.* But for as much as he knew that there were none more willing to vndertake this enterpriſe than the French men, to the end that by their example he might put courage into others, he calls a generall Councell of the whole Weſt at Cleremont in Auernia: there, in the yeare 1095, in his owne perſon, he layed open his purpoſed enterpriſe to the whole aſſemblie; the concluſion of his ſpeech was this: *We releaſe all faithfull Chriſtians that ſhall beare armes againſt the Infidels, of great and infinite penaunce for their ſinnes, and receiue them vnder the defence of the Church, and the protection of S. Peter and S. Paul, as true and obedient ſonnes:* whereupon many of all ſorts of people tooke to them the croſſe, the badge or enſigne of the armie. But in the meane time, vnder this pretended zeale he forgets not to ſet forward his owne affaires: for in ſtead of pacifying all quarels at home, that he might the better proceed in this high enterpriſe abroad, he continueth his old grudge and malicious exploits againſt *Henry*, euen to his death, which was in the yeare 1099, whom his ſonne *Conrade* ſucceeded in the yeare 1100, for this expreſſly commended by *Sigonius*, *That hee neuer departed from the counſels of Mathilda and Vrban.*

Auentin. l. 5.

An. 1095.

An. 1099.

An. 1100.

Sigon l. 9. de regno Italiæ.

All this while *Clement* the third held the ſeat at Rome, whereby any man may judge how diuerſly mens conſciences were diſtracted, when he ſaw their Councels one contradicting the other, *Clement* vndoing that at Rome that *Vrban* had done at Placentia, one pronouncing the others Biſhops heretikes, the other condemning thoſe Biſhops that were his followers, and ſealing their condemnation with his owne hand, both of them caſting each others acts into the fire. And one there was who affirmed, that he ſaw *Hildebrand* and his followers burning in hell, and another, that he ſaw ſome of *Clements* Cardinals there too. Matters thus ſtanding, they both called a Councell, *Vrban* at Clermont, *Clement* at Rome, where the

Malmesburie more freely: *To that part that seemed to be the more iust, the armie of Mathilda ioyned; who forgetting her sex, not vnlike to the auntient Amazons, led her armie into the field, and by her voyce Vrban obtained the Apostolicke throne.* But another saith more plainely: *Vsing the helpe and succour of most wicked people, with whom the Law of God and man had no place.* *Sigonius* confesseth, that *Mathilda* (who called her selfe *the daughter of Peter*) tooke vpon her the protection of *Vrban*, and that *Vrban* was the cause that she married *Welfo* Duke of Bauaria, to the end he might strengthen himselfe by him, against the Emperour in Germanie: *Not so much* (saith *Bertholdus*) *for incontinencie, as for obedience to the Pope, that she might be so much the more able to giue ayde and succour to the Church of Rome against the Schismatikes:* & therfore he presently addeth, *that he wholy sequestred & kept himselfe free from her*, being more greedie of the principalitie than the woman. Are these then the lawfull ends of marriage?

Herfeldenf. Theol. in tractatu de unitate Eccles. conservand. an. 1093. *Sigon l. 9. de regno Italiæ.* *Bertholdus Constant. Presbyter in Chron.*

Neither is it here to be omitted, that there were certaine lots drawne at Rome to know who should be successour to *Gregorie* the 7 (which was then a thing vsuall at Rome) and it was found that one *Otho* should succeed him: whereupon *Otho* Bishop of Baieux, and brother to *William* the Conqueror, King of England, though he were Earle of Kent, and Lieutenant generall of his Realme, conceyued a hope of obtayning the Popedome; whereupon he sent to Rome great presents, and there built great, and goodlie houses, and left nothing vndone with the Senators, that either gifts, or his other best endeauors could worke. But hauing embarked himselfe for this voyage, taking with him diuers of the Nobilitie, king *William* vnderstanding in Normandie of this expedition, took shipping for England, & meeting him in the Isle of Weight, there arrested him, & for many offences he had committed in the carriage of his matters of State, cast him into Prison. The other *Otho* therefore, *Vrban* the second, obtained the chaire; and his first exploit was in a Synod holden at Melfe to excommunicat *Clement* and *Henrie*, and all those that receiued either orders of the one, or inuestiture of the other, & to be briefe, all those that in any respect had any commerce with them. Moreouer, he confirmed *Roger Guischard* of the race of the Normans, Duke of Apulia and Calabria, the better to retaine his friendship and fidelitie towards him. But *Henrie* passing into Italie in the yeare 1091 got into his possession, and wasted the greatest part of those Countries that belonged to *Mathilda*: but for some important causes being enforced to returne into Germanie, he left his eldest sonne *Conrade* in Italie, whom he had destinated to be his successour; him *Mathilda* wonne partly by flatterie, partly by terrifying him that he should neuer possesse the Empire, if he had not the grace and fauour of the Pope, and so promising an assurance thereof vpon his submission to the Pope, made him to rebell against his owne father; And to make this band of amitie more firme, married him to the daughter of *Roger* King of Sicilia. *Sigonius*, after *Dodechin*, saith that *Conrade* was enforced thereunto, because (his father commaunding him) he would not abuse his mother in Law *Adelheida*, by which meanes he would haue defamed her, and so conceyuing hatred against his sonne forsooke him. But *Auentine* hath no such matter, but quite contrarie, saith he: *There are certaine crimes obiected against Henrie, whose names are vnknowne to all Frenchmen and Germans, and are no where to be found but amongst those, that haue red the liues of the Emperours according to the description of Suetonius.* Neither doth *Sigonius* himselfe beleeue it, since he saith that the rebellion of *Conrade, was both godlie and necessarie*, as seruing much to the setling of the Popes affaires. Neither doth he dissemble that he fled to *Mathilda*, who

Fragmentum Monastici Cadomens. an. 1084.

Dodechin. an. 1093.

Auentin. l. 5.

A who ioyned him in mariage with the daughter of *Roger* King of Sicilia, her selfe perhaps beeing taken with his loue; according to that which his father *Henry* spake in an assemblie at Cologne: *My sonne being intangled with the allurements of a woman, endeauoureth to deprine me both of my dignitie and life.* *Vrban* in the meane time absolues him of all duetie and obedience towards his father, and vpon condition that he do him homage, he promiseth him all helpe and assistance to obtaine the Empire. It was therefore a matter of no great difficultie for him, staying some yeares in Italie, to win vnto him such as were friends to the Empire, & to settle his affaires there. *Henrie* had created *Arnulph* Archbishop of Milan, and according to the custome inuested him by the ring and the staffe. But for as much as the Bi- B shops made a question of his consecration he retired himselfe into a Monasterie. *Vrban* in fauour of *Conrade* went to Milan, and there tooke him out of the Monasterie, made him Gouernour of his Church, and adorned him with the Pall, but yet vpon condition (for nothing came freely) that the Church of Milan shold be subiect to the Church of Rome, which hitherto had neuer acknowledged him. There was also at that time an occasion offered of the recouerie of the Holie Land, by means of one *Peter* an Hermit Picard: *Vrban*, who cold not stay at Rome, tooke this occasion to passe the Alpes, *Partly*, saith *William* of Malmesburie, *to solicit the Churches on the other side the mountaines to reuerence him, partly (and this was the counsell of Boemond) that all Europe being busied* about the expedition into Asia, C *in so great a tumult, the forces of all Prouinces being dispersed, Vrban might shake himselfe master of Rome, and Boemond inuade Sclauonia and Macedon, which countries, and all besides that lye from Dyrrachium to Thessalonica, his father Guischard had vsurped, against Alexius Emperour of Constantinople; vpon which title Boemond challenged them to be his by right of inheritance.* But for as much as he knew that there were none more willing to vndertake this enterprise than the French men, to the end that by their example he might put courage into others, he calls a generall Councell of the whole West at Cleremont in Auernia: there, in the yeare 1095, in his owne *An. 1095.* person, he layed open his purposed enterprise to the whole assemblie; the conclusion of his speech was this: *We release all faithfull Christians that shall beare armes* D *against the Infidels, of great and infinite penance for their sinnes, and receiue them vnder the defence of the Church, and the protection of S. Peter and S. Paul, as true and obedient sonnes:* whereupon many of all sorts of people tooke to them the crosse, the badge or ensigne of the armie. But in the meane time, vnder this pretended zeale he forgets not to set forward his owne affaires: for in stead of pacifying all quarels at home, that he might the better proceed in this high enterprise abroad, he continueth his old grudge and malicious exploits against *Henry*, euen to his death, *An. 1099.* which was in the yeare 1099, whom his sonne *Conrade* succeeded in the yeare *An. 1100.* 1100, for this expressly commended by *Sigonius*, *That hee neuer departed from the* *Sigon l. 9. de regno Italiæ.* *counsels of Mathilda and Vrban.*

Auentin. l. 5. *Berthold. in Chron.*

E All this while *Clement* the third held the seat at Rome, whereby any man may judge how diuerslie mens consciences were distracted, when he saw their Counsels one contradicting the other, *Clement* vndoing that at Rome that *Vrban* had done at Placentia, one pronouncing the others Bishops heretikes, the other condemning those Bishops that were his followers, and sealing their condemnation with his owne hand, both of them casting each others acts into the fire. And one there was who affirmed, that he saw *Hildebrand* and his followers burning in hell, and another, that he saw some of *Clements* Cardinals there too. Matters thus standing, they both called a Councell, *Vrban* at Clermont, *Clement* at Rome, where

the one excommunicated, curſed, degraded the other, made voyd each others A
conſecrations, and ordinations, and conſequently condemned the Baptiſme,
the Chreſme, the Sacraments adminiſtred by one part and the other; yea cities,
regions, nations, families, bedfellow, maried couples, were by this ſchiſme diui-
ded among themſelues. And ſome there were that allowed of neither part, ſee-
ing nothing to beare ſway on either ſide but ambition and malice. And to ſay the
truth, in the Synod at Clermont, *Vrban* ſhewes ſufficiently, that he troubled his
head but a little for the recouerie of Ieruſalem; for the principall articles were
theſe: *Let the Catholike Church be chaſt in beleefe*, the interpretation followeth, *free
from all ſeruitude: that no Biſhops, Abbots, or Clergie men, ſhall receiue any Eccleſiaſti-
call dignitie from the hands of a Prince, or lay, or ſecular perſons: That whoſoeuer ſhall* B
*take the goods of Biſhops, or Clergie men, ſhall be accurſed: That whoſoeuer ſhall flie to a-
ny Church, or to the Croſſe, ſhall be redelieured to iuſtice, but yet with immunitie of his
life and members.* Others adde, *That faith giuen to heretikes bindes not.* As for *Hen-
rie* the Emperour, and *Philip* king of France, and whoſoeuer ſhould call them
Kings, he put them all in the number of heretikes. And there is a Canon alledged
15. q. 6. l. Iu-rati. by him out of *Gratian*, that differs not much: *Such as are ſworne ſouldiers to the
Earle Hugh, let them not ſerue him ſo long as he ſtands excommunicated.* And ſpeaking
to the Biſhop of Gap, he ſaith, *If they pretend oathes, let them be admoniſhed, that
they muſt rather obey God than man*: which Saint *Peter* in the Acts ſpake to another
ſenſe. At his returne into Italie, finding himſelfe more firmely ſetled in Rome, in C
An. 1097. ibe yeare 1097 he cauſed thoſe articles to be confirmed, but yet ſtrengthened
Guill. Malm. l. 4 Edinerus in vita Araulini Archiepiſcop. Symeon, Dunelmenſ. l. 2. Chron. with a notable reaſon, That it was too abhominable that *thoſe hands that by the
ſigne create their Creator, ſhould be bound as handmaids to ſerue thoſe that euerie day and
howre pollute themſelues with vncleaneneſſe.* Thus abuſing the world with a ſhew of
reuerence due to the holy Euchariſt, becauſe then Tranſubſtantiation began to
take footing. To conclude, we read that in theſe times he made a ſhew vpon this
occaſion, of his authoritie in France and England; in France, in that *Geffrey* Bi-
ſhop of Chartres was not onely depoſed by him, for his many and grieuous offen-
ces, but *Iuon* Abbot of S. Quintin put into his place, of whom he made choyce, be-
ing a man famous in thoſe dayes, that by his commendations he might the better D
countenance his owne vſurpation: In England, in that he perſuaded *Anſelmus*, an
Italian, the diſciple of *Lanfrane*, being choſen Archbiſhop of Canterburie by
the conſent of King *William* the ſecond, to take his confirmation of him: which
being once admitted by the Primat of England, was an example for all the reſt
to doe the like.

Opposition.

But it is now time to conſider what the ſtate of the Chriſtian world was, eſpe-
cially in the time of theſe ſchiſmes, which for the ſpace of ſixteene yeares filled it E
with fire and ſword: The Popes, Cardinals, Councels, Decrees, Excommunicati-
ons, being oppoſit the one againſt the other, each part chalenging to themſelues
the true Church, & affirming, that without it there was nothing but heretikes &
hereſies; Chriſt himſelfe, if you will beleeue them, was perſonally preſent on
both parts; and yet not ſo much as his footſteps to be found in either. In ſo much
that many Chriſtian States tooke part with neither of them, but left the gouerne-
ment of the Church to their owne Biſhops, not ſo much as turning their eyes to-
wards Rome; our fathers hauing then learnt, that the Church of God might ſub-
ſiſt

A ſiſt without Popes, and that Chriſt, without their Vicarſhip, was able to gouerne
the Church.

Germanie was the Theatre of this tragedie, wherein it much grieued all ſorts
of people, that ſuch controuerſies as ſhould be decided by Scriptures, were with
a ſtrange diſorder of all things determined by ciuile warres. And therefore in the
yeare 1088, at the entrance of Pope *Vrban*, the Biſhops and Princes on both parts *An.* 1088.
aſſembled in Councell at Garſtunghen, to find ſome courſe for peace to be propo-
ſed to *Vrban*, before he were touched with the affections of his predeceſſors, which
he ſeemed neuertheleſſe to ſucceed by right of inheritance. There *Conrade* Biſhop
of Vtrecht layd open vnto them how neceſſarie a thing peace was, and how dete-
B ſtable it was for any man, vpon any pretence whatſoeuer, to breake his plighted
faith: for whoſoeuer did ſo, contemned him by whom he ſware, ſince we are not
ſo much to conſider to whom we ſweare, as by whom: and we are admoniſhed
by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, to obey *Tiberius*, *Nero*, and the moſt wicked monſters
that are, how much more then good and lawfull Princes? Ambitious therefore
and proud are they, who with a braſen face abuſe the words of our Sauiour, *What-
ſoeuer thou looſeſt vpon earth ſhall be looſed in heauen*, & adulterating them by their
interpretations, enforce them to ſerue their owne appetites; and like children,
and ſuch as are vnskilfull in all things, endeuour to deceiue vs, as if, ſaith he, wee
were ignorant, that it is a familiar and common thing with the holie Prophets
C and Preachers of the word, to call one and the ſame thing by diuers names, accor-
ding to the capacitie of the hearers; and to expreſſe them ſometimes *figuratiuely,
ſometimes ſimply, according to the diuerſitie of the effects. Doubtleſſe that which Chriſt
Ieſus ſpake more obſcurely in one place, he expreſſeth plainely in S. John, and moſt plaine-
ly in S. Mathew, S. Marke, and S. Luke: Peace be vnto you*, ſaith he: *As my Father* Auent. l. 5.
*hath ſent me, ſo I ſend you: Receiue ye the holie Ghoſt: Whoſe ſinnes ye remit ſhall be re-
mitted, and whoſe ſinnes ye retaine ſhall be retained. And to the end he might ſow con-
cord, and ſhew himſelfe to be the onely true ſhepheard, he ſaith to one, If thou loue me feed
my ſheepe, that is, goe into the whole world and preach the Goſpell to all creatures: And
againe, All power is giuen me both in heauen and in earth, goe therefore and teach all na-*
D *tions. And therefore this heauenly Doctor opened the minds of his Diſciples, that they
might vnderſtand the Scriptures, Moſes, the Prophets, and the Pſalmes, and commaund
them in his name to preach repentance and remiſſion of ſinnes to all nations, and to be wit-
neſſes of theſe things.* This good Biſhop had not yet learnt, that theſe places were
to be reſtrained to one Pope, to *Peter* onely, excluding all the reſt both Apoſtles
and Biſhops, or that they were more to be applied vnto him than the reſt: And
therefore he addeth; *For theſe cauſes Hildebrand is fallen headlong into ambition, ſince
he vſurpeth the power of the immortall God, whoſe meſſenger he is: ſuch are the cuſtoms,
the times, the men. The Supreame and Soueraigne Maieſtie had ill prouided for humane
affaires, if it had deliuered the ſword into the hands of one mortall man whoſoeuer. For*
E *who can ſet limits to the boundleſſe deſires of man? &c. We haue no need to be taught af-
ter what manner Peter and his Collegues vſed the Spirituall power, or to ſpeake more
truely the diſpenſation and procuration of the heauenlie food, for we are the Butlers, as it
were, and Yeomen of Gods garner. It plainely appeareth in the booke of the Acts of the
Apoſtles, written by Saint Luke the Phyſitian, that the armour of our warfare is the ſpirit,
not ſword, nor rapine, nor murders, nor periuries; but our breaſtplate, or helmet, girdle,
ſword, buckler, are peace, loue, righteouſneſſe, hope, truth, the word of God, faith: all
which our moſt Chriſtian Emperour hath many times of his free will offered to Hilde-
brand, but he hath refuſed them. We denie not but he is a man, and apt to ſinne, without*

which no man commeth into the world; but it is his happinesse that the greatest are not A
layed to his charge. He is giuen to the lusts of the flesh, but yet that which nature hath
permitted, which as youth hath stirred vp in him, old age is accustomed to correct. I con-
fesse that this is a great sinne, but yet humane, and such as many, yea good men, haue of-
ten committed. And if we truely consider of this our Prince, we shall find, that whatso-
euer vices there are in him, either by naturall inclination, or by reason of his age, they are
ouer counterpoysed by his excellent vertues, his readinesse in the execution of great at-
tempts, his fortitude in the middest of dangers, his incredible courage, patience in la-
bours, counsell answerable to his magnanimitie, and his diligence, as farre forth as his
age is capable, in militarie affaires; his knowledge of diuine and humane lawes, an euer-
lasting desire of peace, care of religion, bountie towards the poore, clemencie towards the B
vanquished, benignitie towards his friends, beneuolence towards souldiers, in all which he
hath excelled all the German and Roman Princes that euer were. And if he had beene
a wicked tyran, yet it had beene our duelies to haue obeyed him, not to rebell against him:
and all humane lawes, and the decrees of our forefathers, doe forbid a mans aduersaries,
his enemies to be his accusers, witnesses, and Iudges. The Emperour made peace with Hil-
debrand in Italie, whilest, by the perfidious treacherie of a few, Saxonie fell from him: A
traiterous tyran, who receiued due punishment for his treacherie, contemning all oathes
and promises, and all affinitie and kindred, inuaded him. At the last he concludeth:
No man may proceed or pronounce sentence against a man that is depriued, vntill he be re-
stored to his former estate: See the booke and read the law; and so he deliuered it to C
Wesilus Archbishop of Mence. *Guebhard* Bishop of Saltzbourge, being for his age, eloquence, and learning, chosen Prolocutor, by the Bishops that tooke part with *Hildebrand*, was mute, and answered not a word. From that time forward many of the Bishops and Princes of Saxonie abiure the sect of *Hildebrand* (that name they retained in the time of *Vrban*) and repenting themselues of what they had done, came to the Emperour: Onely foureteene persist obstinat therein, who being assigned to appeare the moneth following at Mence, at their day of appearance came not. There the rest of the Bishops of Germanie being present, with the Legats of the Bishops of France and Italie, by the common consent of all, the sect of *Hildebrand* is judged to be contrarie to Christian pietie. *Otho* (called *Vrban*) D
being conuicted of sacriledge and irreligion, was excommunicated, and those foureteene being condemned of rebellion, periurie, murder, were deposed. Moreouer Historiographers doe obserue, that in one yeare all the Bishops and Princes died that had kindled those ciuile warres, wherewith the whole Empire for the space of seuenteene yeares had beene set on fire; and they recite them by name,
An. 1090. which was in the yeare 1090. It was at this time that *Waltram* Bishop of Magde-
Waltram in Epist. ad Ludouic. Comitem. burge writ an Epistle to the Earle *Lodowick*, whom hee calls a glorious Prince; wherein he proues out of the Scriptures, that obedience is due to lawfull Kings and Princes: to the end he might arme him against the impostors of that age, who *to women and the vulgar sort of people* preached contrary doctrines: setting likewise E
before his eyes the iudgements of God vpon *Rodolph*, *Hildebrand*, the Marquesse *Egbert*, *and diuers other Princes*, who bare armes for the Pope against the Emperour. At which time likewise *Sigebert* speaking of *Vrban*, chosen against *Clement*,
Sigebert, in Chron. and of those things that followed thereupon: *From hence*, saith he, *grew scandalls in the Church, and diuisions in the State, the one disagreeing from the other, the Kingdom from the Priesthood, one excommunicating another, the one contemning the excommunications of the other, either out of a preiudicat opinion of the cause, or the person, and whilest the one abuseth the authoritie of excommunicating against the other, by doing it rather*

A *ther according to his owne lusts, than with any respect of iustice, he that gaue the power of binding and loosing is altogether contemned. Doubtlesse this noueltie (that I may not say heresie) did not till now appeare in the world, That his Priests who causeth the hypocrite to raigne for the sinnes of the people, should teach the people, That they owe no subiection to wicked Kings; and though by oath they bind themselues vnto him, yet they owe him no fidelitie, neither are they to be accounted periured persons, who resist the King, but rather to be accounted an excommunicat person that obeyes the King, and that man to be absolued from all iniustice and periurie that opposeth himselfe against him.* Others speake more confidently: *Then did there arise false Prophets, Apostles, Priests, who deceiued the people with a false religion, doing great signes and wonders* (and of some he makes in-
B stance) *who began to sit in the Temple of God, and to be extolled abone all that is worshipped: and whilest they goe about to establish their owne power, they extinguish all charitie and Christian simplicitie, &c. As if the decree of the immortall God kept not alwayes one course, That no periured persons shall inherit the kingdome of heauen. The most part of the best sort of men, such as were iust, and honest, and ingennous, and simple, haue left in writing, That at that time they foresaw the Empire of Antichrist to be beginning, and those things to come to passe that our Sauiour Christ Iesus had long before foretold. Sigebert* and *Auentine*, after diuers others, doe note, That the prodigious wonders that *Auent. l. 5.*
were obserued in those times, did astonish the minds of most men: *The heauens*, saith he, *seene many times to burne, the Sunne and Moone to lose their lights, the starres*
C *to fall from heauen to the earth, burning torches, fierie darts flying through the ayre, new starres neuer seene before, pitched pauillions and armies in the ayre encountring one ano-* *Sigebert. in Chron. Auent. l. 5.*
ther, and innumerable the like, whereby the people were confirmed in their opinion: But especially when they saw the sonne to conspire against the state and life of his father, *Conrade* against *Henrie*, who had appointed him to be his successor, *An.* 1095.
and that by the persuasion, compulsion, and approbation of Pope *Vrban*, instigated, or rather bewitched, by the cunning of *Mathilda*; his father in the meane time leauing nothing vndone that might regaine him to his duetie & obedience: who preuailing nothing by his just & gentle exhortations, was enforced in the Councels and solemne assemblies of the Empire, to beg vengeance from heauen and
D earth, euen with teares in his eyes. All this in the meane time was couered vnder a pretence of that sacred and plausible expedition to Hierusalem, the mysterie whereof *William* of Malmesburie opened before vnto vs; That by that meanes *Vrban* might recouer his authoritie at Rome, or rather diuert the minds of men imployed about remote affaires, from those more necessarie businesses that touched them more neerely at home: That whilest they bended all their endeuors abroad to persecute the Infidels, they might neglect Antichrist freely wasting all at home in the Church. Neither wanted he in that impure and darke world a bait whereby to win and allure the simple people to that war, which was an absolute absolution from all their sinnes, without any penance. What greater encitement could there
E be to men who were to inuade a countrey wherein all things were left to the lust of the souldier, to commit all manner of wickednesse whatsoeuer? For we learne sufficiently out of histories, what manner of men for the most part they returned from thence, being all polluted with the abhominations of the Cananites. To the same remedies they had euer recourse, consecrating their children, if they had any, to the selfesame warres, and giuing such goods as they had to expiat their sinnes. On the other side euerie vnskilfull souldier carried with a feruent desire of this warre, fell vpon the Iewes, against whom they had libertie, as they thought, to offer any violence, and if they did not presently turne Christi-

ans, to maſſacre them at their owne pleaſures, to the great ſcandall of Chriſtian Religion, as if there had beene no other meane to conuert them to the Faith of Chriſt. And therefore in many Prouinces the ſouldiers preparing themſelues to depart, fell vpon the miſerable people, making their ruine to beare the charge of their voyage. Inſomuch that we read of tenne or twelue thouſand ſlayne in one place; an euident argument of that falſe and adulterat zeale wherewith they were carried, and a manifeſt preſage of an vnfortunat end. We are not to forget by the way amongſt other things, that that *Godfrey* of Buloin that was the firſt who by aſſault entred Hieruſalem, was the ſelfeſame who before vnder the commaund of the Emperour *Henrie* was the firſt that ſcaled the walls of Rome. Let no man doubt, that there wanted in thoſe times wiſe men, who looked more inwardly into the nature of this expedition. *Auentine* beleeuing thoſe that writ before him, ſaith that it was a report ſpred amongſt the common people, that this voice was heard from heauen, *Deus vult*, God will haue it ſo; whereupon all ſorts of people from all parts ran to thoſe warres, *ſome from their Kingdomes, ſome from their Cities, their Caſtles, their flocks, their Temples, their families, their wiues, their children, their fields, their plonghes, and into Aſia paſt by flockes, Captaines, Gouernours, Tetrarches, Biſhops, Monkes, who vnder a ſhew of Religion, committed all manner of wickednes. They carried a Gooſe* (ſaith he) *before them, ſaying it was the holie Ghoſt and that Charles the great was come againe into the world.* As for the Iewes, *whereſoeuer they met them, they ſlew them, except they did preſently conuert, and whoſoeuer refuſed to turne, they ſpoyled of his goods; Some of the Iewes out of their loue to their Law ſlew each other, others for the time diſſembling Chriſtianitie, relapſed from Chriſt to Moyſes. And theſe were the exploits of Peter the Hermit, the authour and procuror of theſe warres.* A voyage whereof *Sigonius* himſelfe in the middeſt of his panegyrique could not temper himſelf, but that he gaue his judgement in theſe words: *Vrban* (ſaith he) *applied his mind to the recouerie of Hieruſalem, which had beene a long time held by the Saraſens; an enterpriſe not ſo famous for the increaſe of pietie, as renowned for the glorie therof in future times.* Which expedition to the end he might colourwith ſome deuotion, he ordayned, *that no Clergie, or Lay man ſhould eat fleſh from Shrouetide to Easter.* Thus doth ſuperſtition alwayes increaſe with hipocriſie.

Auent. li. 5.

Berthold. in Chron. An. 1096.

Sigon. de regno Italiæ li. 9.

Gulielm. Malmelsburienſ. li. 4.

The controuerſie touching the inueſtiture of Biſhops, pretended by the Popes to the preiudice of Kings and Emperours, did ſtill continue, though not without ſome difficultie and reſiſtance, eſpecially in Germanie. *Waltram* therefore Biſhop of Naumburg, writ in his time of this matter againſt the Pope; his reaſons were, That *Hadrian* in a full Councell was of opinion with *Charles* the great, and his ſucceſſours that it belonged to them to inueſt Biſhops, yea and to confirme the Biſhop of Rome, except ſome certaine Biſhops of Italie, who by an auncient graunt from the Kings were to be conſecrated by the Pope; In which graunt he comprehendeth the Abbies, and other regall dignities: That *Gregorie* the great euen before this agreement had by Letters, admoniſhed *Theodorick, Theodobert & Brunichild* to inueſt without ſimonie, and that himſelfe was not conſecrated but by the conſent of *Mauritius* the Emperour: That Pope *Leo* and his ſucceſſors obſerued the ſame towads *Otho* and his, and that vnder payne of excommunication; And therefore it is verie ſtrange that *Gregorie* the ſeuenth ſhould go about to alter it, and that vnder abſolution: That the Popes are to take good heed, that God doe not vnbind in heauen, what they bind vpon earth; which many times comes to paſſe by the glorie of precedencie which ſets mens ſpirits on fire, when the

Waltramus de inueſtiturâ Epiſcoporum.

A the ſucceſſors goe a bout to change the Decrees of their predeceſſors; And if any man reprehending them they ſhal anſwer that *The iudgements of Rome are not to be reuoked*; why then doe they reuoke thoſe of their auncеſtors, that made for the Emperours? why doe they ſcandall the little flocke of Chriſt? why vnder the ſhaddow of Religion doe they gather euen with open hands all vnto themſelues, ſince that our Sauiour ſaith, *Giue vnto Ceſar, thoſe things that are Ceſars &c?* That in Spaine, Scotland, England, Hungarie, the Kings vſed this right, purely and entirely: In France a long time before *Hadrian* the conſecrated Kings, and gouernors of the Palace inueſted the Biſhops, that is to ſay, *Dagobert, Sigebert, Theodoricus, Hildericus, Pepinus, Theodebertus*, by whom *Remaclus, Amandus, Odemarus,*
B *Antbertus, Eliſius, Lambertus*, and other holie Prelats, were inthroniſed and ſetled in their ſeats, without reſpect of the maner of their inueſtiture, whether it were done by word, or by the ſtaffe & the ring yet it was no matter. But, we muſt know that that homage that is done vnto the king vnder the name royaltie, is before the conſecration; And that from the time of S. *Peter* to *Silueſter* it was not ſo, both becauſe the Emperours were heathens, and the Churches poore, but afterwards being enriched by kings, and endowed by other good men, they made new laws, eſpecially hauing gotten into their poſſeſſion Lands, and great reuenues, yea became Lords of Townes and Cities, into which places they might withdraw themſelues, againſt the enemie: That it fell out verie happily that the Emperors
C put themſelues into the gouernement of the Church of Rome, which had beene ſo often rent with ſchiſmes in the election of their Biſhops, and could neuer obtaine any ſetled peace without their mediation. All this he ſaith, with many other good reaſons too long to rehearſe. And in the ſelfeſame ſence writ *Venericus* Biſhop of Verſeil in Italie, dedicating his booke to the Pope himſelfe, which he intituled, *Of the diſcord of the Kingdome and Prieſthood*. It was at this time alſo that we haue the Apologie of *Sigebert* Abbot of Gembloux, for the Emperor *Henrie*, mentioned by *Auentine* in his fift booke.

Trithemius in lib. de ſcriptoribus Eccleſiaſt.

In France, *Vrban* hauing ordained *Yuo* Abbot of S. Quintine, biſhop of Chartres by the depoſition of *Iefferay*, writ vnto *Richard* Archbiſhop of Sens to conſe-
D crat him: but *Richard* as we learne by the letter of *Vrban* himſelfe refuſed to doe it; vpon which his refuſall *Vrban* himſelfe was inforced to conſecrat him, commanding *Richard* to yeeld his helping hand to *Yuo* in the gouernement of the Church (*reſeruing ſtill his obedience to his Church*: but *Richard* neuertheleſſe would not obey him, *but writ* (ſaith *Yuo*) *ſharpe letters, and ſuch as were derogatorie to the Maieſtie of the Apoſtolike See*. Wherupon *Yuo* warneth him that *the Scriptures pronounce him an heretike becauſe he agreeth not with the Church of Rome*. I appeale vnto his owne conſcience, out of what peece of Scripture he proueth that. But he likewiſe acknowledgeth ingeniouſly, that by the hand of *Vrban* he had bin raiſed from the dunghill, and therefore he held himſelfe obliged in duetie to aduaunce his ho-
E nour and commoditie; and to that end tendes that ſalutation of his in a certaine congratulatorie Epiſtle, *Cum Petro pugnare, & cum Petro regnare*, To fight with *Peter* and to raigne with *Peter*, that is (as the Popes courtiers ſay) to follow the Popes fortunes through what dangers ſo euer. But here the Archbiſhop ſtayed not, for he aſſembled at Eſtampes the Biſhops his Suffragans, namely of Paris, Meaux, and Troy to deliberat hereupon, wherein he ſheweth that this ordination was againſt the Maieſtie royall, which *Yuo* had greatly offended in receiuing it, all of them concluding to reſtore *Iefferay* into his place, and to depoſe *Yuo*; whereupon he appealed to Rome, to which appellation they refuſed to obey; for which cauſe

An. 1072.

Yuo Carmitenſ. Epiſt. 12. 8.

cauſe he complaineth to *Vrban*, imployeth his helpe, That he would be pleaſed to write to the Archbiſhop and his Suffragans in his behalfe: that it was neceſſarie to ſend a Legat into France to prouide for theſe and the like matters. But in the mean time whileſt they vnited themſelues together for the libertie of the French Church, King *Philip* the firſt ſent to the Pope for a diſpenſation to marie his concubine *Bertrade*, and ſo withdrew his hand, and commanded *Yuo* to be eſtabliſhed in his Biſhopricke. Thus it oftentimes falleth out, that the priuat vices of Princes doe greatly prejudice their publike dignities. In theſe Epiſtles in the meane time it is worth the noting, That *Yuo* doth not alwayes agree in doctrine with *Vrban*. For whereas diuers Biſhops had condemned the inueſtitures of lay perſons for *hereſie*, becauſe by this means the great Prelats got vnto themſelues the right and prerogatiue of lay founders and patrons; *Yuo* neuertheleſſe hauing gotten the Biſhopricke, and being out of their reach, maintained againſt *Hugh* the Popes Legat the Primat of Lyons and others, *That it was no hereſie, ſince there was nothing here that concerned faith, which had nothing common with Orders*. This was *Yuo*, who otherwiſe held with *Vrban*, and did omit no occaſion whereby he might ſerue him, and did carefully aduertiſe him to aſſiſt *Manaſſes* with his authoritie, for his confirmation in the Biſhopricke of Rheimes, *Becauſe*, ſaith he, *it is neceſſarie that the Church of Rome ſhould haue one in that See that ſhould be a true and truſtie ſeruant vnto him*. He armeth him likewiſe in ſuch a ſort with his counſels, againſt thoſe obſtacles that may any way hinder the courſe of his Legats or Decrees in France, that he feared not to ſay of himſelfe: *I thinke of my ſelfe, that there is no man on this ſide the mountaines that hath ſuffered greater wrongs, endured more contumelies for the maintenance of your commaunds and that fidelitie that is due vnto you*. Yea *Richard* the Archbiſhop of Sens being dead, and *Daribert* canonically nominated to his place, *Yuo* being prohibited by *Hugh* Primat of Lyons, and Legat to *Vrban*, to conſecrate him Biſhop, becauſe he had not performed vnto him his due obedience, *Yuo* deales ſharpely with the Legat by letters, giuing him to vnderſtand, That he would not obey him to the preiudice *of the auncient Canons, and the venerable authoritie of his forefathers*: he therefore bitterly reproueth him. But *Baronius*, who had hitherto approued him, begins now to chide him, becauſe he had not ſpoken of inueſtitures as was fitting: *That which remaineth*, ſaith he, *in this Epiſtle of Yuo, is more harſh, as ſpeaking too abiectly of the auncient inueſtitures, yea of many things he ſpeakes with contempt; which if they were not corrected in other Epiſtles of the ſame Author, would call into queſtion that his glorious reputation which he hath gotten by defending the Apoſtolike See, and the Catholike veritie*. So much doth reaſon and affection diſagree euen in great perſonages.

*An.*1099.

Yuo Carnutenſ. Epiſt. 235. 238. 239.

Idem Epiſt. 48.

Baron. an. 1099 *art.* 8.

*An.*1093. In England *Anſelme*, by nation an Italian, being choſen Archbiſhop of Canterburie by the conſent of King *William* the ſecond, craues leaue of him to goe to Rome, to receiue his Pall of Pope *Vrban*: wherewith the King being greatly offended, anſwered, That no Archbiſhop or Biſhop in his realme was ſubiect to the Court of Rome, or to the Pope, and that he had that libertie in his realme, that the Emperour had in his Empire. *Anſelme* therefore was accuſed of high treaſon, all the Biſhops conſenting thereunto, except *Gondoulfe* Biſhop of Rocheſter. *Vrban* hereupon ſent *Gualter* Biſhop of Alba into England, to bring him the Pall, and to reconcile him to King *William*. But *Anſelme* being ſtill deſirous to goe to Rome, King *William* anſwered him in plaine tearmes, That if he would promiſe, and bind himſelfe by an oath vpon the booke, neither to goe, nor to appeale to Rome for any affaires whatſoeuer, he ſhould then well and peaceably enjoy

joy his Biſhopricke, if not, that it ſhould be free for him to paſſe the ſeas, but neuer to returne. And this he ſpake in Common Councell. He neuertheleſſe went to Rome, where by his counſell the Decree was renewed vnder paine of excommunication, *againſt the inueſtiture of Layman*: and ſo he continued at Lyons ſo long as *William* liued. Let vs adde hereunto in theſe times, the report of the Monke of Malmesburie touching the Romans: *The Romans, ſometimes Lords of the world, a people that goe in long gownes, are now of all others the moſt ignorant, ſelling iuſtice for gold, and the Canons rule for ſiluer*.

Matthæus Paris in Guilielmo 2.

Malmeſ. l. 5. *An.*1097.

We muſt not forget, that it was at this verie time that Pope *Vrban* granted to *Roger* Earle of Calabria and Sicilia, thoſe letters patents ſo much diſputed by *Baronius* againſt the King of Spaine, who now poſſeſſeth the kingdome both of the one and the other Sicile, where in conſideration of his good and loyall ſeruices done vnto the Church of Rome, and againſt the Saraſens, he made him *the ſonne of the vniuerſall Church, and by a ſpeciall priuiledge he granteth vnto him, and to his ſonne Simon, or any other his lawfull heire, that they ſhould neuer haue during their liues within their dominions, without their owne will and allowance, any Legat of the Church of Rome*: By the ſpeciall grace and fauour of this priuiledge giuing all to vnderſtand, how burthenſome and dangerous the preſence of a Legat was: *In ſo much that what was to be done by a Legat, his meaning was ſhould be executed by the ſayd Roger and his ſon*, Legati vice, *inſtead of a Legat*: *And if there ſhall be called any generall Councell, it ſhall be lawfull for them to ſend ſuch and ſo many Biſhops, as they ſhall thinke fitting, retaining the reſt for the ſeruice of their Churches*. Thus this good and zealous man ouerthrew the whole order of his Church to content *Roger*, who knew well ynough to vſe the occaſion to the beſt aduantage of his owne affaires.

Baron. an. 1097. *art.* 20. 21. *& ſequent.*

42. Progression.

Of the entrance of Paſchal the ſecond into the Popedome. Of the conſpiracies procured by the Pope againſt the Emperour, with the rebellion of his ſon Henrie. Of the treacherous depoſing of the Emperour, and of the miſerable eſtate he fell into, and of his ſonnes moſt vnnaturall dealing with him.

THe Age we are now entring into hath his Progreſſion, whether we reſpect the authoritie, or wickedneſſe of the Popes, which together made way one to the other: But by how much the more they diſcouer themſelues, by ſo much the more witneſſes do they exhibit vnto vs, who ſaw this Myſterie of Iniquitie either openly, or at leaſt through a cloud. *Vrban* the ſecond being dead in the yere 1099, *Rainerius* a Thuſcan ſucceeded him, who was *Paſchal* the ſecond, a diſciple of *Hildebrand*, commended by *Vrban* for this onely cauſe, That he was a likelie man to walke in his ſteps. The principall matter then in hand, was the inueſtiture of the Biſhops and Abbots, which they tooke from the Princes, and got to themſelues, affirming that it had beene vſurped by the Princes, as we haue ſeene before: that it was a wickedneſſe and an hereſie: and that they might pretend ſome ſhew of religion therein, they couple it in all their proceedings with that faction of the Nicholites, proſecuting with the ſelfeſame rigour the ſingle life of Church-men notwithſtanding the generall clamor of the whole Clergie againſt it, and that crie of their ſins and abhominable wickedneſſe that aſcended vp vnto heauen. This *Raine-*

*An.*1099.

rius

rius therefore would not take vpon him the Popedome, before the people had thriſe cried out, *S. Peter hath choſen Rainerius an excellent man to be Pope.* Afterwards putting on his ſcarlet robe, and his mitre on his head, being accompanied with the people and Clergie, he mounted vpon a white Palfrey richly furniſhed, and ſo was brought to Lateran, where reſting himſelfe a while in a throne prepared for that purpoſe, he was girt with a girdle on which there hung 7 keyes, and ſeuen ſeales, to giue all men to vnderſtand that he according to the ſeuenfold grace of the ſpirit of God, had power in all Churches ouer which he bare rule, to open and ſhut, to ſeale and vnſeale: He likewiſe viſited (carrying his pontificall Scepter in his hand) all thoſe places into which the Popes only might come: At the laſt he went to S. *Peters* Church to be conſecrated, in which he was anointed, by the Biſhop of Oſtia and others: Neither was this new preparation without a myſterie. *Clement* the third in the meane time perſiſted in his purpoſe, againſt whom *Paſchal* firſt bent his forces, inſomuch that hee compelled him to depart Rome; which that he might the more eaſily performe, he fed the Emperour with a hope of peace, and inuited him to a generall Councell at Lateran, whereunto he willingly harkened, being now wearied with his ciuile and domeſticall moleſtations. The Prince perſuading himſelfe that *Paſchal* was deſirous of peace, and much alienated from warre, or rather becauſe hee ſayd hee deſired peace, he ſtriued to be as forward therein as himſelfe. But he had no ſooner obtained his purpoſe, but he reneweth in the Synod, the excommunication againſt *Henrie*, raiſeth new factions in Germanie, and becauſe he went not in his owne perſon to Paleſtina, he ſtirreth vp new hatreds againſt him; for he who in regard of the place he held ſhould haue beene the firſt, and by his example haue incouraged others, left the place emptie that he might doe euerie thing according to his owne luſt: To be briefe, following the ſteps of his predeceſſours, he ſtirreth vp *Henrie* the ſonne againſt his father, who had made him copartner in the Empire, being perſuaded, as before, that he ſhould neuer liue peaceably without the grace and fauour of the Pope; and that he was not to preferre his dutie towards his father, beeing guiltie of hereſie, before that which hee did owe vnto the Pope. And what this hereſie was we haue ſeene before. And therefore, ſaith *Auentine*; *Henrie hauing ſpent his winter came to Mence, that from thence he might take his iourney to Rome, and ſo into Aſia, leauing his ſonne at Bauiers: but he in the meane time perſuaded by certain Lords &c.* (amongſt others he nameth *Welfo* Duke of Bauaria and husband to *Mathilda*,) *and Albert his Secretarie, and a Chaplaine of his, that if his father ſhould die an enemie to the Popes of Rome, and in diſgrace with the Pope, the Empire would be taken by ſome other; and ſo vnder a pretence of pietie he rebelleth againſt his owne father.* And as touching the accuſation againſt him, That he did not his beſt indeauor for this holie expedition, he told vs a little before, that he had ſent into Aſia, with a purpoſe to follow himſelfe, the greateſt part of his men of warre, that remayned in Germanie after three and twentie yeares ciuile warres, and that by his commaund there went out of the Low-countries *Godfrey* of Bullion, with his two brethren *Baldwinus* and *Euſtachius*, and *Robert* Earle of Flaunders; out of Bauaria the Duke *Welfo*, *Otho* and *Eckardus* Princes of Scheurn, and diuers others; whereby it appeared, that this was onely a pretence of the Pope. The father in the meane time gathered courage, giues his ſonne battell, and conquers him; but looking more narrowly into the height of this conſpiracie, and finding that it could not be repreſt, but with the ruine of the commonwealth, he is content to ſeeke meanes of peace, and a parley

Platina in Paſchali. 2.

Auentin. l. 2.

ley being appointed betwixt him and his ſonne, he ſimply diſmiſt his forces, the conſpirators commaunding all theirs to retire themſelues to Mence. The place which was choſen for this parley was Binga, where the Emperor being the fourth that entred the citie, was no ſooner in but the gates were ſhut, & his friends kept out of the city: His enemies were appointed to be his Gard, & his ſon (as if he had done an act worthie commendations) triumphantly ſpeeds himſelf to the conſpirators at Mence; where he found the Legats of *Paſchal*, the Biſhops of *Alba* and *Conſtance*, with fiftie other Biſhops, who in this Councell armed with force and treaſon, doe againe excommunicat *Henrie*, and for the better ſtrengthening of this Decree, they degrade him, and put his ſonne into his place. The circumſtances are ſet downe by *Krantzius* and *Helmoldus*, which let not the Reader thinke tedious to read. *The Biſhops* (ſaith he) *of Mence, Cologne, and Wormes were commaunded to goe vnto him, and to bring from him, howſoeuer vnwilling, the Imperiall Enſignes*, the Croſſe, Scepter, Halberd, Kingdome, ſword, and Crowne: *but the Emperour enquiring the cauſe thereof*, they anſwere him, *That he committed Symonie, in conferring of Biſhoprickes and Abbies*: To whom the Emperour replied, *Tell me yee Biſhops of Mence and Cologne, by the name of the eternall God what I haue received from you*: they anſwered *Nothing*; *Glorie to God on high*, ſaith the Emperour, *that in this point we are found faithfull; doubtleſſe your great dignities might haue brought great gaine into our Chamber, if we had ſought after it; my Lord of Wormes knowes, & we are not ignorant whether freely, or for gaine we receiued him. My good fathers violate not your faiths; we now wax old, haue patience a little, and end not our glorie with confuſion: we require a generall Court; If we muſt yeeld, we will deliuer our Crowne to our ſonne with our owne hands: But they making offer to inforce him, he retired himſelfe a little, and putting on his Imperiall enſignes, and returning vnto them, The goodnes of the eternal God* (ſaith he) *& the election of the Princes gaue them vnto me: God is able to preſerue them vnto me, and to withhold your hands from this your enterpriſe, although we want our forces to defend vs, not doubting of any ſuch violence: But yet let the feare of God bridle you, ſince pietie cannot; and if neither of them will, behold here am I vnable to withſtand your force. Hereupon the Biſhops paſued a while, but at the laſt the one encouraging the other, they went to the Emperor, tooke the Crown from his head, and taking him out of his ſeat, ſpoyled him of all his royall robes: The Emperour fetching a deepe ſigh, ſpake in this manner, The God of vengeance behold, and reuenge this iniquitie you commit againſt me, I ſuffer an ignominie the like whereof was neuer heard of before; but it is God the iuſt Iudge that puniſheth me for the ſinnes of my youth. But yet you are not free from this offence, becauſe you haue broken your oaths, and therefore you ſhall not auoyd the reuenge of a iuſt Iudge. God neuer proſper you vpon the earth, but let your portion be with him that betrayed Chriſt. This* (ſaith *Krantzius*) *is the narration of our Annales.* And *Sigonius* deſcribes this matter almoſt in the ſame words. By which narration it plainely appeareth that this poore Emperour was not depoſed becauſe he had inueſted Biſhops for money, which they of their owne accords acknowledge, but purely and ſimply becauſe according to the antient laws of his predeceſſors he did inueſt them; which the Synod calleth the *Henrician hereſie*, or of *Guibert*, *alias Clement* 3, the *Guibertine*; by which account all Princes were in thoſe dayes heretikes. But ſo farforth did the crueltie of *Paſchal* extend, that he cauſed all that were inueſted by *Henrie* to be digged out of their graues ſixe yeares after their death: but he demanding penance of the Legats is proudly reiected, vntill he did humbly ſubmit himſelfe to *Paſchal*. But *Paſchal* (euerie thing thus falling out according to his owne mind) by an honorable embaſſage is intreated

Helmold. l. 1. cap. 32. Krantzius l. 5. ca. 20. in Saxon.

Sigon. l. 9. de regno Italiæ.

Krantz. Saxon. l. 5. cap. 21. Henric. Herford. cap. 68.

entreated to come into Germanie, whileſt the Emperour being depriued of his Kingdome, is left to lead a priuat life in the Caſtle of Ingelheim: But yet ſhortly after by the helpe of ſome of his friends he retireth himſelfe into Cologne, and being conducted by the Citizens to Liege, he was honorably receyued by *Othbert* Biſhop of that place, and *Henrie* Duke of Lorraine. And from thence hee diſpatched Orators to all Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially *Philip* the firſt, King of Fraunce, to lay open vnto them this miſerable tragedie. But his ſonne purſueth him euen to that place, notwithſtanding thoſe proteſtations he made, that he only fought ſome little place of reſt, where he might end his life: And at the laſt by his indeauours he brought it to paſſe, that he got him againe by force into his power; where his eſtate was ſuch at the laſt, that he intreated the Biſhop of Spire, ſometimes his deare friend, and aduaunced by him, to giue him a place where he might liue as a Clerke in the Church of S. *Maries*, which he had founded; which was cruelly denied him: And ſo a few dayes after being ouercome with griefe, he dyed. And that it might appeare that the impietie of his ſonne had not altogether extinguiſhed his loue, and pietie towards him, he ſends vnto him for his laſt preſent, & teſtimonie of his fatherlie loue, his Seale-ring and his ſword; who neuertheleſſe in fauour of the Pope, and to expreſſe his obedience towards him, kept his father for fiue yeares together vnburied in a ſolitarie Chappell of the houſe. Here ſaith *Helmoldus* the Hiſtoriographer: *He was verie good to thoſe Churches, which he found to be faithfull vnto him; but as for Gregorie and others, who lay in ambuſh againſt his honour, as they endeauoured the worſt they could againſt him, ſo he, the like againſt them; extreame neceſſitie (as many affirme) enforced him thereunto, for who would willingly endure the leaſt loſſe of honour? We read of many that haue ſinned, who haue beene relieued by repentance: Dauid ſinning and repenting continued a King, and a Prophet; But King Henrie caſting himſelfe downe at the Popes feet (praying and repenting) is trodden vnder foot, and could not obtaine that in the time of grace, that Dauid obtayned in the time of the Law. But let thoſe diſpute hereof, that dare, or know theſe things. This only one thing we may know, that the See of Rome at this day rues that fact. For, as many as ſince that time haue raigned of that ſtocke, haue vſed their beſt endeauours to humble the Churches, leaſt they ſhould gather ſtrength againſt Kings, and attempt as much againſt them, as they haue done againſt their forefathers. But Henrie the* junior *raigned for his father, and there was peace betweene the Kingdome and the Prieſthood, but yet not long. For neither did he proſper, being all his life time enſnared, as his father was by the Apoſtolike See*: And he was a Prieſt that here ſpeaketh. This *Henrie* according to moſt writers was called the fourth; we following *Onuphrius* and *Sigonius* make him the third. All this happened from the yeare 1099 to 1106. But let vs not forget an Epiſtle of this *Paſchal* writ to the Archbiſhop of Polonia at the entrance of this age, about the allegation of Councels, *As if*, ſaith he, *any Councels may giue Lawes to the Church of Rome*: To what end then are Councels held? *But contrarily* (ſaith he) *all Councels by the authoritie of the Church of Rome are called, and haue their force, and in all their Statutes the authoritie thereof is manifeſtly excepted.* But where can they ſhew one ſillable?

Auent. l. 5. Annalium boior. Helmold. l. 1. cap. 33.

An. 1106.

An. 1102. Paſchal. Epiſt. ad Archiep. Polonic.

Opposition.

Platina in Paſchali 2.

Prodigious ſpectacles in the ayre, the earth and the ſea ſtill continued, obſerued by all the writers of theſe times; *Neither was Paſchal moued with theſe* (ſaith *Platina*) *becauſe he beleeued them to be wrought by nature*, nay hee could not indure that

A that others ſhould obſerue them: but there was no prodigious wonder that ſo much troubled the world, as himſelfe, which no man could deny that ſaw him, entring into his Popedome with this belt whereon hung the ſeuen keyes and the ſeuen ſeales, play ſo formally the part of Antichriſt, whether it were to attribute vnto himſelfe all that was proper vnto Chriſt alone, or to repreſent in his perſon, that *Abbadon* deſcribed vnto vs in the Apocalyps. And this no doubt moued the Biſhop of Florence, in the yeare 1106, publikely to preach, that Antichriſt was borne; which *Paſchal* vnderſtanding of, and being much grieued therewith, tooke the paynes to goe in perſon to Florence, and there held a Councell to ſtop the mouth of this Biſhop, being content neuertheleſſe, fearing to ſtirre in the matter

Acta vitæ Paſchalis.

B too much, to admoniſh him openly, *to deſiſt from this bold enterpriſe*, that is to ſay, leaſt the matter ſhould more apparently breake out.

Sigon. l. 9. de regno Ital.

The Emperour *Henrie*, as we haue ſeene, retired himſelfe to Liege, which *Paſchal* could not endure: wherefore vnder a ſhew of congratuling *Robert* Earle of Flanders, beeing happily returned from Hieruſalem to his Countrie, he writ this vnto him, *It is the part of a loyall and lawfull ſouldier, to purſue the enemies of his King by all poſſible meanes: We giue thee therefore thankes for executing our commaund in the Dioceſſe of Cambray, and we commaund thee to doe the like vpon the excommunicated people of Liege, who falſly terme themſelues Clerkes, &c. And not onely in thoſe parts, but euerie where elſe, when thou canſt, with thy whole power, to perſecute Henrie,*

Sabellici Enneade 9. Platina in Paſchali 2.

C *the head of the heretikes, and his followers. Thou canſt offer no ſacrifice vnto God more acceptable than to withſtand him, who rayſeth himſelfe againſt God, and his church &c. This we commaund thee and thy ſouldiers to doe in remiſſion of your ſinnes &c.* Hereby making this his reuenge equall, both in right and merit, with that famous expedition to the holie Land. But what doe the Biſhops, Canons, and Clergie of the Dioceſſe of Liege? There is the ſecond volume of the Councels, both the Epiſtle of *Paſchal* to them, and their aunſwere to him. *I crie* (ſaith the Church of Liege) *with ſighs and aſtoniſhment, as the Prophet Eſay ſpeaketh, who exaggerating the burden of the deſart Sea, crieth out, As the Whirle-windes in the South vſe to paſſe from the wilderneſſe, ſo ſhall it come from the horrible Land, a grieuous viſion was ſhewed vnto me. He that vnderſtood not hetherto what this deſart Sea was by hereſay, let him*

Epiſt. Leodienſ. Cleri in 2. vol. Concilior. Edition. Colonienſ. apud Quiritel. pag. 309.

D *now vnderſtand it by the eye; It is not onely Babylon, but the world and the Church &c. The Church ſigheth to ſee herſelfe abandoned and forſaken, by the holie Councels and Prelats: for was there euer greater confuſion in Babylon, than there is at this day in the Church? In Babylon the languages of Nations were confounded, in the Church the tongues and minds of beleeuers are diuided. S. Peter ſaith in his Epiſtle, The Church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, ſaluteth you. Hetherto I interpreted it, that Peter would therefore by Babylon decipher Rome, becauſe at that time Rome was confounded with all Idolatrie, and all manner of wickednеſſe: But now my griefe enterpreteth it vnto me, that Peter by a propheticall ſpirit foreſaw the confuſion of that diſſention*

1. Petr. 5.

E *wherewith the Church at this day is torne in pieces &c. What thoſe whirle-winds are that come from Africa, we rather learne by ſuffering than by reading; from that horrible Land, that is, the Church of Rome, a grieuous viſion is ſhewed vnto me, from thence commeth a whirle-wind, as a tempeſt, from Africa: For the Biſhop of Rome (the father of all the Churches) hath written Letters againſt vs to Robert Earle of Flanders.* And ſo they inſert the Epiſtle. *What is he whoſe reynes, reading theſe letters, are not filled with ſorrow, not for the horror of the daunger, but the horrible noueltie of the thing, That a mother ſhould write ſuch lamentable Letters againſt her daughters, yea though they had offended? In that iudgement of Salomon is expreſt the greatneſſe of a mothers loue, be-*

cause Salomon giuing sentence, that the infant (for which they contended) should be diuided with a sword, the true mother chose rather that her child should liue with a Stran-
Esay 21. ger, than be slayne with the sword. The Prophet Esay saith, speaking of Babylon, The might of my pleasures is turned into feare vnto me: But (I say) Rome my beloued mother is turned into feare vnto me: For what is more fearefull, nay what more miserable? Dauid saw once the Angell of God standing with his sword drawne ouer Hierusalem: wee, the daughters of the Church of Rome, see the Pope of Rome, who is the Angell of the Lord, (for the place he supplieth) with his sword drawne ouer the Church. Dauid prayed that his people might not be slayne: But our Angell deliuers the sword to Robert and prayes him to kill vs. From whence hath our Angell this sword? There is but one sword of the spirit, which is the word of God &c. There is another sword of the spi-
rit, wherewith, the sinnes of the flesh beeing mortified, we buy the crowne of Martyre-
dome. The Apostles therefore receiuing of the Lord onely two swords, from whence comes this third to the Apostolicall (that is the Pope) which he hath deliuered to Ro-
Ezechiel 21. bert against vs? Perhaps he hath recourse to the Prophet Ezechiel, that taking a third sword out of his hand, he might goe to the right hand and to the left killing both the righteous and the wicked &c. This is the sword of occision with which Ezechiel makes me astonished: for what heart faints not to thinke, that he that is annointed to giue life, should be girt with this third sword to kill vs &c? And if it be lawfull to speake it (with reuerence of the Apostolicall dignitie) he seemeth to vs to haue beene a sleepe, yea all his Counsellers slept with him, when he hired at his charge a destroyer of the Church of God. S. Paule commandeth that the word of a Bishop be sound and irreprehen-
sible: we therefore reprehend not the word of the Bishop of Bishops; but because he that is Apostolicall should not wander from the Apostle, we humbly in euerie particular circumstance enquire, whether these words of this Apostolicall person, sauoring the grauitie of the Apostle, be sound and irreprehensible: He promiseth Apostolike benediction to Robert, but doth he commaund him to doe that that should obtayne benediction? &c. who hath euer persecuted the Church of God without punishment? And here are alledged many examples out of the Scriptures. See here the workes of iust malice, that this father ordayneth for his sonnes to come to the heauenlie Hierusalem, by impugning the Church of God. We giue thankes to thy wisedome (saith the Church) for that thou hast done at Cambray; who can thinke of the ruine and desolation of that Church without teares? I, a daughter of the Church of Rome, did condole their estate, for that brotherhood that was betwixt vs; but now hearing that all these mischiefes haue lighted vpon them by the Apostolike authoritie, I grieue the more, because I feare least that should
Esay 10. light vpon my mother, that the Lord saith by the mouth of his Phrophet Esay, Woe vnto them that decree wicked Decrees, and write grieuous things to keepe backe the poore from iudgement &c. That there should be such desolation of the Church, such oppression of the poore, and widowes, such crueltie, such rapine, and which is worse, such effusion of blond without respect of good and euill, and all this, and worse than all this done by the commaund of the Pope, who would beleeue it if his owne mouth had not spoken it? We re-
maine astonished with the noueltie of these things, and wee enquire from whence this new example should come, that the Preacher of peace with his owne mouth, and the hand
2. Tim. 4. of another man, should make warre against the Church of God &c. For Apostolike men improoue, rebuke, exhort offendors with all long suffering and doctrine &c. And Christ
Matth. 8.15. saith, If thy brother trespasse against thee, goe and tell him his fault betweene thee and him &c. And here they alledge the example of S. Gregorie towards the Bishop of Salonne reprehending the Emperour Maximus, for that he vsed force against Prisceillian and his fellows. He (say they) that condemned Itachius their accuser for the death

A death of Heretikes, doubtlesse, if he were now aliue, he would not commend Paschal, by whose commaund so many people are murdered for the cause of Cambray &c. We commaund the like to be done, saith he, against the excommunicat, falsly called Clerkes of Liege. And why excommunicated? we are all baptised in one spirit, into one bodie &c. when hath the Church of Rome heard that there are contentions among vs? we thinke and say of Christ one and the same thing: we doe not say I am Paules, I am Cephas, I am Christs. Are we excommunicated for this our concord &c? Because we keep the law of God, they obiect against vs, that we transgresse their new traditions. But God saith vnto them, wherefore doe you transgresse the commaundement of God by your traditions? God commandeth vs to giue vnto Cæsar, that which is Cæsars, and to God that which is Gods:
B which S. Peter and S. Paule doe likewise teach; Honor the King; Let euerie soule be subiect to the higher powers &c. He that commaunds euerie soule to doe this, whom doth he exempt from this earthlie power? Because therefore we honour the King, and serue our Lords and masters in the simplicitie of our hearts, are we therefore excommunicated? But we are simoniacall persons. No, we auoyd all such, and those we cannot by reason of the time and place, we tollerate; and we no lesse flie those who couer their auarice with an honest title, and, vnder the name of charitie, boast themselues to giue that freely, which in effect they sell dearely, and like the Montanists vnder the name of oblations, they cunningly receiue gifts. Alas with griefe we wonder, why, when, and by whom we are excommunicated; we know we are not excommunicated by our Bishop, by our Archbishop, and
C we thinke much lesse by the Pope, because he cannot be ignorant of that which Nicodemus saith: Our Law iudgeth no man before he be heard: neither had God condemned Ioham. 7. the Sodomites except he had first come downe to see whether they had done altogether Genes. 18. according to that crie which came vp vnto him. Seeing therefore he hath heard nothing of vs, neither hath beene sollicited by the Bishop or Archbishop against vs, who would euer beleeue that he would excommunicate vs? &c. But perhaps you will say that therefore he doth it, because we fauour our Bishop who takes part with the Emperour. This is the beginning of our sorrow, and that which may make the cause of the wicked to blush, because Satan being let loose and walking through the earth, hath now diuided the Kingdome and the Priesthood: For as much therefore as the Diuell came vnto vs, hauing great Apocal. 20.
D wroth (as it is in the 20 of the Reuelation.) we pray to our father which is in heauen, for this especially, that he lead vs not into this temptation, but that hee deliuer vs from the euill thereof &c. But who can reprehend a Bishop for keeping his faith and loyaltie to his Prince? And yet they that teare in sunder the Kingdome and Priesthood with new schismes, and new traditions promise to absolue those from the sinne of periurie that breake their faith to their King &c. Hereby let all men iudge who of the two deserueth punishment, he that giueth vnto Cæsar, according to the decree of God himself those things that belong vnto Cæsar, or he that dishonoreth his King and takes that name of God in vayne, by which he plighted his faith to the King. See here the reason why we are excommunicated; and why we are called false Clerkes, who liuing Canonically deserue by
E our liues and conuersations to be called Clerkes. He is (I say) no part of Gods lot (alluding to the word Κλῆρος, Clerkes) that is to say, he hath no portion in his inheritance, who will exclude vs out of his inheritance (where then doth he place Paschal?) It is an iniurie which out of his wicked heart he vomiteth against vs, as old witches vse to do. S. Peter teacheth vs not to rule as Lords in Clero, ouer Gods heritage, but that we may be ex- 1. Peter 5. 3.
amples to the flocke: And S. Paule, My little children of whom I trauell in birth againe in Galla. 4. 19.
in the Lord. These should be examples for Paschal to imitate, or rather admonishers, and not impious raylers and slaunderers. The curse of excommunication, our Lord Paschal hasteneth vpon vs; but aboue all we feare that which the spirit of God by the mouth of

the Psalmist hath sayd, Cursed are all they that decline from his commaundements: That curse of excommunication that Hildebrand, Odoardus, and this third, haue by a new tradition indiscreetly brought in, we wholly reiect, and we hold and reuerence those first holie Fathers vnto this day, who by the motion of Gods spirit, not carried by their owne affections, haue otherwise ordayned. Our Bishoppe communicateth with his King and Emperour, to whom for those Royalties he holds from him, hee hath sworne fidelitie: It is a long time since this custome began, and vnder the same many holie and reuerend Bishoppes haue departed this world, giuing vnto Cæsar, that which belongs vnto Cæsar, and vnto God those things that are Gods. And here they produce many places out of *Ambrose* and *Augustine. Now behold,* saith the Church of Liege, *why wee are held for excommunicats, euen because wee hold and to our vttermost power doe imitate the holie and moderate auntient Fathers. We hold with our Bishop and Archbishoppe, our prouinciall and conprouinciall Synod, according to the auntient tradition, and whatsoeuer is there determined by the holie Scriptures; we goe not to Rome but for such matters as are not determined by the Scriptures. And as for those Legats a Latere, who runne through the world to fill their purses, wee wholly reiect them, according to those Councels of Africa, held in the times of Zozimus, Calestinus, and Boniface: For, that we may know them by their fruites, there proceeds from their Legations no correction of manners, or amendement of life, but the slaughters of men, and the spoyle of the Church of God. For asmuch therefore as we sticke to the auntient rule, & are not caried with euerie wind of doctrine, we are called excommunicats, false Clerkes &c. But rather, let Paschal lay aside his spirit of presumption, and let him aduisedly consider with his Councellors, how from Siluester to Hildebrand the Popes haue obtayned the Chaire at Rome, what and how many outrages haue beene committed by the ambition of that See, how they haue beene defined by the Emperours, and the false Popes condemned and deposed, and he shall easily see, that the imperiall power preuailed more than the excommunication of Hildebrand, of Odoardus, and of Paschal &c. Paule the Apostle resisteth Peter the Prince of the Apostles to his face, and therefore laying aside the wind of the Roman ambition, why should not the Bishops of Rome be reprehended and corrected for great and manifest offences: He that refuseth to be corrected is a false Bishop, a false Clerke; but we who by the mercie of God are obedient and corrigible according to the rule, by the assistance of Gods spirit will auoyd Schismes, and simonie and excommunications in all things &c. Which if we were to be destroyed, it were to be done by the edict of Kings and Emperors, who beare not the sword in vayne. But Sathan is let loosse, hauing great wrath, whom the powerfull hand of God will put to flight &c.* Alluding to that place in the Apocalips of the church persecuted by Sathan. *The authoritie of the Romans will free vs from excommunication: Pope Hildebrand who was the Authour of this new Schisme, and the first that raysed the Priestlie launce against the Princelie Diademe, did first excommunicat those that indiscreetly fauoured Henrie; but condemning himselfe of intemperancie, he excepted those out of that excommunication, that by a necessarie and lawfull subiection, and no desire to doe ill, tooke part with the Emperour: And this hee set downe for a Decree &c.* Hee still proceedeth in the examination of this Epistle to *Robert. Persecute Robert the head of the heretikes, and his maintayners, thou canst offer no sacrifice more acceptable vnto God &c. When Alaricus King of the Gothes went to take Rome, being admonished by one of the seruants of God, to desist from so wicked an enterprise, I goe not willingly (saith he) to Rome, but a certaine man doth daily vrge me to destroy it. By this example doth the Pope vrge his Esquire to wast and ouerrunne the whole kingdome, which cannot be done without slaughter and bloud, and the ruine of the Church of God. Alaricus was more mild, who hauing taken*

Apocalip. 12. 12

taken Rome spared the Churches of God, and abstained from the slaughter of men: Now nothing is excepted, but Robert is sent by the Pope, not onely to ruinate those of Cambray and Liege, but to indeauour wholly the destruction of all. Who will crie out now with Esay, How beautifull are the feet of those that preach peace &c? Doubtlesse that Zeale which S. Peter had when he cut off the eare of Malchus, the same hath the Vicar of Peter in cutting off the eare of an hereticall King; but he that will imitate Peter in wounding, let him imitate likewise in putting his sword into his sheath &c. Suppose our Emperour be an heretike, as you would haue him, yet he is not to be repelled as such a one by vs, by taking armes against him, but by prayer vnto God. Against Pharao, whose heart was hardned against God, Moses brought frogges, and flies, and grashoppers, and hayle: These onely plagues he could no way auert, but by praying with stretched out hands to heauen: Ieremiah prayed for Nabuchad-nezzar, and Paule for Nero &c. And these examples he relateth more at large. *Which of the Popes of Rome hath by his Decrees giuen authoritie that a Bishop should vse the sword of warre against offendors? Gregorie (the first Pope of that name) telleth vs what all the Popes before him did thinke hereof, & all that succeeded him should think, writing to Sabian the Deacon &c. All contented with this example, from Gregorie the first vsed the spirituall sword alone, vnto the last Gregorie, who was the first that armed himselfe (and by his example others) with the sword of warre against the Emperour &c. You say with Gregorie, howsoeuer the Shepheard bind, let the flocke feare the band of the Shepheard, that is, his censure. And we say with Gregorie, that he depriueth himselfe of the power of binding & loossing, that bindeth & looseth not according to merit, but his owne will. You say likewise, that be a man excommunicated, for what cause socuer, if he die in that state, he is damned. The authoritie of the Church of Rome helpes vs in this: For Gregorie the first hath authorised by writing and deed, that the Pope of Rome hath power to absolue any man vniustly excommunicated by any man; If then the Bishoppe of Rome can doe it, who will say that God cannot absolue whomsoeuer the Pope hath vniustly excommunicated? No man can be hurt by another, that is not first hurt by himselfe: But Robert can offer no sacrifice more acceptable vnto God, than to persecute vs. I demaund of thee my mother, the Church of Rome, Can that sacrifice please God which is not cleane and without spot? How then should this sacrifice of warre be acceptable vnto God, which cannot be but vncleane, full of murder & rapine?* And this he amplifieth with many places of Scriptures. *And this, saith he, we commaund thee, and thy souldiers to doe, in remission of your sinnes &c. Here I know not what I should say, or whether to turne my selfe: For if I should turne ouer the whole volume of the old and new Testament, and all the auntient expositers that writ thereupon, I should neuer find any example of this Apostolike commaund. Only Pope Hildebrand hath offered violence to the sacred Canons, whom we read, commaunded the Marquesse Mathilda in remission of her sinnes to make warre against Henrie the Emperour.* And so hauing discoursed out of the Scriptures, and some places of *Gregorie*, of the true manner and meanes of the remission of sinnes, and shewing to a sinner his sinnes, and making him to confesse them, to feele the burthen of them, to bee sorie for them, to seeke the remedie by a liuelie faith in Christ Iesus, the church of Liege concludeth in these words: *This manner of binding and loossing thou hast heretofore held and taught vs, O my mother the Church of Rome: From whence then comes this new authoritie, by which there is offered to offendours without confession or repentance an immunitie from all sinnes past, and a dispensation for sinnes to come; what a window of wickednesse doest thou hereby set open to men? The Lord deliuer thee ô mother from all euill; Let Iesus be the doore vnto thee, let him be the Porter, that no man enter into thee, but to whom he shall open; He deliuer thee I say and*

Gregor. l. 7. Regist. c. 1.

Gregor. Homil. 26.

thy Biſhop from thoſe who (as the Prophet Michah ſpeaketh) ſeduce the people of God, that bite with their teeth and yet preach peace. This was the letter of the church and Clergie of Liege to Pope *Paſchal* the ſecond, fortified with the teſtimonies of the holie Scriptures, and authorities of the Fathers. Neither need we doubt that ſuch in thoſe times, was the voyce of the greateſt part of the Churches of Chriſtendome, who conſequently acknowledged Satan to be let looſe, waſting the Church of God, in the perſon of Antichriſt ſitting in his Throne: which the Emperour *Henrie* inſtructed by his Prelats, ſpake plainely in his Epiſtle to the Chriſtian Princes, exhorting them to haue regard to their poſteritie, the royall
Auent. l.5. Maieſtie, and the ſaluation of all Chriſtian people; *becauſe* (ſaith he) *the Pope vnder the honeſt title of Chriſt goeth about to oppreſſe the publike liberty of all Chriſtian people, whom Chriſt hath bought with his bloud, and indeauoureth day and night to bring vpon all Chriſtians a ſlaniſh ſeruitude, except the Kings and Princes of the earth preuent it; neither will he ceaſe to doe it, vntill like Antichriſt he ſit in the Temple of God, and be worſhipped of all, as if he were God.* Theſe and the like letters (ſaith *Auentine*) are to be found in many antient Libraries, written to the kings of France, Denmarke, England, and to other Kings and Princes of Chriſtendome, who neuertheleſſe became not the more ſtrange vnto him, but being rather ſorie for this his condition, deteſted the author.

An. 1104. It was at this time that *Yuo* Biſhop of Chartres writ a letter to *Richard* Biſhop of Alba, the Popes Legat, who would cenſure his Clegie of ſimonie, whom he openly giueth to vnderſtand that he had done his beſt endeauors to mend that fault, but all in vayne, becauſe they maintained it by the cuſtome of the Church
Yuo Epiſt. 133. of Rome: *If the Deane* (ſaith he) *and Chapter, or other officers, doe exact any thing of thoſe that are made Canons, my ſelfe forbidding it, and perſecuting the fault, they defend themſelues by the cuſtome of the Church of Rome, wherein they ſay the Chamberlaines, and other officers of the Palace doe exact much of ſuch Biſhops and Abbots as are conſecrated, which they couer vnder the name of oblations or benedictions; for there, they ſay, neither penne nor paper will be had without money: and with this collop they ſtop my mouth, not hauing any other word to anſwer them, but that of the Goſpell, Doe that which they ſay (that is to ſay the Phariſies) and not that which they doe. If therefore I cannot pluck vp this plague by the root, impute it not onely to my weakeneſſe, becauſe from the firſt growth of the Church of God, the Church of Rome hath been ſicke of this diſeaſe, nor to this houre cannot free herſelfe of thoſe that ſeeke their owne gaine.* Moreouer, the ſame man being much moleſted by the Clergie at Rome, makes a grieuous complaint vnto *Paſchal* againſt the Appeales to Rome, which are the cauſe of much diſorder & rebellions in the Clergie againſt their ſuperiours, whom (abuſing that
Epiſt. 75. libertie) they ſlaunder at Rome: he neuertheleſſe not long before in the cauſe of *Godfrey* appealed to Rome, whoſe place by the authority of the Pope he ſupplied; out of the ſelfeſame humor as aboue, acknowledging reaſon and juſtice when it made for their owne purpoſes.

43. Progression.

Of the turbulent eſtate of the Church and Common-wealth, through the factious pride of Pope Paſchal.

NOw to follow againe the courſe of our Hiſtorie. *Auentine* concealeth not *ratiunculas*, ſome *ſmal reaſons* (as he calleth thē) why theſe Popes ſince *Hildebrand* pre-

pretended a right to deiect from their Throne *vel potentiſſimum Imperatorem, any Emperor how mightie ſoeuer*: That all power had been giuen of God to Chriſt, and from Chriſt vnto S. *Peter*, and to the Biſhops of Rome his ſucceſſors, vnto whom by Religion of oath, all Chriſtians were bound perpetually to obey; and to other Princes onely a limited time, and vnder condition ſo long as it ſhold pleaſe them: That therefore it was lawfull for the Pope, if the Emperour diſobeyed him, who repreſented Chriſt on earth, to excommunicate and depoſe him no leſſe than any other Chriſtian; inſomuch as he raigneth but by precarie right, and holdeth the Empire in homage of him: That in caſe he ſhould rebell, he might root him out of the Common-wealth, as a Tyran, by any meanes whatſoeuer: *And the people,*
B ſaith he, *bewitched by Hildebrand with ſuch reaſons, as they are ſubiect to let themſelues be carried away with euerie wind of doctrine, Fraunce, Italie and Germanie were pierced to the heart for the ſpace of three and thirtie yeares.* Namely *Paſchal* following from point to point this inſtruction, who ſeeing his enemie dead, reenforced the rigor of his Decrees, and will not receiue to abſolution the inhabitants of Liege, till they had taken him out of the Sepulcre where they had layed him: when *Henrie* alſo his ſonne demaunded permiſſion of him to giue him buriall, he flatly refuſed him, ſaying, *that the authoritie of holie Scriptures, and of diuine miracles, and of the Martyrs receyued vp into heauen repugned thereunto.* This writeth *Peter* the Deacon *l.4.ca.*38. And *Auentine* noteth expreſly, *that till that time the Biſhops*
C *of Rome had accuſtomed to date their Bulls, Epiſtles, and other affaires, from the yeres of the Emperours raigne; which he firſt ceaſed to doe, and began to date from the yeare of his Popedome. He was alſo the firſt that gaue immunitie to Colledges, though erected by others than himſelfe.* He noteth further, that till then in Germanie Eccleſiaſticall perſons, Biſhops, Prieſts, Abbots, Monkes &c. had not any care of their worldlie goods, but imploying themſelues in the ſeruice of God, and at their ſtudie, referred the managing of thoſe affaires to ſome neighbour Lord, ordayned of the Emperour, who adminiſtred vnto them prouiſion of meat, apparell, and other neceſſaries for life, and diſtributed alſo to the poore; and this they called *Vogt*, Patron or Curator, which the Roman Lawes call gouernour or Steward: But from
D that time forth, the Churchmen reiected them, and took the adminiſtration into their owne hands, *promiſing to giue euerie yeare to the Pope* nummum aureum, quem Bizantium vocant diplomata, *a piece of gold, which the Bulls call a Bizantium; nothing being more eaſie to Paſchal, than in giuing away anothers right, to take neuertheleſſe tribute of it.* And hereupon for the ſpace of ſixteene yeares, all things diuine and humane were in confuſion, vntill in the end he had attained his purpoſes. In Italie alſo his power encreaſed by two occaſion: The one was the death of the Marqueſſe *Mathilda* in the yeare 1115: who in the time of *Hildebrand* had *An.* 1115. made donation of Lumbardie and of Tuſcan to S. *Peter*: which miniſtred new *Platina in Paſchal. Vſpergenſis in chronico.*
E matter of contention betweene *Henrie* and him; becauſe he pretended to be her heire, and comming into Italie, endeauoured to take poſſeſſion thereof, and ſo did of a part. *Blondus* and *Platina* make the limit thereof to extend from the Riuer of Piſſia, & S. Quirico in the Countrie of Siena, vnto Ceperan betwixt the Apennine and the Sea, adding thereunto Ferrara. *Auentine* ſaith here, that *Eneas Siluius, which is Pius the ſecond, ſaith that Mathilda bequeathed by Teſtament to the Biſhop of of Rome, that which is called* Patrimonium Petri, *the Patrimonie of S. Peter; And then was heard a voyce from heauen, as I haue learned of moſt graue Diuines*, Venenū melle litum fœmina propinaſſe Chriſtianis, *that a woman had giuen Chriſtians poyſon to drinke, tempered with honie.* The other occaſion was the diminution of the Archbiſhopricke

Platina ibidem.

biſhopricke of Rauenna, which (as the Hiſtories of thoſe times ſay) had often- A
times, till then, oppoſed it ſelfe againſt the Church of Rome, whoſe power to abate, he cauſed a Councell to be held at Guaſtall, wherein was decreed, that the Cities of Romania, Placentia, Parma, Regio, Modena, and Bononia, ſhould no

Sigon. de regno Italiæ, l. 10.

more acknowledge the Archbiſhop of Rauenna. Let vs adde yet a third, That *Arnulfe* Patriarch of Hieruſalem, being accuſed by his Clergie, was depoſed in another Synod held in Syria by the Biſhop of Orange by authority from the Pope; who neuertheles being come in perſon to Rome, *Larga munerum profuſione, by his*

Guliel. Tyrius l. 11. c. 26. & li. 9. ca. 17. & l. 11. cap. 14. & 15. 16.

many gifts, ſaith *William* of Tire, pleaſed again *Paſchal*, & by him was abſolued & reeſtabliſhed in his ſeat: A thing neuer before ſeene, that one of the antient Patriarches ſhould be judged by the Biſhop of Rome. But this was becauſe they that B
commaunded in the holie Land were Weſterne Princes; and to maintaine their enterpriſe, had need of his good fauor. In effect, *Dabert*, Biſhop of Piſa Patriarch of Hieruſalem, ſaith *William* of Tire, *is created in an aſſemblie of Princes, by the common conſent of the people*, and preſently after inſtalled in the Throne. There was no ſpeech of ſending to Rome. The onely extremitie he found himſelfe in, being iniured by the King, whoſe diſſolute life he would not winke at, made him take this courſe againſt *Ebremarus*, whom he moued thereunto. And as for this *Arnulfe*, who by his gifts, had (ſaith the author) *circumuented the Religion of the holie See*, it is he, who (as he ſaith elſewhere) had when hee was but Archdeacon, ſet the whole Church in confuſion: *Inuita Diuinitate, vti credimus, Gibelino ſubſtitutus*, C
created for ſucceſſour (ſaith he in another place) *of the Patriarch Gibelme in deſpite of the Diuinitie, as we beleeue.* And ſuch a one was it behoofefull he ſhould be for to fit *Paſchals* liking.

But let vs come againe to the principal quarrell of inueſtitures, for that it is the Theame of this age. *Paſchal* by ſetting the ſonne againſt the father, had ſo ruinated the credit of the Empire in Italie, ſhaken euen in Germanie it ſelfe, that hee thenceforth thought any thing lawfull for him. And Hiſtoriographers doe particularly obſerue, that vnder this confuſion the Cities of Italie had taken a new forme, and vſurped libertie, the Pope fauouring the ſame, who had rather their forces ſhould be diuided, than vnited together vnder the authoritie of the Em- D
pire. And yet thereby ſhall we ſee ſo much the greater diſorders and ruine hereafter. *Paſchal* then being inuited to be preſent at Augsbourg for ordering of affaires, being in good hope of this ſonne, whom he had authoriſed againſt his fa-

An. 1106

ther, reſolued in the yeare 1106 to goe thither: But by the way he held that Synod of Guaſtalla, a Towne of the Counteſſe *Mathilda*, where were preſent the Embaſſadours of *Henrie* the fourth; he fore-judgeth the ſayd affaires, confirming all the rigours of *Hildebrand*, *Vrban*, and his owne; prouideth abſolutely for the Biſhoprickes of Germanie, *Gebhard* to Trent, *Conrade* to Salzbourge, and others; to the Eccleſiaſticall Colledges he giueth immunities; on all Churchmen

Auent. l. 6.

impoſeth a certaine tribute, and reenforceth his faction: *To ſuch*, ſaith *Auentine*, E
as take his part, he giueth preferment without delay; others if within a certaine day they change not opinion, he forbiddeth their office, pronounceth, and will haue all men beleeue, that all Lawes are reſident within the cloſet of his breaſt, and maketh no ſcruple of any lie: So that he muſt more aduiſedly be dealt withall than before, and men muſt hold for Law whatſoeuer he ſaith, he being reſolued to deſtroy all that oppoſe themſelues againſt him, and his ſeat. Theſe are the Authors words. This was hard newes to the Emperor, who expected better for his ſeruices, thinking at leaſt before he had paſſed further, he would haue conferred with him about it. Which the Pope vnderſtanding

A ſtanding at Verona, changed his journey, and in the yere 1107, paſſed the Alpes, *An.* 1107.
came to Clugni, and from thence to Troyes in Campania, where he thought to hold a Synod more fauourably for his pretences; *Philip* the firſt then raigning in Fraunce, in trouble for his Concubine *Bertrade*, and withal troubled by the Princes, Barons and Prelats of his kingdome, borne out (namely) by the king of England, and therefore not in good eſtate to diſpute himſelfe for his priuiledges. This was the renewing of a quarrell betweene the Pope and the Emperour, wherein *Henrie* the fourth clearely ſhewed, that what he had done (by the Popes inſtigation) againſt his father, had not beene for zeale of Religion, but rage of ambition, ſeeing he now contended for the ſame right being come to the crowne, as in
B the perſon of his father, he had deteſted and blamed of hereſie. *Krantzius* though *Krantzius in Saxonia lib. 5. cap. 30.*
wel affectioned to the Pope, hath theſe words, *Henrie ſtayeth ſome time for Paſchal at Augsbourg: who being hereupon warned by ſome about him, that the German Nation would not eaſily receiue his Decree, and that the great heart of this young King was not yet wholly Dominico iugo habilis, apt to receiue the Lords yoke* (that is to ſay, the Popes) *he turned through Burgondie towards Fraunce with the Legats of Speyne, pronouncing with a ſigh, that the dore was not yet opened vnto him, into the Regions of Germanie.* Thus abuſed he the words of S. *Paul*, as if the preaching of the Goſpell of Chriſt, and the inueſtitures by the Pope had beene one, and the ſame thing. Note that from *Hildebrand* Popes haue obſerued, the more to bind Archbiſhoppes to their
C homage, not to giue them the Pall vnleſſe they were preſent in perſon; whereas their predeceſſours did ſend it vnto them, euen to the furtheſt places of Europe, and more in token of honour, than of ſubiection. *Paſchal* deſirours to hold that rigour to *Raph* elect Archbiſhop of Canterburie, to make him fetch it at Rome, his truſtie friend *Yuo* Biſhop of Chartres perſuaded him, if he would not ſee new *Yuo Epiſt. 252.*
troubles in the Church of England, to diſpenſe him from it, eſpecially ſeeing that it was no matter of faith, and that our Sauiour had diſpenſed of the Lawe of the Saboath, preferring mercie before rigour of juſtice. With ſuch flatteries muſt theſe monſters be applauded: So that he ſent it him by a Legat of his, Nephew of the late Archbiſhop *Anſelme*.

D

Opposition.

Now *Paſchal*, in the yeare 1107, commeth to Troyes to hold a Councell: And *An.* 1107.
in the ſame time *Henrie* draweth nere Maince to oppoſe himſelfe againſt it. *Paſchal* confirmeth his Decree; *Henrie* by his Embaſſadours maketh his declarations to the contrarie; *Paſchal* proceedeth, and in deſpite of *Henrie* excommunicateth the Patriarch of Aquilia, and the Biſhops of Liege and Cambray, depoſeth the Biſhops of Minde and Halberſtat, ſuſpendeth the Biſhops of Cologne, of Maince and of Conſtance, for beeing preſent at the Synod of Maince. And which
E is more, ſaith *Auentine*, *He taketh away from the Emperour all knowledge of the election of Popes, and taketh, and ordaineth to be taken of Biſhops an oath, not to depend of any but onely of the Pope.* On the contrarie *Henrie* conteſteth, *That it appertayneth not to French Biſhops to be liberall of that which is another mans: That he holdeth his Empire of God almightie: That he knoweth well how, according to the Laws of God, and the moſt antient ordinance of the Fathers, in the time of Charlemaine, to prouide that the Common-wealth ſuffer no damage; namely an ordinance that excommunicateth Paſchal and his, if they depart from it &c. That Popes haue none other drift, than to vſurpe the Chriſtian Empire, and will neuer reſt, till they haue put all power vnder their yoke: That*

Auent. l. 6. Krantzius l. 5. Sax. ca. 30. 31. Jem in Metropoli l. 5. 6. 33. Abbas Vſperg. in Chronico.

in them is perceyued the ſame rage, as was in them that perſecuted Ieſus Chriſt: That by A
their guile, when he was young, they had armed him againſt his moſt deare father, and
hauing oppreſſed him, they conſpired againſt himſelfe: That to the end (in a word) it
might be lawfull for them to doe whatſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe them, they take an oath of eue-
rie Biſhop, to hold for Law whatſoeuer they ſhall ſay, being readie the firſt day to expect
that men ſhould adore them as God. Theſe reaſons were publiſhed as well in that Councell, as eſewhere by Parents; the ſame concluding thus, *That although by*
right and armes he might retaine the auntient cuſtome, obſerued for ſo many yeares, by ſo
many holie Fathers, concerning the election of Popes, and inueſtiture of Prelats, yet he
would not trouble himſelfe in it, prouided that the Biſhops and other Churchmen, which
the Pope hindered from taking inueſtiture of him, ſhould put againe into his hands the B
Lands in fee, and Caſtles which they held, and ſhould content themſelues with the Tithes,
for the maintenance of their perſons, and of the poore. And thereupon great difficulties ariſing, the matter was put off by *Paſchal* to be ended within a yeare in a Synod at Rome, betweene him and *Henrie*, the thing remaining (as we gather out
Kyantz. in Metropoli. l. 5. c. 33. of *Auentine*) reſpectiuely in the ſtate: But *Krantzius* diſſembleth not, that *Paſchal* remayned reſolute, *that none, betweene this and then, ſhould take Eccleſiaſticall*
An. 1110. *inueſtiture from the hand of a Lay perſon.* And ſo was his practiſe. In the yere 1110, *Henrie* paſſeth into Italie with a mightie armie, with intention to agree with *Paſchal*, to take of him the Crowne, and in his journey to make the Cities and Pro-
uinces to acknowledge him, beeing aſſiſted with a great number of men, learned C
both in diuine and humane knowledge, as well to decide the queſtion as to doe juſtice. But when *Paſchal* perceyued him comming, he aſſured himſelfe by a new oth of the Romãs againſt him; holding in a readines the forces of the Princes of Apulia & Calabria, & alſo of the Counteſſe *Mathilda*, & prepareth to make al things difficult vnto him. In the meane time *Henrie* marcheth forward, many places by the way yeelding obedience vnto him; ſo that to auoyd further inconuenience, an agreement was paſſed at Sutri betweene deputies on both ſides, as ſaith *Otho* Biſhop of Friſengen and *Leo* Biſhop of Oſtia, *That Henrie ſhould releaſe to Paſchal*
the inueſtiture of Biſhops, and that Paſchal ſhould reſigne vnto Henrie their Royalties, D
namely, *Dukedomes, Marquiſhips, Earledomes, Prouoſt-ſhips, cuſtomes and other rights*
which they held of the Empire: a thing ſaith *Krantzius* which he had not yet treated of with the Prelats of Germanie, and which was verie hard for him to warrant. In the meane time hoſtages were giuen on both ſides, whereupon *Henrie* marched to Rome: But, the ſame Authors ſay, when *Paſchal* preſſed him by oath to renounce the inueſtitures, and that he refuſed to doe it, except hee cauſed his Royalties to be reſtored him, *which Paſchal would not*, holding himſelfe ſtrong e-
Otho Friſengen. l. 7. c. 14. Sigon. l. 10. nough, by the good order he thought he had taken in the Citie, *Henrie* by the aduice of the Archbiſhops, that aſſiſted him, committed him to priſon, declaring vnto him that he was not come thither, to hold the Crowne of the Empire by a-
E ny other title, than as did *Charles* and *Lewis*, and after a bloudie ſedition thereupon happening in the citie, led him away into his armie. Hiſtories ſay, that this was done with the applaud of all the Biſhops of Germanie, that were there, ſauing
Petrus Dia. in Chron. Caſſ. l. 4. cap. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. & ſeq. of *Conrade* of Saltzsbourg (who indeed had beene created by him) a thing eaſie enough to be beleeued, conſidering how lightly he would haue aſſured himſelfe of the inueſtitures, with the loſſe of their Lordſhips and Royalties. The end was for this time, that *Paſchal* was deliuered, & the ſiege raiſed from before Rome, on condition that he ſhould neuer excommunicat the Emperour, nor his people; and ſhould giue him a priuiledge in writing vnder excommunication, whereby it ſhould

A ſhould be lawfull for *Henrie* to inueſt Biſhops and Abbots freely choſen by moſt voyces, without Simonie, with the ring and the ſtaffe, and commaund the Archbiſhop to conſecrate him: Contrariwiſe forbidding, That any ſhould conſecrate them that had beene choſen by the Clergie and people, vnleſſe they had beene firſt inueſted by the Emperour. Theſe conditions were ſolemnely ſworne vnto by *Paſchal*, and all the Cardinals, Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, that aſſiſted him; and moreouer, the day that he crowned him, in confirmation of this agreement, he gaue him the Communion in theſe words: *Lord Emperour Henrie, we giue thee the bodie of our Lord, borne of the virgine Marie, crucified for vs, as the Catholike Church holdeth, in confirmation of a true peace and concord betweene me and thee, Amen.* Sigon. de regno Ital. l. 10.

B Some, & namely *Sigonius*, report the ſame in other words, that in giuing him part of the Hoſt, he ſaid vnto him, *As this part of the quickening bodie is ſeperated, ſo let him be diuided from the kingdome of Chriſt our Lord, that ſhall attempt to violate this agreement:* Which is worth the noting, in reſpect of the faithfulneſſe he vſed afterward. And this oath and priuiledge was dated in the yeare 1111, in the moneth of Februarie. In this confidence *Henrie* returneth into Germanie, where being arriued, he made his father be ſolemnely buried at Spire, with the conſent of the Pope, by meanes of the agreement aboueſaid; which till then he had refuſed him, as forbidden by the holie Scriptures. But in the yeare 1112 *Paſchal*, whether returning to his naturall diſpoſition, or that he was moued thereunto by *Bruno* Biſhop of Signe, and Abbot of Montcaſsin, holdeth a Councell at Lateran, to reC uoke all: where notwithſtanding he plaied ſo well his part there, that hee would ſeeme to be as it were enforced thereunto, by the liuelie perſuaſions and reproaches of the Biſhops: And after he had excuſed himſelfe, That by force and neceſſitie this priuiledge had beene extorted from him, he concludeth the laſt day of the Councell in theſe words, *That he approued and reiected all things that Gregorie and Vrban had decreed and reproued*; thereby ratifying all that had beene by them done againſt *Henrie* the father, and reuoking all that himſelfe had done with *Henrie* the ſonne: and with teares moſt expreſſe, and ſo abſolute, as we read in the Abbot of Vrſperge, *That which they haue praiſed, held, confirmed, condemned, refuſed,*
D *forbidden, in all, and through all, therein will I perſeuere for euer*: whence he plainely ſhewed what a ſtrange taſt he had taken in this buſineſſe. Which done, this priuiledge is made void in ful Councel, & declared *priuilegium contra Spiritum ſanctum*, contrarie to the holie Ghoſt. *Henrie* is excommunicated, & not in Italie only, but in France alſo, by *Guydo* Archbiſhop of Vienna. And thereupon not long after aroſe new commotions in Germanie; the Archbiſhop of Mencerebelling againſt the Emperour, he is conſtrained to put him into priſon, & many others. Alſo, ſaith *Auentine*, the Emperour of Greece *Calo-ioannes*, ſonne of *Alexius*, being awake-
Auent. l. 6. ned at the report of this tumult, ſent to exhort *Paſchal* and the Romans, to returne to the auncient and lawfull Empire, *in deteſtation of thoſe barbarous Germans.* *Paſ-*
E *chal* placeth his embaſſadours on his right hand, their Oration being applauded by the people, *Perplacet, We deſire it, we reſtore the Diademe to the auncient Prince of Romans: let vs ſee once more auncient Rome ioyned to the new, the Eaſt to the Weſt. Paſchall cruelly declaiming againſt the Henries, father and ſonne.* In ſo much that *Peter Leo, Iohn* of Gaieta, *Hugh* Abbot of Clugni, and others, deſirous of peace, proteſted againſt him, and brake off this treatie, as proiected againſt all lawes diuine and humane: And notwithſtanding *Paſchal* and his partakers are obſtinatly bent againſt *Henrie*, who vpon theſe nouelties returneth with the Queene and all his houſhold into Italie, in the yeare 1115: and then began *Paſchal* againe to renew

Abbas Vrſperg. Malm. l. 5. c. 40. Petrus Dia. in Chron. Caſſin. l. 4. c. 47.

An. 1111. An. 1112. Sigebertus & Abbas Vrſpergenſ. in Chron. An. 1115.

his

his practiſes: And to this effect holdeth a ſolemne Councell at Lateran, the Biſhops aſſembling from all parts; to whom he declared, That as he was a *man, and conſequently but duſt and aſhes*, and for that he ſaw himſelfe in the power of *Henrie*, he had granted him this priuiledge; but thereof he confeſſed himſelfe vnto them, and prayed them to aske pardon of God for him: That he deteſted this priuiledge as hereſie, and prayed them likewiſe to pronounce as much, which they did. And thereupon ſome Biſhops inferred, *If that writing contained hereſie, that he was then an heretike that wrot it*, namely *Paſchal* himſelfe. And *Iohn* of Gaieta had much adoe to ſtop their mouths, and could not ſalue vp the matter, but in giuing the lye to the companie, *That the writing was in truth euill, but not for all that hereticall.* *Paſchal* himſelfe, after ſilence was made, appeaſed them onely in contradicting, *My brethren, this Church had neuer any hereſie.* Wherefore then doth he ſet all Chriſtendome in combuſtion for an opinion that is not hereſie? And yet the Decree is confirmed in this tenor againſt *Henrie*, who being not able to mitigat it, continueth his journey, and maketh the Pope (hearing of it) withdraw himſelfe into Apulia. *Henrie* being arriued at Rome, that he might not hold his Crowne of him, maketh himſelfe to be crowned the ſecond time, by *Maurice* Biſhop of Bracare. And a while after, in the beginning of the yeare 1118, *Paſchal* died, vpon the Emperours returne from Rome. This is the ſumme of that which paſſed vpon the queſtion of Inueſtitures of Germanie, and other Prouinces depending vpon the Empire.

An. 1118.

An. 1108. In France alſo *Paſchal*, in the yeare 1108, had made an attempt vpon our priuiledges, taking aduantage of the controuerſies betweene *Philip* the firſt and the Clergie of his kingdome, touching his concubine *Bertrade*: For *Manaſſes* Archbiſhop of Rheimes being deceaſed about the time of the Councell of Troyes, where the Pope was Preſident in his owne perſon, he would conferre the Archbiſhopricke of Rheimes on *Richard* Archdeacon of Verdune, as well to draw him from the Emperours ſide, as to eſtabliſh his affaires in France, according to the counſell that *Two* of Chartres gaue to *Vrban* his predeceſſor, in one of his Epiſtles; To haue ſome one at his deuotion in a Prelatſhip of ſuch conſequence. Which *Richard* hauing refuſed, becauſe that at the ſame time the Emperour made him Biſhop of Verdune, he inueſted therewith *Rodolph* with full authoritie, who without repairing to *Lewis* the Groſſe, who then ſucceeded to the Crowne, put himſelfe in poſſeſsion of the Biſhopricke. But the ſaid *Lewis*, though greatly buſied at his entrance, by the riſing of the Barons of the Realme againſt him, would in nowiſe approue of him, but on the contrarie made himſelfe to be crowned at Orleans, by *Giſelbert* Archbiſhop of Sens, notwithſtanding the complaints that *Rodolph* made of the wrong done to his Biſhopricke; and prouided and inueſted Archbiſhop of Rheimes one *Geruais* choſen from among his domeſticall ſeruants, by reaſon whereof the citie was toſſed with many troubles, and for receiuing *Geruais* was interdicted and excommunicated. This we learne of *Two* Biſhop of Chartres, in his Epiſtles, namely in the 206, directed to *Paſchal*: *We haue*, ſaith hee, *opportunely and importunatly requeſted the King of France, to reeſtabliſh Rodolph in the Metropolitan Church of Rheimes, receiuing him into fauour, and that he ſhould put out Geruais vſurper of the ſame*: Thus he ſpake the Popes language: *He hath in the end condeſcended to our prayers, and permitted that we ſhould bring him ſafely to his Court, which ſhould be holden on Chriſtmas day at Orleans, there to treat with him, and with the Princes of the Realme, of the affaires of Rheimes: But by reaſon of the contradiction of the Court, notwithſtanding our requeſts and interceſſions multiplied, we haue not beene able to*

Two Carnutenſ. Epiſt. 117.

Richard. de Vaſſenburg. in Chron.

to obtaine a full peace, except Rodolph did yeeld fealtie to the King, per manum & ſacramentum, *By hand and oath, ſuch as to the Kings his predeceſſors from all times the Archbiſhops of Rheimes, and other Biſhops of the Realme of France haue done, how religious and holie ſoeuer they were, &c. We therefore intreat thee, euen with bended knees, that in regard of charitie and peace, your fatherlie moderation would hold for veniall, that which the eternall law* (that is to ſay, the law of God) *makes not vnlawfull, but the onely prohibition of thoſe that doe preſide* (that is, the Popes) *with an intention of gaining libertie.* And this agreeth with that which he defended afterwards againſt *Iohn* Biſhop of Lions, That in this inueſtiture *there was nothing that concerned hereſie*: and with that which he writ to *Hugh* the Popes Legats in France, in his 65 Epiſtle, complaining of an Archbiſhop of Sens inueſted by the King: *For as much as it hath not any force of a Sacrament, whether admitted, or omitted, we ſee not how it can any way be hurtfull to faith or religion*; eſpecially when we read, that kings were woont to be intreated by the Popes, to grant Biſhoprickes to thoſe that were canonically choſen, and that the Popes deferred the conſecration of thoſe which had not as yet beene admitted by the kings: *And that kings intended not the gift of any ſpirituall thing, but yeelded at the requeſt of the petitioners, temporall things onely, to thoſe that were elected, which the Churches obtained from the bountie of kings.* For proofe whereof he alledgeth S. *Auguſtine* vpon S. *Iohn* in his firſt treatiſe. So likewiſe writing to *Paſchal* himſelfe, who endeuoured to alienat thoſe of Tournay from the Biſhopricke of Noyon, he ſaith, *We your faithfull ſonnes humbly beſeech, and aduiſe you to ſuffer the Churches of France to continue in the ſame ſtate wherein they haue beene for almoſt theſe foure hundred yeres, leaſt by this occaſion that ſchiſme grow ſtrong in France, which hath alreadie taken root in Germanie, againſt the Apoſtolike See, &c. For your Holineſſe cannot but know, that when the Kingdome and the Prieſthood agree together, the world is well gouerned, and the Church flouriſheth and fructifieth; but when they are at diſcord one againſt the other, not onely ſmall things doe not proſper, but the greateſt that are doe miſerably vaniſh and paſſe away.* And the ſelfeſame iudgement of *Paſchal* gaue *Sigebert* Abbot of Gemblous in Brabant, a man of that ſingular commendation, that *Platina* doubteth not to place him in the ſame ranke with S. *Bernard*, and thought that Age bleſſed wherein he liued, yea in playner tearmes, *King Henrie*, ſaith he, *went to Rome, to appeaſe the diſcord betwixt the Kingdome and the Prieſthood, begun by Pope Gregorie the ſeuenth, who was called Hildebrand, and renewed by his ſucceſſors, Victor and Vrban, and eſpecially by Paſchal, who was a ſcandal to the whole world. The king would vſe the authoritie, cuſtomes, and priuiledges of the Emperours, who ſince Charles the Great for three hundred yeares and vpward, gouerned the Romans vnder ſixtie three Popes, lawfully conferring Biſhoprickes and Abbies, by the ring and the ſtaffe. Againſt this authoritie of the Elders, the Popes ordained by a Synodall cenſure, That Biſhoprickes, or any other Eccleſiaſticall inueſtiture, could not, nor ought to be giuen by the ring and the ſtaffe, by any lay man. And whoſoeuer did ſo receiue any ſuch inueſtiture, was excommunicated.* Moreouer, *Trithemius* ſaith, that he made an Apologie for the Emperour againſt *Gregorie* the ſeuenth, and another againſt the Epiſtle of *Paſchal*, in which he ſhewed, That the Popes had no ſuperioritie ouer the Emperors, That it is hereſie to abſolue the ſubiects of their oath and allegeance to their Prince. And he noteth beſides, in the time of *Paſchal*, many extraordinarie prodigious wonders, which all the Chroniclers of thoſe times doe likewiſe obſerue.

Two Carnutenſ. Epiſt. 206.

Idem Epiſt. 238. & 239.

Two Epiſt. 138.

Sigebert. in Chron. an. 1111.

Trithemius de Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis.

In England *Paſchal* proceeded in the execution of his Decree, which *Anſelme* with no good ſucceſſe had begun. And when *Henrie* the firſt maintained in the

yere 1103, his inueſtitures againſt *Paſchal*, proteſting, That he would rather hazard his kingdome, than yeeld vnto *Paſchal*: *Neither will I*, ſaith *Paſchal*, *for the redemption of mine owne head, ſuffer him freely to obtaine them.* But yet by the mediation of *Anſelme, he mercifully diſpenſed* with thoſe Prelats who had receiued their inueſtiture of *Henrie*. But *Mathew Paris* expoundeth this mercie: *This merciful Chaire*, ſaith he, *which is neuer wanting to thoſe that bring with them either white or red, reeſtabliſhed thoſe Biſhops and Abbots that were ſuſpended, to their auncient dignities, and receiued them with ioy.* *Anſelme* thought that this office he had done vnto the king would haue bin well accepted of, and he the better welcome into England: But the king vnderſtanding, that neither *Paſchal* nor *Anſelme* abated any thing of their purpoſe therein, he joyned the Archbiſhopricke to his owne demaines, and confiſcated the goods of *Anſelme*, whom neuertheleſſe in the yeare 1107 he reeſtabliſhed: And in a Councell held at London it was agreed, That from thenceforward no Biſhop or Abbot ſhould be inueſted by the King, with the ring and the ſtaffe; the Archbiſhop likewiſe agreeing thereunto, *and that for their homage done vnto the King they ſhould not be depriued of their charges.* The letters of *Paſchal* to *Henrie* are worth the noting: That by occaſion of this inueſtiture hee had made himſelfe the *doore*: That they who entred not by him, forſooke God, who is the *true doore, and were theeues and robbers*: applying that vnto himſelfe which our Sauiour ſpake of himſelfe, and was to be communicated to no other, putting himſelfe thereby into his place: *This*, ſaith he, *is to handle the Church as a handmaid, not as a ſpouſe*: This *repugneth the Canons of the Apoſtles, and the Synod of Antioch*. And yet was there euer word ſpoken hereof? By which allegations neuertheleſſe he abuſed the ignorant and ſimple people.

Math. Paris in Henric.

An. 1107.

Epiſt. Paſchalis ad Henric. Regem Anglorum data Beneuenti.

45. Progression.

Of the ſtrange pride of Calixtus the ſecond, and of his barbarous crueltie towards Gregorie the eighth. Of the degrading of maried Prieſts, and of that which happened to Cardinall Iohn of Creme, the Popes Legat, comming into England, to put downe the marriage of Prieſts.

Iohn of Gaieta ſucceeded *Paſchal*, called *Galaſius* the ſecond, being created without the knowledge of *Henrie*, who remained at Pauia, but vnderſtanding hereof, went directly to Rome; wherewith *Galaſius* being amazed, fled by ſea to Tarrachina, and there cauſed himſelfe to be conſecrated by the Biſhops of his owne faction, at the ſame time that *Henrie* cauſed *Mauritius Burdinus* to be conſecrated at Rome, who crowned him the ſecond time, and was called *Gregorie* the eighth. Whereupon *Galaſius* excommunicated them both, being vpheld and defended by the Princes of Apulia. He reſtored to *Gualterus* Archbiſhop of Rauenna, the iuriſdiction ouer the Biſhops of Æmilia, whom his predeceſſors had taken away, that he might draw him away from the Emperour. And yet neuertheleſſe finding no ſafetie in Rome, by reaſon of the Frangepanes, was reſolued to leaue there the Biſhop of Port, and to goe into France, where in the yeare 1119 he held a Councell at Vienna, but died ſoone after at Clugni: in whoſe place the Cardinals that were there preſent, with the helpe of the Clerkes and Laitie of Rome, choſe *Guido* Biſhop of Vienna, the brother of *Stephen* Duke of Burgondie, vncle to *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders, and a neere kinſman of *Henrics*, who was called *Calixtus* the

An. 1119.

A the ſecond: but it is to be doubted, whether their great affinitie could ſupport him in the Popedome, which otherwiſe would be verie feeble and ſubiect to ruine. But let the Reader note, touching their pretended ſucceſſion, what this election might be without Rome, in a monaſterie, made by the followers and traine of a Pope newly dead, and a few others, although the Romans afterward gaue their conſent thereunto, *Haning*, ſaith *Auentine, corrupted the Romans with money he beſtowed vpon them, which he had borrowed and begged of his friends.* In the meane time *Cunon* Biſhop of Preneſt, the Legat of *Galaſius*, continued his practiſes in Germanie, withdrawing, vnder the ſhadow of excommunication, the Princes from the ſeruice of *Henrie*, and to this end holding diuers Councels at Cologne,

B Fritzlare, and elſewhere, alwayes vnder a pretence to reconcile the kingdome with the Prieſthood, that is to ſay, to draw to the Popedome the authoritie of the Empire: So that in the end, in a Councell at Wormes, in the yeare 1122, the Emperour wearied with ſo many moleſtations, and ſeeing no other end but the ruine of the State, granted to *Calixtus* whatſoeuer he would. The forme of whoſe agreement, written by *Vrſperge*, is as followeth: *I Henrie, by the grace of God Emperour Auguſtus of the Romans, for the loue of God, and the holie Church of Rome, and our Lord Pope Calixtus, and for the ſouereigne good of my ſoule, I leaue to God, and to his holie Apoſtles Saint Peter and Saint Paule, and to the holie Catholike Church, all inueſtiture by the ring and the ſtaffe, and I grant election and conſecration to be made in all Churches.* See

C here for what Goſpell theſe Popes did ſtriue. *Calixtus* in like ſort: *I Calixtus, &c. grant that the election of the Biſhops and Abbots of the kingdome of Germanie be done in thy preſence without ſimonie and violence, &c. but let him that is choſen receiue his inueſtiture of thee by the Scepter, except in all thinges which are knowne to belong to the Church of Rome, and doe all things which by right belongs vnto thee.* But in token of this inſolence, the Legats of *Calixtus* would that theſe letters ſhould be publiſhed with a lowd voice, in the open fields neere the Rhene, where were aſſembled people from all parts. But *Calixtus*, when they were brought to him, cauſed them to be hanged in the church of Lateran, to the end that all men might behold them. But *Otho* of Friſingens ſaith, That the Romans boaſted that this agreement was

D but onely for *Henrie*, and not for his ſucceſſors, by which couenant, ſaith he, *the Church vnder Calixtus the ſecond, in magnum montem creuiſſe, encreaſed to a great height*: Whereupon this was written of him at Rome;

Ecce Calixtus, honor patriæ, decus Imperiale,
Burdinum nequam damnat, pacemq; reformat.

Behold *Calixt*, our countries honour, worth Imperiall;
That wicked *Burdine* puniſheth, and peace reformes with all.

E Neither did his affaires leſſe ſucceed at Rome; for *Gregorie* the Antipope, vnder the fauour of certaine Earles, was maintained at Sutri: But *Calixtus* returning out of France, to win his fauour they deliuered him into his hands. And here the notable inſolencie of *Calixtus* is recited by the Abbot *Suggerus*, in the life of *Lewis* the Groſſe: *They put*, ſaith he, *this Antipope, or rather Antichriſt, ouerthwart the backe of an ill fauoured Camell, clothed with raw and bloudie Goats skinnes; and the better to reuenge the ignominie of the Church of God, they carried him through the middeſt of the citie, Calixtus condemning him to perpetuall priſon in the mountaines of Campania: and to preſerue the memorie of ſo great a reuenge, they painted him in the cham-*

D. 12. c. Non Decet.

Auent. l. 6.

An. 1122.

Abbas Vrſpergenſis in Chron. Krantz. Saxon. l. 6. c. 41. 42. 43. Sigon. de regno Italiæ l. 10.

Otho Friſing. l. 7. c. 16.

Abbas Suggerus in vita Ludouici Craſſi.

ber of the Palace, troden vnder the feet of Calixtus. This Gregory neuertheleſſe held the See of Rome three yeares; but no fault was imputed to them, when *Calixtus* was not aſhamed to write to all the Biſhops, *It is not lawfull in the leaſt point to wander from the rules of the Apoſtolike church* (that is, the Roman) *for as the ſonne of God came to doe the will of his father, ſo fulfill you the will of your mother, whoſe head is the Church of Rome.* The Reader may note in this compariſon, not ſo much the abſurditie as the blaſphemie; when neuertheleſſe this Canon did ſtill continue reformed in a Decree by *Gregorie* the thirteenth, and ſtrengthened by a lye: For, whereas the old Decree ſaid ſimply, *Calixtus Papa omnibus Epiſcopis*, that he might make this Gregorian Canon more auncient by a thouſand yeares, ſaith, *Calixtus Papa primus*, and addeth, *in the firſt Epiſtle to Biſhop Benedict*, that it ſeemed to be taken from an Epiſtle euidently ſuppoſed to bee *Calixtus* the firſt; which if we marke either the ſence or manner of ſtile, we ſhall find to ſauour of no antiquitie: and the like beſides was ſuppoſed by diuers others, and all the learned among them, euen before theſe controuerſies were. Furthermore, that it is likely that this *Benedict* was he that is mentioned in the firſt creation of Cardinalls made by *Calixtus* in the yeare 1120, as we read in *Onuphrius*. With the like credit they attribute the Decree of ſingle life to *Calixtus* the firſt, which this ſecond *Calixtus* ended, being Preſident of the Councell at Rheimes in the yeare 1119, That all maried Prieſts ſhould be degraded. But let the Reader judge with what ſpirit theſe good Biſhops were led, that in the ſame Councell they pronounced authentike the hiſtorie of *Charles* the Great, written by the Archbiſhop *Turpin*, euen and by the judgement of *Baronius* fabulous and ridiculous. In England likewiſe, in a Synod holden at Weſtminſter, the Cardinall *Iohn* of Creme, his Legat, cauſed to be publiſhed, after diuers diſputations, *Summum ſcelus eſſe, To bee a great wickednes to ariſe from the ſide of a harlot* (for ſo they called the lawfull wiues of Prieſts) *to goe to create the bodie of Chriſt: He notwithſtanding hauing the ſame day made and conſecrated the bodie of Chriſt, was the night following ſurpriſed in the companie of an harlot*, as many Authors of that time doe affirme, and for the moſt part Monkes: *A thing ſo manifeſt as could not be denied; whereby he changed that great honour he had gotten, into the greateſt diſhonour and reproach, and by the iuſt iudgement of God with ſhame & diſcredit returned to Rome.* And ſo the ſtaine of Diſcipline doth always accompany the corruption of doctrine. *Baronius* wold call this hiſtorie into doubt, becauſe *Mathew* of Weſtminſter addeth, that this good Cardinall had for his excuſe, *That he was no Prieſt, but a corrector of Prieſts*, who neuertheleſſe, ſaith he, was a Prieſt. But he did not ſee that it was ſpoken in that ſence wherin Abbots denied to be Monks, becauſe they were the gouernours & maſters of Monks, that is to ſay, they were not Monkes onely. And what he addeth beſides is all friuolous.

An. 1124. Now about the later end of the yeare 1124, *Lambert* Biſhop of Oſtia ſucceeded *Calixtus*, who through his diligence had brought the Emperour *Henrie* vnder the yoke of bondage, and was called *Honorius* the ſecond: and not long after died *Henrie* without heire, which cauſed diuiſion in the Empire, one part holding for *Lotharius* Duke of Saxonie, the other for *Conradus* Duke of Sueuia; who murdered each other with mutuall wounds, whileſt in the meane time *Honorius* and his ſucceſſors loſt no time. *Honorius* purpoſing to inuade the Normans in Apulia, the onely obſtacles in Italie of his greatneſſe, ſtirred vp all the nobilitie to armes againſt them, *Pardoning all their ſinnes that ſhould die in this expedition for him, and remiſſion for the one halfe onely that ſhould liue.* So vſed he his Indulgences to the deſtruction of Chriſtians. And yet neuertheleſſe finding the matter full of danger, determined

D. 11. c. 1.

An. 1120.

An. 1119.

Faſciculus Temporum Ann. 1119. *Matthæus Paris in Henric. 1. Rogerus de Honend. & Huntington. in Hen. Ranulph. in Polychrod. 7. c. 7.*

Matt. weſtmonaſterienſ. in Chron. Baron. to. 12. an. 1125. art. 2. & ſequent.

An. 1125.

Romual. Epiſc. Salernitan. in Chron.

An. 1127.

A determined with himſelfe to make peace with *Roger*, yeelding vnto him the title of Duke of Apulia and Calabria, vpon condition he ſhould hold them of the See of Rome. And not long after in the yeare 1130 he died. Neither would I willingly omit, that at the ſame time *William* an Engliſhman was created Archbiſhop of Tire in an aſſemblie of the King, and Patriarch, and the Peeres of the realme, and ſoone after conſecrated by the Patriarch of Hieruſalem (for hitherto there was no ſpeech to attend the Buls of Rome) This *William*, to the end he might get the more authoritie to himſelfe, goeth to Rome to obtaine the Pall, which *Honorius* was verie readie to giue vnto him. But it is expreſly noted by the Author, that he made this voyage, *Inuito & renitente ſuo conſecratore, Againſt the will and liking of the Patriarch Waremond, who conſecrated him.* And ſo through the wicked ambition of the Prelats, he got power and authoritie in the Eaſt countries. Neuertheleſſe *Stephen* the ſucceſſor of *Waremond*, was choſen not long after by the Clergie and people, without the helpe of Rome.

Guilielm. Tir. l. 16. 23. & 25. An. 1130.

B

Opposition.

But among the enterpriſes of theſe Popes there were not wanting thoſe who barked at the theeſe vndermining the wall of the Church. *Hildebert* Biſhop of Mans, famous in that Age, in a certaine Epiſtle ſpeaking of the Court of Rome, ſaith, *Their proper function is*, Inferre calumnias, deferre perſonas, afferre minas, auferre ſubſtantias (that is to ſay) *To ſlander, to backbite people, to threaten, to carrie away other mens goods: Their praiſe is to ſeeke buſineſſe, theft in peace, among weapons flight, victory in banquets: Imploy them in your cauſes and they delay them, imploy them not and they hinder them: If you ſolicite them they ſcorne you, if you inrich them they forget you: They buy proceſſe, they ſell interceſſions, they depute arbitrators, they dictate iudgements, and when they are pronounced they reuerſe them, &c. They denie vnto Clergie men their due reuerence, to the Nobilitie their originall honour, to ſuperiours their place, to equalls their familiar meetings, and to all, iuſtice: They loue not any kind of men, of what order, or of what age ſoeuer: In the Palace they are Scythians, in chambers Vipers, in feaſts Scullions, in exactions Harpies, in diſcourſes Statues, in queſtions Beaſts, in their treatiſes Snailes, in their bargaines Bankers; Stonie in vnderſtanding, woodden in iudgement, ſirie in ſtirring vp anger, yron in forgiuing; In friendſhip Leopards, in their meriments Beares, in deceits Foxes, in pride Bulls, and Minotaures in deuouring: Their firmeſt hopes are in changes, they loue beſt doubtfull times, and yet ſtill feare full of their villanie through a guiltie conſcience: Lions in their counſells, Leuorites in armies: They feare peace leaſt they ſhould be ſhaken off, warre, leaſt they ſhould fight: Whoſe noſthrils if they vent the ayre of an ruſtie purſe, thou ſhalt preſently ſee the eyes of Argus, the hands of Briarius, and the wit of Sphynx.* In another, after that he was made Archbiſhop of Tours, he complaineth to *Honorius* the ſecond, *That all things were brought by Appeale to Rome, which we*, ſaith he, *on this ſide the mountaines haue not yet heard, much leſſe learnt in our holie ordinances, that all Appeales are to be receiued at Rome: and if perhaps ſuch a nouelties hath riſen, That all Appeales without difference be admitted, the Pontificall cenſure will periſh, and the ſtrength of all Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline be ouerthrowne. For is there any diſſolute perſon whatſoeuer, who at the onely threat of an Excommunication will not appeale? What Clerke or Prieſt vnder the refuge of this vaine appellation, will not rot, may burie himſelfe in his owne dung? What Biſhop ſhall haue any meanes to puniſh any diſobedience, euerie Appeale ſhall ſhake his rod, diſſolue his conſtancie, mollifie his ſeueritie, impoſing ſilence vpon him, and giuing impunitie of offences to the wicked. So it will come to paſſe, that ſacrileges, rapes, fornications, and adulteries,*

Hildebert. in Epiſt. ad Hon. 2.

C

D

E

will dangerouſly encreaſe, when the chiefe Prelat ſhall not dare to ſpeake againſt theſe ſu- A
perfluous appeales, and ſhal ceaſe to perſecute the perſecutors of holie places, to reuenge the wrongs of widowes, and Orphans, and by delay of the cenſure, wickednesſe ſhal be foſtered, and ſuch as ſinne without puniſhment, ſhall deſcend into the bottomleſſe pit of all iniquitie. And in like manner he concludeth with the auntient Canons, and rules of the Church; If this ſhould any longer be tollerated, no Biſhop could diſcharge himſelfe of that duetie, which is impoſed vpon him in the Goſpell: To conclude, deſcribing the Citie of Rome in verſe, he ends in theſe words,

Vrbs felix ſi vel Dominis vrbs illa careret,
Vel Dominis eſſet turpe carere fide. B

O happie Citie if it had no maſters, or if theſe maſters (the Popes) *were aſhamed to haue no faith. Honorius* Biſhop of Auguſta, or rather the Abbot, as ſome ſay, a worthie Authour, ſpeaking of the Church of Rome, ſaith, *Turne thee to the Citizens of Babylon and ſee what they are, and through what ſtreets they wander &c. See, come hither to the top of the hil, that thou maieſt deceme all the buildings of this damned Citie. Behold the Princes and Iudges thereof (that is to ſay, the Cardinalls and Archbiſhoppes &c.) Behold, and thou ſhalt ſee, the ſeat of the beaſt placed in them: they alwayes think vpon that which is euill, euer occupied in the workes of iniquitie, they only do not theſe villanies themſelues, but they teach others to doe them: They ſell holie things,* C *and buy thoſe things that are wicked: They labour by all meanes not to goe alone to hell. But turne thee towards the Clergie, and thou ſhalt ſee in them the tent of the Beaſt: They neglect the ſeruice of God, and ſerue the lucre of this world: They pollute the Prieſthood by their vncleaneneſſe, ſeduce the people by hipocriſie, renounce God by their wicked workes, reiect all Scripture that appertaines to ſaluation: They practiſe by all poſſible meanes to worke the ruine of the people, and blindfold as they are, in the ſame blindneſſe they goe before into perdition. Behold alſo the conuenticles of the Monkes, and thou ſhalt ſee the Tabernacles of the Beaſt: They mocking God through a fained profeſſion,* D *prouoke his wrath: They tread vnder foot all gouernement both in manners and life, deceiue the world vnder the ſhadow of their habit: They entangle themſelues with ſecular affaires, and neglect the ſeruice of God; and many of them being giuen to gluttonie and wantonneſſe, putrifie euen in the filthineſſe of their owne corruption. Behold alſo the Cloiſters of Nunnes, and thou ſhalt ſee in them the prepared Bed-chamber of the Beaſt: Theſe learne wantonneſſe euen from their tender age, follow many allurements to the heaping vp of their owne damnation, and earneſtly endeauour themſelues thereunto, that they may the more let looſe the reynes of luxurie, and proſtitute themſelues to all filthie concupiſcence, and like the inſatiable Charibdis, are neuer ſatisfied with the corruption of their owne vncleaneneſſe. Theſe entangle the minds of young men, and take pleaſure, the more they entangle; & ſhe gaineth the prize of the victorie that excels others in wickednesſe.* This perſon notwithſtanding is recommended for her great pietie and learning in this age. E

In Germanie flouriſhed *Robert* Abbot of Duits, one of the chiefeſt Diuines of theſe times, who was not of their opinion that attribute to the Paſtors of the Church though in what degree ſoeuer any temporall Dominion: Notwithſtanding he is famous among all Hiſtoriographers both for ſanctity of life, and alſo for his miracles; *Vpon this rocke* (ſaith he) *who is Chriſt, is the Church builded,* he ſaies not vpon *Peter, and by changing the name, Peter hath his denomination of Petra the rocke, whereby we are giuen to vnderſtand that all they that are builded vpon that foundation*

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B theſe armed Popes, and the troubles they raiſed? In Rome it ſelfe wee may read in the Chronicle of *Hirſauge*, written by *Trithemius*, that vnder *Honorius* the ſecond, God by the mouth of a certaine holie man, called *Arnulph*, did ſpeake with great vehemencie: *This man was of great deuotion, and a great Preacher, who by the word of God reproued the looſeneſſe, auarice, and pride of the Clergie, and propounded to all the powertie of Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, and to imitate their integritie and ſanctitie of life: who was prayſed and eſteemed of the Roman Nobilitie as the true diſciple of Chriſt, but held in no ſmall hatred by the Cardinals and Clergie, who tooke him in the night, and priuilie murdered him.* He afterward addeth: *That this his Martyredome was reuealed vnto him by God, being in the wildernesſe, when by the Angell he* C *was ſent to preach at Rome; whereupon he publiquely ſayd, I know you ſeeke my life, and I know that you will verie ſhortly kill me; but wherefore? Becauſe I tell you the truth, I reproue your arrogancie, pride, auarice, luxurie, and ouermuch care and ſtudie in getting riches, therefore I pleaſe you not. I take heauen and earth to record that I haue deliuered nothing vnto you but what our Lord hath commaunded me; but you condemne me and your creator, who hath redeemed you by his onely begotten ſonne: It is no maruaile you ſeeke my life, being a ſinfull man, for telling the truth vnto you, for if S. Peter ſhould euen now ariſe, and reproue your vices, which are manifold, you would as little ſpare him. When he had vttered this with a loud voyce,* he ſaid, *Verily I feare not to vndergoe death* D *for the truth, but I tell you in the word of our Lord, that the omnipotent God will not pardon your impietie: Yee are full of all vncleaneneſſe, and goe to hell euen before the people that are committed to your charge: God is the reuenger.* *Platina* ſaith *that he was followed by many of the Roman Nobilitie, as a Prophet, and the true diſciple of Chriſt.* But *Sabellicus* ſaith, *This wicked deed that was comitted by the Clergie defamed their whole order, yet it was the fault but of a few, for their licentious life was grown to that height, that they could not endure wholeſome admonitions.* And *Honorius* truely tooke it grieuouſly, ſaith he, but preſently addeth *caterum queſtione abſtinuit, but the reſt refrayneth to ſpeake of.* By this the Reader may judge what his anger was.

Platina in Honor. 2.
Sabell Ennead. 9. l. 4.

Let vs here ſpeake of that which is written touching *Nordbertus*, who came to *Honorius* in the yeare 1125, for the confirmation of the order of *Premonſtre* inſti- *An. 1125.*
E tuted by him; who publiſhed that Antichriſt was euen at hand, and readie to bee reuealed. S. *Barnard* writing to *Gaufrid* Biſhoppe of Chartres ſaith, *Whereas not many dayes ſince I ſaw his face, and from his heauenlie pipe, that is to ſay his mouth, I heard many thing, yet this I neuer heard,* that he ſhould go into Hieruſalem. *But whē I did inquire what he thought of Antichriſt, he proteſted he knew moſt certaine that he ſhould be reuealed in this preſent generation.* And hereupon it appeareth that this queſtion was then verie frequent. But, ſaith he, *as I entreated him to declare vnto me from whence he had this certainetie, as I gaue eare to his anſwer, I thought I might not beleeue him; neuertheles he affirmed that he ſhould not die, before he ſaw the general perſecution*

Bernard Epiſt. 56. ad Gaufr. Carnotenſ.

will dangerouſly encreaſe, when the chiefe Prelat ſhall not dare to ſpeake againſt theſe ſuperfluous appeales, and ſhal ceaſe to perſecute the perſecutors of holie places, to reuenge the wrongs of widowes, and Orphans, and by delay of the cenſure, wickednesſe ſhal be foſtered, and ſuch as ſinne without puniſhment, ſhall deſcend into the bottomleſſe pit of all iniquitie. And in like manner he concludeth with the auntient Canons, and rules of the Church; If this ſhould any longer be tollerated, no Biſhop could diſcharge himſelfe of that duetie, which is impoſed vpon him in the Goſpell: To conclude deſcribing the Citie of Rome in verſe, he ends in theſe words,

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Rupert. Tuitienſis in Johan. l. 2. cap. 2.

A *foundation* (*which is Chriſt*) *muſt call vpon a new name, which the mouth of the Lord hath named.* Euerie one of them then are in this regard no leſſe the rocke than *Peter* himſelfe, as touching the function: *The Miniſters of Chriſt knew their Apoſtleſhip to be no dominition, but an humble ſeruice, the perfection whereof conſiſteth in laying downe their liues for their brethren.* Therefore he ſaith in another place, *The rod of the diſciples of Chriſt is the rod of the paſtorall office, watching diligently ouer the cure of ſoules; That rod of Dominion is not permitted to the Miniſters of the Goſpell of Peace, but rather forbidden them &c.* And in the end he ſaith, *that to a ſpirituall man it is not lawfull for him to drawe the ſword, or to exerciſe publique authoritie.* He therefore who liued vnder theſe troubles in Germanie, what might he thinke of

B theſe armed Popes, and the troubles they raiſed? In Rome it ſelfe wee may read in the Chronicle of *Hirſauge*, written by *Trithemius*, that vnder *Honorius* the ſecond, God by the mouth of a certaine holie man, called *Arnulph*, did ſpeake with great vehemencie: *This man was of great deuotion, and a great Preacher, who by the word of God reproued the looſeneſſe, auarice, and pride of the Clergie, and propounded to all the powertie of Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, and to imitate their integritie and ſanctitie of life: who was prayſed and eſteemed of the Roman Nobilitie as the true diſciple of Chriſt, but held in no ſmall hatred by the Cardinals and Clergie, who tooke him in the night, and priuilie murdered him.* He afterward addeth: *That this his Martyredome was reuealed vnto him by God, being in the wilderneſſe, when by the Angell he*

C *was ſent to preach at Rome; whereupon he publiquely ſayd, I know you ſeeke my life, and I know that you will verie ſhortly kill me; but wherefore? Becauſe I tell you the truth, I reproue your arrogancie, pride, auarice, luxurie, and ouermuch care and ſtudie in getting riches, therefore I pleaſe you not. I take heauen and earth to record that I haue deliuered nothing vnto you but what our Lord hath commaunded me; but you condemne me and your creator, who hath redeemed you by his onely begotten ſonne: It is no maruaile you ſeeke my life, being a ſinfull man, for telling the truth vnto you, for if S. Peter ſhould euen now ariſe, and reproue your vices, which are manifold, you would as little ſpare him. When he had vttered this with a loud voyce,* he ſaid, *Verily I feare not to vndergoe death for the truth, but I tell you in the word of our Lord, that the omnipotent God will not*

D *pardon your impietie: Yee are full of all vncleaneneſſe, and goe to hell euen before the people that are committed to your charge: God is the reuenger.* *Platina* ſaith *that he was followed by many of the Roman Nobilitie, as a Prophet, and the true diſciple of Chriſt.* But *Sabellicus* ſaith, *This wicked deed that was committed by the Clergie defamed their whole order, yet it was the fault but of a few, for their licentious life was grown to that height, that they could not endure wholeſome admonitions.* And *Honorius* truely tooke it grieuouſly, ſaith he, but preſently addeth *ceterum queſtione abſtinuit; but the reſt refrayneth to ſpeake of.* By this the Reader may judge what his anger was.

Platina in Hono. 2.
Sabell. Ennead. 9. l. 4.

Let vs here ſpeake of that which is written touching *Nordbertus*, who came to *Honorius* in the yeare 1125, for the confirmation of the order of *Premonſtre* inſti- *An. 1125.*

E tuted by him; who publiſhed that Antichriſt was euen at hand, and readie to bee reuealed. S. *Barnard* writing to *Gaufrid* Biſhoppe of Chartres ſaith, *Whereas not many dayes ſince I ſaw his face, and from his heauenlie pipe, that is to ſay his mouth, I heard many thing, yet this I neuer heard,* that he ſhould go into Hieruſalem. *But whe I did inquire what he thought of Antichriſt, he proteſted he knew moſt certaine that he ſhould be reuealed in this preſent generation.* And hereupon it appeareth that this queſtion was then verie frequent. But, ſaith he, *as I entreated him to declare vnto me from whence he had this certainetie, as I gaue care to his anſwer, I thought I might not beleeue him; neuerthelesſe he affirmed that he ſhould not die, before he ſaw the general perſecution*

Barnard Epiſt. 56. ad Gaufr. Carnotenſ.

secution of the Church: which truely he saw not long after, if he obserued it, against them that were called the Waldenses, and so bloudie and cruell as hardly was euer any. But the mischiefe was, That Antichrist walked about the Theatre of the world, but so disguised as few knew him, and they that did know him, durst not speake ill of him. The Abbot of Vrsperge telleth vs of this *Norbertus*, *That he was at the Councell of Collen vnder Calixtus in the yeare 1119, where he was accused of all that were there touching many things, whereof he wisely excused himselfe: whereupon it is written of him, That the hands of all these were against him, and he against them all.* Vpon what occasion he sheweth not.

Vrspergen. Abbas an. 1119.

46. Progression.

Of the factions in the Popedome betweene Innocent the second and Anaclet the second: and how Innocent requited the Emperour Lotharius in defending him against Anaclet. Of the militarie enterprise of Innocent against Roger Duke of Apulia and Calabria, and the successe thereof.

BY the death of *Honorius* arose a great schisme in the Church of Rome, the one part hauing chosen *Gregorie* the sonne of *Guido*, who was named *Innocent* the second; the other *Peter* the sonne of *Peter Leo*, who was first consecrated, and called *Anaclet* the second, both citizens of Rome, but *Anaclet* of the more honourable familie; so that *Innocent* after he was consecrated by the Bishop of Ostia, was constrained for his safetie to flie into the towers of the Frangepanes, riuals of *Piter Leo*, and at length to leaue the citie. *Anaclet* in the meane time being possest of the Vatican, and finding therein crownes, cups, crosses, and crucifixes of gold, siluer, and other rich ornaments, caused them to be molten, and made into money, to content those that were of his faction and followers. And it is likely the other would haue done no lesse, if he had had power and meanes according, as the election of the Popes at these times were carried. *Innocent* therefore imbarked himselfe with his Cardinals, and came to Pisa, and there excommunicated *Anaclet*: and presently went into France, and sent to King *Lewis* the Grosse, declaring vnto him the equitie of his cause, to be protected by him. This was the occasion of the Councell of Estampes, where our Bishops disputing with those of the Popes, S. *Bernard* held for *Innocent*, who at the same time was inuited by Legats to take his refuge in France. For hauing S. *Bernard* on his side was a great helpe vnto him. And our Frenchmen were willing to bind the Pope vnto them, who for a good turne receiued, might afterward requite them in Italie. There was also by chance at the same time in France, *Henrie* the first, King of England, whom *Bernard* perswadeth in the behalfe of *Innocent*, against the opinion of all his Bishops; through whose perswasion he went to Chartres to meet him. Then both the Popes indeuored to defend each others part: but *Anaclet* thundered his Excommunications at Rome, against *Innocent* and his partakers: *Innocent* at Clermont and Rheimes did the like against him and his followers. And moreouer, in Italie the Princes of the Normans defended the faction of *Anaclet* (for he had bound *Roger* with a new benefit, in giuing him the title of a King) and *Anselme* also, Archbishop of Milan, with all the Bishops of Lombardie his Suffragans. And as on the one side S. *Bernard* defended *Innocent*, so *Anaclet* was authorised by *Simoretus* Abbot of Mont Cassin, and all those of his Order, who were of great authoritie, especially in Italie,

Vincent. l. 27. c. 6. Bernard. vita l. 2. c. 1. Suggerus Abbas in vita Ludouici Grossi.

Leo Hostiens. seu Petrus Diaconus l. 4. c. 99.

lie, where it was a question of holding his seat at Rome. *Innocent* therefore in the yeare 1132, endeuoured to procure an enterview and conference betweene him and the Emperour *Lotharius*, at Liege: where, according to the example of *Charls* and *Otho* the Great, he requested him to take vpon him the protection of the Church: A thing which he willingly yeelded vnto, but vpon condition, *That the inuesting of Bishops*, which the Church of Rome had taken away from his predecessor *Henrie*, should be restored vnto him: *At which word*, saith the Author of the life of S. *Bernard*, *the Romans were amazed, and waxed verie pale, thinking they had incountred greater danger at Liege, than they had auoided at Rome*; vntill S. *Bernard*, whom he had alwayes neere vnto him, caused *Lotharius* to change his opinion, telling him, That it stood not with his generous mind, to make a benefit of the diuision of the Church, *because it was a thing that could not be done without much slaughter and bloud.* Wherefore *Lotharius* was therewith content, so that he would promise him to crowne him Emperor so soone as he should be reestablished in the See at Rome. Then *Lotharius* came into Italie in the yeare 1133, and finding *Innocent* at Pisa, carried him along to Rome. But *Anaclet* and his followers, when they could continue no longer masters of the citie, fled into the towers, leauing the citie to the will and pleasure of *Lotharius*; so that *Innocent* being receiued of the citizens, he crowned *Lotharius* in the Lateran, whom he could not doe in the Vatican, according to the vsuall manner, being possest by the followers of *Anaclet*. But behold how *Innocent* requited this benefit of the Emperour: *He caused to be painted vpon the wall the solemnitie of his entrance and coronation*, that is to say, *Innocent sitting in a Pontifical chaire, and Lotharius vpon his knees receiuing the Crowne of the Empire of him:* And with these verses:

An. 1132.

Vita Bernardi l. 2. c. 1.

Vrspergensis in Lothario.

An. 1133.

Rex venit ante fores iurans prius vrbis honores,
Post homo fit Papæ, sumit quo dante Coronam.

The King before his gates doth come, which sweares first to the towne,
Whom both the Pope his seruant makes, and after, him doth crowne.

Krantzius in Metro. l. 6. c. 35.

Whereby he gaue all men to vnderstand, that *Lotharius* was become *the Popes man*, that is to say, his vassall and feudarie; so farre off was he from restoring vnto him the inuestitures, and *that he receiued the Crowne of him in gift.* They of Gennes were more gently vsed, not so much in respect of their thankfulnesse, as in despight of *Anselme* Archbishop of Milan, who tooke part with *Anaclet*: he gaue them an Archbishop, and exempted them from the obedience of that of Milan. *Lotharius* in the meane time, whether the pride of *Innocent* had discontented him, or the state of his affaires called him backe, returned into Germanie: whose absence so soone as the faction of *Anaclet* vnderstood, descended the towers, & violently set vpon the part of *Innocent*, in so much that he was constrained to leaue Rome, and flie to Pisa. And hereupon Saint *Bernard* writ to the Pisanians in fauour of *Innocent*: *Pisa is taken in stead of Rome, and of all the cities in the world is chosen the principall of this Apostolike See.* Why then should it seeme strange vnto them, if we resuse the Primacie to Rome? But note what he further addeth; *This hath not fallen vnto thee by chance, or through the counsell of man, but by diuine prouidence, and the speciall fauour of God, who loues those that put their trust and confidence in him, who said to Innocent his annointed, Take thy habitation at Pisa, and I will bless it, and will dwell there, because I haue chosen it.* *Innocent* therefore held a Councell in the yeare 1134, but for the reformation of the Church (though it were verie famous) there was not a word spoken,

Bernardi Epist. 30.

An. 1134.

ſpoken, onely *Anaclet* was excommunicated, and *Innocent* confirmed. And at A
length, through the mediation of S. *Bernard*, *Lotharius* returned againe into Italie
with a more puiſſant armie than before, to bring *Anaclet*, or rather *Roger* Prince of
Sicilia, into order, who onely ſtucke firmely vnto him: *Henrie* then Duke of Ba-
An. 1137. uaria, *Lotharius* ſonne in law, in the yeare 1137, being Generall of this expediti-
on, laid firſt ſiege to Mont Caſſin, held by the Abbot *Rainold*, who ſummoned him
to forſake *Anaclet*, and deliuer the monaſterie to *Lotharius*. And drawing neere
in perſon with his armie to *Amalfa*, commaunded him to come vnto him, aſſuring
him vnder his faith to reconcile him to *Innocent*, and that he ſhould confirme all
his priuiledges vnto him. But *Innocent* carrying a malicious mind, commaunded
Rainold, that before he entred into the army, he ſhould come with his Monks bare B
footed, as a token of repentance, to ſatisfie him: whereupon *Rainold* being ſudden-
ly troubled herewith, calleth the Emperor his protector and reuenger; & entring
the campe by the commaundement of *Lotharius*, pitched his tent neere to the
Emperours, proteſting to goe whereſoeuer he would appoint him. And hereup-
on began a new enuie of *Innocent* towards *Lotharius*, who being accompanied
with *Peregrinus* Patriarch of Aquilia, and many Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Ab-
bots, notwithſtanding tooke notice of this cauſe, and the Counſellors of both
parts being commaunded to be called, heard the Pope by his Legats, and *Rainold*
and the Monkes by their Aduocats, who complained vnto him, That if they had
erred, or done amiſſe in any thing, that *Innocent* was the cauſe thereof, who had C
forſaken them. At length *Innocent* alledging after many reaſons and circumſtan-
ces, the fulneſſe of his abſolute power and authoritie, *Lotharius* declareth what he
had done for him, and his memorable labours for the Church of Rome, that if he
would not receiue the Monkes at his requeſt into fauour, he would no more bee
Chron. Caſſ. l. 4. c. 29. ſubiect vnto it, or defend it, *and that there ſhould be a difference betweene him and the*
Pope; at which ſaying all the whole armie gaue a ſhout. And ſo they were abſolued, *A-*
naclet and his faction being accurſed; but yet there remained ſtil a malicious mind
in *Innocent*, thinking himſelfe not ſufficiently reuenged for the injurie offered him
by *Lotharius*. *Peter* the Deacon, who reciteth this hiſtorie at large, obſerueth ma-
Idem l. 4. c. 109. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. ny notable circumſtances; for the Emperour through certaine troubles and inter- D
ruptions he procured to *Innocent*, receiued not onely the Monkes, the Commiſſi-
oners appointed by *Rainold*, but alſo commaunded them to be lodged neere his
tent, albeit they were excommunicated by the Pope. Alſo this Excommunication
the Emperor calleth into queſtion, & willeth *Innocent* to nominat thoſe whom he
would make the Aduocates of his cauſe, that he might decide the difference, the
parties being heard: So *Gerard* Cardinall of the holie Croſſe appeared in the be-
halfe of the Pope, and *Peter* the Deacon for the Abbot; who as the Emperour
had cauſed *Gerard* to ſit directly againſt him, and *Peter* at his feet, *Gerard* affirmed,
That an excommunicated perſon ought not to ſit at the feet of a child of the
Church. The Emperour neglecting the Excommunication, commaunded *Peter* E
to ſit ſtill: whereat the Cardinall *Gerard* ſaid vnto him, *The Catholike Church you*
and your predeceſſors haue made rulers of the whole world. He anſwered, *We haue recei-*
ued the Crowne from the Apoſtolike ſeat, not the dominion and ſouerainetie, but the
marke thereof: whereof *Innocent* maketh an inſtance, that the Monkes ſhould
take an oath of faith and loyaltie toward him, but be free from all oath towards
the Emperour, or priuiledges of the Empire. The Emperour deſiring *Innocent* to
obſerue the Imperiall lawes, which he could not by any meanes auoid, hee verie
furiouſly anſwered him, That hee would rather caſt off the Papal Mantle, and
trample

A trample it vnder his feet. To conclude, the Emperour in the preſence of the Pa-
triarch of Aquileia, and the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Cardinals, Abbots (the Au-
thor nameth them in this order) judgeth the cauſe for the Abbot of Mont Caſsin,
and diſmiſſeth him. Whereupon *Innocent* grew into ſuch choler, that he ſeemed
as if he would depoſe all thoſe that were at this judgement; in ſo much that to aſ-
ſuage his anger the Emperor was content to ſend certaine of his followers to per-
ſuade him. About this time Salerne yeelded to the gouernement of *Lotharius*;
whereupon grew a new contention betweene the Pope and the Emperor, for the
right thereof: for they creeping as it were into his boſome, and ſeeking to bee
protected and defended by *Lotharius*, did the more inwardly fret him euen to the
B heart. Likewiſe, as it was a queſtion to inueſt *Ranulph* Duke of Apulia into the *An.* 1137.
place of *Roger*, being a fauourer of *Anaclet*, and that the Pope and Emperour to- *Abbas Vrſperg. de Lotharia. Petrus Diaco-*
gether were to giue him the Enſigne and Standerd of a Duke; it was no maruell *nus in Chron. Caſſin. l. c. 21. & ſequent. & Sigon ex eodem regno Ital. l. 10.*
if *Lotharius* wearied with ſo many troubles, was reſolued being come to Rome, to
returne into Lombardie: in whoſe abſence *Roger* loſt no time, recouering by the
farre diſtance of *Lotharius*, that which he loſt by his preſence. In the meane time
died *Lotharius*, in the yeare 1137, neere to Trident, as he paſt into Germanie; a
Prince commended by all hiſtories, for his great pietie, juſtice, and vertue, and of
ſuch patience and moderation, as he could without any paſſion ſupport the here-
ditarie inſolencie of this Pope.

C After him ſucceeded *Conradus* the ſecond, duke of Sueuia, who before had con-
teſted with him for the Empire, through whoſe oppoſitions *Henrie* Duke of Ba-
uier, *Lotharius* ſonne in law, could not ſo readily order the affaires of Italie. At
this time *Anaclet* died, S. *Bernard* being at Rome, through whoſe authoritie the
See remained peaceable to *Innocent*. And now to conſolidat the former wounds, *Otho Friſingenſ. l. 7. c. 23. Abbas Vrſperg. an. 1139.*
he held a Councell at Lateran in the yeare 1139, where aſſembled all nations of
the Weſt, neere to a thouſand Biſhops and Abbots: and in this mightie multi-
tude notwithſtanding, we read of nothing that was there propounded, or deci-
ded, touching the reformation of the Church, either in doctrine or diſcipline,
though it was manifeſtly moſt corrupt, both before and at this preſent; which ma-
D ny bewailed, with the hope of a better ſtate. This Councell therefore had no other
end but to eſtabliſh *Innocent*, and condemne the fauourers of *Anaclet*, vnleſſe they
would performe the penance they were appointed; to weaken the ordinances
made by him, or by thoſe whom he had ordained. And here let the Reader judge
what ſcruples they left in the conſciences of ſo many and diuers nations, when
both *Anaclet* and the ordinances made by him almoſt for the ſpace of eight yeres,
were farre the better. *Roger*, remaining Duke of Apulia, and Calabria, and naming
himſelfe King of Sicilia, theſe good Fathers reſolued alſo to ſuppreſſe and bring
into order. *Innocent* therefore hauing prepared an armie of the Romans, he in his
owne perſon intended to lead them againſt him, yet had hee the ſame ſucceſſe as
E ſometimes had *Leo* the ninth: for *Roger* retiring himſelfe to the caſtle of Gallutz,
he verie ſharpely beſieged it; but *William* the ſonne of *Roger* Prince of Tarent,
comming with a valiant companie of ſouldiers, put the Popes armie to flight,
tooke him with all his Cardinals, and carried him to Naples: But he was ſet at li-
bertie not long after vpon two conditions, that is, To abſolue *Roger* of the Excom-
munication, and to declare him King of Sicilia, Duke of Apulia, and Calabria,
and Prince of Capua, and a liege man of the Church, which *Anaclet* before had
done. And in this manner the Popes naturally regard not any but themſelues,
thinking all others, how great ſoeuer, to be borne to doe them ſeruice: In the
meane

meane time *Ranulph* and *Robert* were robbed of their right, whom *Lotharius* and A
he, for their good ſeruice ſome few yeares before had inueſted in theſe domi-
nions. Now as he thought he had ended all his affaires, the Romans themſelues
*An.*1143. vexed with the pride of the Popes, and their Clergie, in the yeare 1143 earneſtly
ſtudied to recouer their libertie, and reſtore the auncient cuſtomes of the Clergie,
whom when he could neither repreſſe by feare of excommunication, nor by ta-
king away the libertie of Suffrages in the election of the Popes, and bring it one-
ly to the Cardinals (a notable augmentation of their greatneſſe and honour) being
ſpent and ouercome with griefe & ſorrow, ended his life. But becauſe this motion
had his progreſſions, it were fit we ſhould further diſcourſe thereon: neither is it
in the mean time to be forgotten, that we make it appeare, how by diuers degrees B
their pride roſe alwayes againſt God, and not onely againſt men. For this *Innocent*
*An.*1131. in the yere 1131 holding a Councell at Rheimes, a certaine Monke ſpeaking in fa-
uour of him, thus began: *Great and weightie is the charge that is impoſed vpon me,
that is, to teach the Doctors, to inſtruct the Fathers, ſeeing it is written, Aske the Fathers
and they will ſhew thee: But this Moſes* (*Innocent* that was preſent) *commaundeth me,
whoſe hands are heauie, who is to be obeyed not onely of me, but of euerie one, and is here
greater than Moſes. To Moſes was committed the people of Iſraell, but to him the Vni-
uerſall Church: Behold, he is here of greater power than any Angell; for to whom of the
Angels did God euer ſay, Whatſoeuer thou bindeſt vpon earth, &c.* alluding to that
which the Lord ſaid of himſelfe. *And he hath more here than Salomon* (he followeth C
on) *Iſay according to his office, not according to merit: Except God there is none like
vnto him* (mark *like*) *either in heauen or in earth: This is that Peter who caſt himſelfe
into the ſea, when the other Diſciples ſayled vnto Ieſus. Euerie one of you* (Biſhops) *is
content with his barke, that is, his Archbiſhopricke, his Abbie, his Priorie; but this
man* hath authoritie *in all Archbiſhoprickes, Abbies, Priories, &c.* He ſaith *Miſit
ſe.* And truely he caſts, he puts, nay he intrudes; ſent of himſelfe, not of God,
without miſſion, without commiſsion. This Sermon in the meane time to deceiue
Baron. an. 1131. *art.* 4. *vol.* 12. the world, is inſerted into the workes of Saint *Bernard*; but *Baronius* himſelfe de-
nyeth *Bernard* to be the author thereof. Furthermore, this *Innocent* was the firſt
who ordained, *That the Pope ſhold celebrate the Maſſe ſitting.* If this then were to be D
done before God, if holding him really in his hand, did he thinke he ſhould yeeld
him too great reuerence? Neither is it to be forgotten, that vnder *Innocent* ſucceed-
ded to the Archbiſhopricke of Tire, *William* the author of the holie warre, who ac-
cording to the imitation of his predeceſſors, after he had beene conſecrated by
the Patriarch of Ieruſalem, went to Rome to receiue the Pall. He himſelfe ſayes
that the Patriarch hindred him by all the meanes he could, and that *Innocent* (abu-
ſing the neceſsitie of the Eaſt) handled him hardly by his letters. Moreouer, *Ra-
dulph* Patriarch of Antioch compared his Church to the Roman, as being no leſſe,
nay rather the ſeat of *Peter* than Rome, & tooke the Pall of himſelfe. This *Innocent*
being fauored by the king of Hieruſalem, who hated *Radulph*, ſending a Legat in- E
to thoſe places, depoſed him as guiltie of high treaſon in regard of his ſeat. But
what violence he vſed, the ſame is declared more at large; for being oppreſſed with
forged crimes, he was conſtrained to appeale to Rome: Whereupon intelligence
being giuen of his comming, to *Roger* king of Sicilia, who lay in wait for him,
he tooke him, and caſt him into priſon, and afterward ſent him back again into Pa-
leſtina, to be cenſured by *Alberick* the Legat of *Innocent*, Cardinall of Oſtia, the
king being knowne to be his profeſſed enemie. To conclude, he, appearing not at
the Synod where the Legat was Preſident, was depoſed for his diſobedience.

OPPO-

A OPPOSITION.

Theſe two Popes in the meane time mutually pronounced each other Anti-
chriſt, by authoritie of famous Synods of the Biſhops and Abbors of each ſide:
and in that one thing they verie well agreed. All the Biſhops of England (as we
haue ſeene) refuſed no leſſe *Innocent* than *Anaclet*. The like difficultie had *Innocent*
found in France, had it not beene for the fauour of S. *Bernard*, when *Gerard* Biſhop
of Angoleſme tooke part againſt him. *Hildebert* alſo Archbiſhop of Tours, a man
then of great authoritie in the Church, ſtood a long time doubtfull; whom S.
Bernard hauing firſt admoniſhed, that the moſt part had alreadie acknowledged
B him, ſoliciteth in theſe words: *And herein, father, your ſentence, though late, is expected
as raine vpon the fleece: We blame not ſlowneſſe that ſaoureth of grauitie, for it aboli-
ſheth the note of lightneſſe, &c. yet I ſay, as one well knowne to the Biſhops,* Ne quid ni- *Bernardus E-*
mis, I ſpeake as a familiar, be not more wiſe than is needfull. I am aſhamed, I confeſſe, that *piſt.* 124.
*the old Serpent with a new audacious neſſe, ſeemeth to haue left vnaduiſed and ignorant
women for to tempt the ſtrength of your breaſt, and to ſhake ſuch a pillar of the Church.*
And note that he calleth him *Magnum Sacerdotem & excelſum in verbo gloriæ, Great
Prieſt and high in the word of glorie.*

But within Rome it ſelfe from the time that *Innocent* was eſtabliſhed, he wanted
not aduerſaries. The Clergie of Rome as we haue ſeene, hauing murdered *Ar-*
C *nulph* that reproued his pride, another *Arnulph* notwithſtanding of Breſſe (ſome
cal him the Biſhop) being nothing terrified therby, preſumed to do the like, & euen
in the middeſt of his glorie and authoritie, when he held that famous Councell at
Lateran, wherein were preſent neere a thouſand Biſhops and Abbots. And this
man the Authors of thoſe times, and for the moſt part Monkes, call an Here-
tike; but they accuſe him of no other hereſie, but for that he mightily inueyed a-
gainſt the inſolencie of the See of Rome: This man, ſay they, hauing beene *Ligurinus de*
brought vp in learning in France, taketh vpon him a religious habit, & returning *geſtis Fred. l. 1. l. 3*
into Italie, preacheth againſt Biſhops and their royalties, and that they ought to
leaue them vnto Princes, contenting themſelues with ſuch things as are neceſſary
D for the ſeruice of God: he preſently is accuſed, and conuented in this Councell,
and there being charged with hereſie, is conſtrained forthwith to depart Italie. If
they had had any other matter of greater moment to obiect againſt him, it is to be
vndoubtedly thought, they wold haue farther proceeded againſt him. Neuertheleſſe his ſermons had taken ſuch effect, that three yeares after the people of Rome *Otho Friſingen. de geſtis Fred. c. 27. & 28.*
inuaded the Capitoll, reſoluing to recouer againe their auncient libertie, & leaue *Idem hiſt.*
to the Pope onely the care of Eccleſiaſticall matters. To this purpoſe they writ to *l.* 2. *c.* 27.
the Emperour *Conrade*, That what they did was for him and the glorie of the Em- *Onuphr. in*
pire, and to reſtore vnto him that which the Popes vſurped, and had taken from *Anno.* 2.
him: That to the ſame end they had pluckt downe the fortreſſes, and raſed them *Sigon. de regno*
E to the ground, which they abuſed againſt him: That now hee ſhould haſten his *Ital. l.* 12.
comming, for the bridge Miluius ſhould be readie to receiue him: And conclu-
ding with theſe verſes in fauour of him:

Imperium teneat, Roma ſedeat, regat orbem
Princeps terrarum, ceu fecit Iuſtinianus:
Cæſaris accipiat Cæſar, quæ ſunt ſua Præſul,
Vt Chriſtus iuſſit Petro ſoluente tributum.

He holds our Empire, ſits at Rome, and ruleth ouer all, A
Like Monarch of the world, as once *Iuſtinian* was ſaid:
What *Cæſars* is let *Cæſar* haue, the Biſhops his withall;
Chriſt ſo commaunded *Peter*, when the tribute ſhould be paid.

But when they heard, that *Conrade* being croſt in Germanie could not intend the affaires of Italie, they delayed no time, ſet to their owne hands, reeſtabliſhed the Senat, and prouided both for peace and warre. *Innocent* in the meane time trieth all meanes, ſpareth neither threats nor gifts, excommunicateth all the people, and excludeth them from the election of the Popes, wherein they had till then a principall part: but at length being brought into feare of loſing the gouernment B of Rome, died with griefe and diſcontent. *This contention* (ſaith the Author) *be-*
Otho Friſingen. *ginning with Innocent, was of that moment*, that it dured vnder all the Popes to *Ce-*
leſtine the third (that is, about fortie fiue yeres.) *Widó Caſtellanus*, a citizen of Rome, called *Celeſtine* the third, ſucceeded *Innocent*, being created according to the ordinance of *Innocent*, by the Cardinals onely, adding this aduantage to the Cardinalls, in ſtead of the loſſe they otherwiſe ſuſtained. By the ſame law not long after *Lucius* ſucceedeth *Celeſtine*, vnder whom the Romans not content with the Senat onely which they had eſtabliſhed, choſe a Patricius to be their head, to whom they gaue all the tributes and rights both of the citie and countrey, taking them away from the Popes, and allowing them for the maintenance of their dignitie C nothing but oblations and tithes. The firſt in this dignitie was *Iordan* ſonne of *Peter Leo*, a man mightie in the citie both for his auncient nobilitie, and fauour of the people. *Lucius* then hauing raiſed an armie, beſieged the Senators, whom the Patricius *Iordan* preſently ſet vpon, and droue both him and his from the Capitoll.
Gotefrid. Viterbienſis ſaith, That in this broile *Lucius* receiued ſuch a blow with a ſtone, that
Viterb. in 1145. parte 17. Chron. an. 1145. to his dying day, which was in March 1145, he was not able to ſit vpon his Pontificall throne. *Eugenius* the third, who ſucceeded *Lucius*, in the ſeuen yeares that he continued could not preuaile againſt them. But in the meane time as hee thought to ſuppreſſe them, *Arnold* returneth out of Germanie, and by his Sermons ſtirreth vp the courage of the Romans. Therefore, whether ſeeming as it D were to ſcorne the citie, or for that he ſaw himſelfe there in contempt, he departed thence to Viterb, and was there conſecrated contrarie to auncient cuſtome. But when he thought he had appeaſed them, by the meanes of S. *Bernard*, returned to Rome, but ſoone after was conſtrained to depart againe, and from thence vnder ſhew of renewing the warre of the Holie Land, paſſeth into France, perſuading himſelfe, that by feeling the hurt of his abſence they would become more tractable. But they being nothing grieued at it, he returned into Italie, and died in the yeare 1153 at Tiuoli: as if the driſt of the Romans had beene to ſhew, that they could be without a Pope; and of *Eugenius*, that he could be without Rome. And yet in theſe dayes on the contrarie, we heare of nothing more than the Pope ſitting at the Vatican, & of the chaire of S. *Peter* eternally appointed at Rome. And E this is that which then paſſed in Italie.

In France, notwithſtanding the good offices that *Innocent* had there receiued, he letted not to attempt againſt the liberties of the French Church, neither wanted he there ſuch as reſiſted him: For the Archbiſhopricke of Bourges being vacant by the death of *Alberick*, the Pope without attending the preſentation of young king *Lewis*, by full power ordained Archbiſhop one *Peter* the ſonne of *Emerick* his Chancellor. The hiſtorie ſaith, that the king thereat was ſo much moued,

A ued, *That in the preſence of many, Propoſitis publicè ſacroſanctis reliquijs, He publikely ſware vpon the holie reliques, That this Archbiſhop, ſo long as he liued, ſhould not enter into the citie of Bourges.* Whereupon *Innocent* proceeded to excommunicat the king, ſo that into whatſoeuer citie or towne he entred, diuine ſeruice was preſently ſuſpended. And this dured for the ſpace of three yeares. Here againe in the meane time commeth S. *Bernard*, and becauſe there was a great contention betweene the king and him, for that *Rodulph* Earle of Vermandois hauing put away his wife, had with his priuitie maried *Petronilla* the Queene, his wiues ſiſter, he addeth one quarell to another: and notwithſtanding that ſolemne oath of the king, which he called *Herodianum iuramentum*, the oath of *Herod*, not to be performed
B and kept, he maketh him conſent to receiue the ſaid *Peter*; S. *Bernard* truely being noted by many, to haue beene too liberall in giuing thoſe things that were ours to the Popes: which was either becauſe he feared their vnbridled obſtinacie, the cauſe of ſo many troubles before, or for that our Princes ſometimes abuſed their power, in giuing Eccleſiaſticall things at their pleaſures. Here followeth that which himſelfe ſpeaketh in his Epiſtle to the foure Roman Biſhops, after hee had warned them of the danger of ſchiſmes: *Which is worſe* (ſaith he) *humane affaires* *Bernard. Epiſt. 219.*
are come to that euill paſſe, that neither the guiltie will humble themſelues, nor the Iudges
haue pitie: We ſay to the wicked, Doe not wickedly, and to tranſgreſſors, Lift not vp your
horne, and they heare vs not, becauſe it is a houſe hee hardened. We intreat them, whoſe part
C *it is to rebuke ſinnes, to preſerue ſinners, that they breake not the bruiſed reed, nor quench*
the ſmoking flax; and it is then with a more vehement wind they breake the ſhips of Tharſis, &c. Scarcely is the wound of the Church healed vp, when behold it feſtereth and is opened againe. And thus oftentimes the moſt obſtinat is fauoured at the coſt of the more tractable. Yet it appeareth plainely out of many places, that he was not content neither with the Church of Rome, nor with *Innocent* himſelfe. In the Epiſtle 178, writing to the ſame *Innocent*, he ſaith, *It is the voyce of all the faith-* *Bernard. Epiſt. 178.*
full among vs, that exerciſe their charge ouer people with a faithfull care, That iuſtice is
periſhed in the Church, that the keyes of the Church are come to nothing, the authoritie of
Biſhops wholly debaſed, whileſt none of the Biſhops hath power in his hand to reuenge the
D *iniuries done to God; it is not lawfull for any to chaſtiſe euen in his owne Pariſh any vn-*
lawfull thing. The cauſe of this is laid vpon you, and vpon the Court of Rome: Ye deſtroy
the things, ſay they, that they haue well done, and eſtabliſh the things that they haue iuſt-
ly deſtroyed. Yet more boldly in the 176 Epiſtle going before, written by an Archbiſhop of Treues to the Pope, wherein the ſtile of *Bernard* euidently appeareth, for he is not afraid to threaten him, that the Church was able to conſiſt without Rome: *Know* (ſaith he) *that our Church on this ſide the mountaines, as well in our* *Idem Epiſt. 176.*
realme as in the realme of France, is ſtrong in faith, peaceable in vnitie, deuout in your o-
bedience, readie to ſerue. The loſſe of Beneuent, nor of Capua, nor of Rome it ſelfe, will in
E *no ſort aſtoniſh vs, God ſo iudging it, knowing that the ſtate of the Church is not to be e-*
ſteemed by armes, but by merits.

In the matter of diuorce of *Rodulph* Earle of Vermandois, diſpenſed with by *Innocent*, he writeth to him thus: *God had conioyned Earle Rodulph and his wife by* *Bernard. Epiſt. 216. ad Innoc.*
the Miniſters of the Church, and the Church by God, who hath giuen ſuch power vnto
men; how hath the chamber (namely of the Pope) *ſeperated that which God hath ioy-*
ned together? in which fact it is manifeſtly foreſeene, that theſe workes of darkeneſſe are
done in darkeneſſe. In that ſame alſo which he wrot to the Cardinall of Hoſtia, he deſcribeth vnto him in the perſon of Cardinall *Iordan*, the actions and behauiours of the Popes Legats: *Your Legats* (ſaith he) *haue trauerſed from nation to nation, and* *Epiſt. 299.*

from people to people, leauing filthie and horrible traces of their ſteps euerie where, from the foot of the Alpes, and the kingdome of Germanie, paſſing through almoſt all the Churches of France and Normandie vnto Rouan, this Apoſtolike man hath filled all, not with the Goſpell, but with ſacrilege: (alluding to the journey of Saint *Paul*, who had filled all with the Goſpell from Hieruſalem to Illiricum:) *It is reported that he committed in all places diſhoneſt things, carried away the ſpoyles of the Churches, promoted, where he might,* formoſulos pueros, *faire boyes to Eccleſiaſticall honours, and would haue done it where he could not. Many haue redeemed themſelues, that hee might not come vnto them: Of them that he could not come to, he exacted and extorted by his deputies: In ſcholes, in Courts, in highwayes, hee made himſelfe a mocking ſtocke to the world. Seculars and religious perſons all ſpake euill of him; the poore, Monks, and Clerks complaine of him.* But for the Popes in generall, *It ſeemeth,* ſaith he, *oh good Ieſus,* *Apud Hugonem in poſtilla ſuper Iohann.* *that all Chriſtendome hath conſpired againſt thee, and they are the chiefeſt in perſecuting thee that ſeeme to hold primacie in the Church, and to haue principalitie; according as it is written, He that did eat my bread magnified vpon me ſupplantation, made it a braurie to ſupplant me;* transferring to the Pope that which the Apoſtle expounded of *Iudas*, from one ſonne of perdition to another. In the Sermon of the conuerſion *Idem in ſermone de Conuerſione B. Pauli.* of Saint *Paul*, ſpeaking to the people, *Ah, ah, Lord God, they are the firſt in perſecuting thee, which ſeeme to loue Primacie and beare chiefe ſway in the Church: They haue poſſeſſed the fort of Sion, they haue ſeiſed vpon the ſtrong places, and afterward* libere & poteſtatiuè, *freely and with full power, haue ſet the whole citie on fire. Miſerable is their conuerſation, and miſerable the ſubuerſion of thy people; and would to God they did hurt in this part alone, &c. The laſt of their thought is the ſaluation of ſoules: Can there be any greater perſecution to the Sauiour of ſoules? Others doe alſo wickedly againſt Chriſt, and there are many Antichriſts in our times: yet by good right he eſteemeth more cruell and more grieuous the perſecution that he ſuffereth of his owne Miniſters, &c. Theſe things Chriſt ſeeth, and is ſilent; theſe things the Sauiour ſuffereth, and diſſembleth; and therefore it is neceſſarie alſo that we diſſemble them, and in the meane time be ſilent, chiefely of our Prelats and Maſters of Churches.* Neither let them thinke here to eſcape, by ſaying, That this is meant of ſchiſmaticall Popes: hee ſpeaketh of the ſame whom he acknowledged; *Thy friends* (ſaid hee before) *and thy neighbours haue drawne neere and ſet themſelues againſt thee. It ſeemeth that the whole world of Chriſtian people haue conſpired againſt thee, from the leaſt euen to the greateſt, from the ſole of the foot to the crowne of the head is not any ſoundneſſe: Iniquitie hath proceeded from the Elders and Iudges, from thy Vicars, which ſeeme to gouerne thy people* (note *thy Vicars.*) *Vita Bernard. l. 2. c. 8.* In his Sermons vpon the Canticles, which the Author of his life witneſſeth to haue beene written after the death of *Anaclet*, when *Innocent* was eſtabliſhed at Rome, after he had ſpoken of the diuers temptations of the Church; by perſecution, which the Martyrs haue ouercome; by hereſie, which the Doctors haue conuinced, *Bernard. in Cantic. ſerm. 33.* *Behold,* ſaith he, *our times, through Gods fauour, are free from them both, but wholly defamed with the buſineſſe that walketh in the darke. Woe be to this generation for the leuen of the Phariſes, which is hypocriſie, if notwithſtanding it may be called hypocriſie, which now for the aboundance thereof cannot be hid, and for the impudencie thereof ſeeketh not to be hid. A ſtinking Vlcer creepeth in theſe dayes throughout all the bodie of the Church, being the more deſperat by how much the more it is ſpread abroad; and the more inward it is, the more dangerous: For if an open enemie ſhould riſe againſt her, he might be caſt out and there with; if a violent enemie, ſhe might perhaps hide her ſelfe from him: But now whom ſhall ſhee caſt out, or from whom ſhall ſhe hide her ſelf? All are friends* (namely in ſhew) *and all are ene-*

A *enemies, all are neceſſarie, and all domeſtike, and none are peaceable; all neighbours, and yet all ſeeke their own.* Could he more ſignificantly expreſſe vnto vs this diſeaſe, ſpread ouer al the bodie of the Church, this running canker feeding vpon al the ſubſtance therof? But he proceedeth further: *They are the miniſters of Chriſt, & ſerue Antichriſt: They go honoured with the goods of the Lord, and giue no honor vnto the Lord: thence is, as you daily ſee,* meretricius nitor, *that whoriſh glittering, that apparell of ſtage players, that royall furniture, gold on bridles, ſadles and ſpurres: and ſpurres do ſhine more than Altars &c. It is for theſe, they will be heads of Churches, Deanes, Archdeacons, Biſhops, and Archbiſhops: For all theſe are not giuen to deſert, but to that worke which walketh in darkneſſe* (in hipocriſie:) *long ago this was foretold, and now is come the time of the accompliſhment. Behold how in peace my bitterneſſe is moſt bitter: Bitter before in the death of Martyrs; more bitter after in the conflict of heretikes; now moſt bitter of all in the maners of domeſtikes. The Church can neither put them to flight, nor auoid them, ſo great is their force, ſo much are they multiplied aboue number. The wound of the Church is inward and incurable; and therefore in peace the bitterneſſe thereof is moſt bitter. But in what peace? It is both peace and no peace; peace from Pagans, and peace from heretikes, but not from children: The voice of her that lamenteth in theſe times, I haue nourced children and brought them vp, and they haue deſpiſed me: They haue deſpiſed and defiled me with their filthie life, with their diſhoneſt gaine and commerce, and laſtly with that buſineſſe that walketh in darkeneſſe. It remaineth, that now ſhould come forth that Dæmon of Mid-day for to ſeduce, if there be yet any reſidue in Chriſt, abiding yet in ſimplicitie: for he hath deuoured the flouds of the Wiſe, and the ſtreames of the mightie, hee truſteth that he can draw vp Iordan into his mouth, that is, the ſimple and humble which are in the Church.* There reſted but the name, and here it preſently followeth; *Ipſe enim eſt Antichriſtus, For this is very Antichriſt, who will vant himſelfe not only to be the day, but the mid-day; will exalt himſelfe againſt all that is called God, or that is worſhipped, whom the Lord Ieſus ſhall ſlay with the Spirit of his mouth, and ſhall deſtroy with the brightneſſe of his comming, as he that is the true and eternall mid-day, the Bridgroome and Aduocate of the Church.* For to whom may this laſt clauſe be referred, but to the Pope, diſtributer of all the dignities aboueſaid, head of all that D commerce, which he calleth the buſineſſe of darkeneſſe. In his 77 ſermon of the Paſtours of his time: *Whence thinkeſt thou abundeth vnto them that great abundance, glittering of apparell, &c. but from the goods of the Spouſe? Hence it is that ſhe is left poore and needy, and naked, with a face to be pitied, vnhandſome, vndreſſed, blood-les: For this, is not at this day to adorne the Spouſe but to deſpoile her, this is not to keepe her but to loſe her, not to defend but to abandon her, not to inſtitute but to proſtitute her; this is not to feed the flocke, but to kill and deuour it, &c. Wherefore let vs leaue theſe, which find not the Spouſe, but which ſell her, &c. All would be ſucceſſours, but few imitatours, &c. It ſufficeth not our watchmen that they keepe vs not, vnleſſe alſo they loſe vs.* Out of which we may thinke, what opinion he henceforth had of them. In his E ſixt ſermon vpon the 91 Pſalme, where he teſtifieth that he wrote thoſe ſermons after his other on the Canticles, that is, after the Schiſme was aboliſhed, what before hee there had ſpoken of Antichriſt, hee now here taketh vp againe almoſt in the ſame words: Then proceeding; *The offices themſelues* (ſaith he) *of Eccleſiaſticall dignitie, haue paſſed into filthie gaine and into the buſineſſe of darkneſſe, neither ſeeke they in theſe the ſaluation of ſoules, but the ſuperfluitie of riches. For this are they ſhorne; for this they frequent Churches, celebrate Maſſes, ſing Pſalmes, &c. They impudently ſtriue, in theſe dayes, for Biſhopricks, Archdeaconries, Abbotſhips, and other dignities, that they might waſt the reuenewes of Churches in ſuch vayne and ſu-*

Iob. 40. *2. Theſ. 2.* *In Cantic. ſerm. 77.* *Bernard. in Pſal. 91. Serm. 6. & 7.*

perfluous vses. It remayneth that the man of sinne be reuealed, the sonne of perdition, A the Damon not of the day onely, but of the mid-day, who not onely transformeth himselfe into an Angell of light, but exalteth himselfe aboue all that is called God; or that is worshiped &c. This shall be indeed an exceeding great assault; but from this also the truth shall deliuer the Church of the Elect, &c. Poore Bernard stayed for him at the doore,

Baronius anno 1130. art. 6. who had alreadie entred the house. And thus much be spoken to Baronius, who affirmeth that S. Bernard inueighed onely against schimaticall Popes. Writing to Pope Engenius, here vpon the yeare 1151, who had been his disciple, and had

Bernard. Epist. 137. not obeyed his admonitions, being entred into the Popedome: Who will let me see, before I die, the Church as in the dayes of old, when the Apostles did cast forth their nets, not to take siluer or gold, but to take soules? O how I desire to see thee inherit the voyce of him, whose seat thou hast obtayned! Thy money perish with thee. In his booke

Ad Eugen. de consideratione lib. 1. of consideration, what doth he omit for his amendment? Tell me, I pray thee (saith he) when art thou euer free? vbi tuus, where thine owne? Euerie where is tumult, euerie where the yoke of thy seruitude presseth thee: replie not vnto me in the Apostles voyce, who saith, When I was free from all, I made my selfe a seruant of all: That is verie far from thee. Was it in this seruitude that he serued men, in the getting of filthie gaine? Was it in this, that from all parts of the world did flock vnto him the ambitious, the couetous, such as exercise Simonie, sacrilegious persons, whoremongers and incestuous, and such other monsters of men, that by his Apostolicke authoritie, they might either obtaine or retaine Ecclesiasticall honours? This man then hath made thee a seruant, to whom Christ was C life and death, aduauntage, that he might win many vnto Christ, and not that he might encrease the gaines of his couetousnesse &c. And truely euerie day the noyse of Lawes are heard in thy Palace, but the Lawes of Iustinian, not of Christ &c. Thou Pastour then and Bishop of soules, with what mind dost thou suffer that to be euer silent before thee, and these to bable? I am deceiued if this peruersnesse moue not in thee some scruple. Then for

Lib. 2. to bring him backe to the auntient bounds, he saith: Thy high dignitie need not flatter thee, thy care is the greater. And if them we would thinke rightly of our selues, we shall iudge that a ministerie is imposed vpon vs, not a domination giuen. Thinke thy selfe as some one of the Prophets: Is not that enough for thee, yea too much, &c. If thou be wise, thou wilt be contented with the measure that God hath measured vnto thee: For D what is more, is from that wicked one. Learne by the example of the Prophet (to wit, Ieremie) to be in authoritie, not for to commaund, but to doe as the time requireth. Learne, that hast need of a weeding booke, not a Scepter, for to doe the worke of a Prophet, &c. It was sayd to the Apostles, thy predecessors, The harnest is great, but the labourers are few. Take to thee the paternall inheritance; for if thou be a sonne, thou art an heire: That thou maist proue thy selfe heire, watch on this care, and bee not idle, least it be sayd vnto thee, Why standest thou here all day idle? much lesse to bee found lose

1. Peter 5. 3. in delights, or wallowing in pompes. The will of the Testator, assigneth vnto thee none of these &c. Dost thou thinke, that he hath giuen thee domination? heare him: Not as though we were Lords, saith he, in clero, ouer Gods heritage, but as made ensamples to E the flocke? And thinke not that he saith it onely in humilitie, and not also it truth. It is the Lords voyce in the Gospell: The Kings of Nations rule and haue power of them &c. But it shall not be so among you. It is plaine that domination is forbidden the Apostles. If thou wilt haue both, thou shalt loose both: Otherwise thinke that thou art not excepted from the number of them of whom God thus complayneth: They haue raigned, but not by me: They haue beene Princes, but I knew them not. And this speech he extendeth verie long. How farre different from the Diuinitie of Hildebrand, who would vnite to his Mytre, the temporall Monarchie of all the world? For Appeales: How long

A long dost thou dissemble, or not perceiue the murmure of the whole earth? How long dost Lib. 3. thou slumber? How long doth thy consideration sleepe, as this great abuse and confusion of Appeales? How many haue we knowne to haue appealed, that by the helpe thereof they might be suffered to continue the greater wickednesse. Against all Lawe and right, against all custome and order they are made. There is no discretion had of place, of time, of the person, nor of the cause. And this matter he discourseth of at large, shewing the inconueniences thereof, and illustrateth it by many examples, which it sufficeth vs only here by the way to point at. There were Pastors afore thee, who gaue themselues wholly to the feeding of their sheepe &c. Their onely gaine, pompe and pleasure, to prepare and render them vp to God a perfect people. Where is now, I pray you, this custome? There is another, vnlike vnto it, come in place thereof; affections are much changed, and would to God it were not into worse: Tut tare, anxietie, consultation and pensiuenesse doe continue, but translated not changed. I heare you witnes, that you spare not your substance, no more than before: But the difference is in the diuerse imploying of it. Great abuse, few haue respect to the mouth of the Lawgiuer, but all to the hands: Yet not without cause, they doe all the businesse of the Pope. Can you shew me one of all that great Citie, that hath receiued thee for Pope without money, or without hope of hauing some for it. And here let the Reader see (that we be not tedious vnto him) the description he maketh there of the Romans and especially of the Clergie, in all kind of wicked nesse far worse than others. In the middest of all this, saith he, Thou Pastour marchest, all layed C with gold, compassed about with so much varietie. Thy sheepe, what desire they? Those pastures (if I durst so speake) rather of Diuels than of sheepe: Thinke you S. Peter did thus, or S. Paule played thus? Thou seest that all Ecclesiastical zeale is feruent for the keeping onely of dignitie: All is giuen to honour, little or nothing to sanctitie. If, the cause so requiring, you endeauor to beare your selfe a little more humble and sociable: Far be it (say they) it becommeth not, it fitteth not the time, it agreeth not with Maiestie, consider what person thou bearest. Of pleasing God, is the thing they last of all speake: with the losse of soules they trouble not themselues; vnlesse we call that salutaria, that is high, & that iust, that fauoureth of glorie &c. The feare of the Lord is counted simplicitie, that I say not, foolishnesse. What then wilt thou doe &c? I know where thou dwellest, vn- D beleeuers and subuerters are with thee, Wolues they are and not sheep: yet of such art thou Pastour. It is good to consider, how, if it be possible, thou mayest conuert them, least they subuert thee &c. Here, here I spare thee not, to the end that God may spare thee. Either denie thy selfe a Pastour to this people, or shew thy selfe one. Thou wilt not denie it, least thou shouldest denie thy selfe to be heire of him, whose seat thou holdest. It is that S. Peter, who was neuer knowne to haue gone adorned with precious stones, or with silkes, nor couered with gold, nor carried on a white horse, accompanied with souldiers, and a troupe of seruants making a noyse about him: Yet, without these things, he beleeued he might sufficiently fulfill that wholesome commission, If thou loue me, feed my sheepe. In these things, thou hast succeeded not Peter, but Constantine. Though thou go in purple, and gold, yet thou shouldest not neglect thy Pastorall worke or charge, thou shouldest not be ashamed of the Gospell. Howbeit, if willingly thou preach the Gospell, thou hast glorie among the Apostles. To preach the Gospell is to feed; doe thou the worke of an Euangelist, and thou fulfillest the worke of a Pastour. Tea, say you, thou warnest me to feed Dragons and Scorpions, not sheepe. Euen for that, I say, so much the rather vndertake it, but with the word, not with the sword. And hence he enlargeth himselfe, seriously to shew vnto him, of what weight and moment is the charge that hee pretendeth, how largely the same is extended, and that if he will well discharge his dutie, he hath a greater burthen vpon him than can euer be well borne. Therefore it bet-

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ter ſtood with wiſedome, that he ſhould renounce all other affaires, and namely A
ſecular, which haue their Iudges, the Princes and Magiſtrats of the earth, there being no need he ſhould thruſt his ſickle into other mens haruеſt. A leſſon truely far different from that of the Palatines (ſo call they them of the Court of Rome.) Seeing then neuertheleſſe *Eugenius*, ſticketh in the mud, being ſo mightily aduanced by *Bernard*, and leaueth the true inheritance of Saint *Peter* for that of *Conſtantine*, of feeding ſheep for to deuoure the world, what iudgement hereupon might Saint *Bernard* make, or what might he leaue for vs to make? but euen this, that this is the ſecond beaſt, that hath taken (as S. *Iohn* had prophecied) the place of the firſt, and vnder the name of the ſeat of S. *Peter*, hath inuaded the throne of *Conſtantine*, hath changed his ſheepe-hooke into his Scepter, vnder pretext of the Church of Chriſt, hath ſtollen into the temporal Monarchie, that kingdome which the Apoſtle had foretold ſhould periſh, before *the man of ſinne* were reuealed to build vp his ruines, and which now ſheweth it ſelfe reuiued and renewed. For in many of his Epiſtles he leaueth vnto vs traces, whereby it appeareth, that *Eugenius* was not bettered by his admonitions. Whence he oftentimes ſayd, *Ego liberaui animam meam, I haue deliuered my ſoule and diſcharged my conſcience &c.* But
Bernard. Epiſt. 125. in one Epiſtle he telleth vs, that *the Beaſt mentioned in the Reuelation, to whom is giuen a mouth ſpeaking blaſphemies, and to make war with the Saints, occupieth the Chaire of S. Peter, as a Lion prepared for the prey.* If they will needs haue it, that he ſpeaketh of an Anti-Pope; yet, doth it not remaine firme out of this verie place, that it is C
poſſible, that Antichriſt ſhould ſit at Rome, and hold the Chaire of S. *Peter*, and that S. *Bernard* hath ſo beleeued and thought? How far is this from the Doctors of theſe dayes, which ſuppoſe he is to be expected out of Babylon? Neither is it here to be omitted, that when by the diligence of good S. *Bernard*, our French Church had held a famous Councell at Poitiers, to reduce into a better life by authoritie thereof, one *Gilbert Porretan* Biſhop of that place, holding an ill opinion concerning the Trinitie, and there had conceiued in a certaine writing, what ought to be held and beleeued concerning that point, the conſiſtorie of Cardinals beeing greatly moued thereat, came thus to reproch the ſame to Pope *Eugenius: What hath thy Abbot done, and with him the French Church? with what*
Otho Friſingen. de geſtis Frederic. 2. lib. 1. c. 57. *impudencie haue they dared to erect their heads againſt the Primacie of the See of Rome? For it is this alone, that ſhutteth and no man openeth, openeth and no man ſhutteth: Shee alone can diſcuſſe of the Catholike faith, and in her abſence may ſuffer preiudice of none in this ſingular honour. Surely if the ſame had beene done in the Eaſt, as in Alexandria or Antioch before all the Patriarkes, yet were their authoritie of no force without ours, for to define any thing that might hold firme and ſtable &c.* At length *Eugenius* was brought by them to that paſſe, that he earneſtly reſolued without delay to puniſh ſo great a rebellion and noueltie. Inſomuch, that S. *Bernard* is conſtrayned to go to Rome, with great ſubmiſſion, to purge himſelfe: And the Symbole of the E
French Church, though it were good and approued of all good men, was accounted for none: So hard a matter it was at that time, to doe well and to pleaſe them both together. *Otho* of Friſinghe noteth, that S. *Bernard* diſputing with that *Gilbert*, had vttered ſome words that might diſpleaſe the Cardinalls, whereupon *Gilbert* had ſayd, *Et hoc ſcribatur, let this alſo bee written*, S. *Bernard* replied, *Yea, and with an yron file and nayle of Adamant*: And this perhaps did ſting them.

Petrus venerabilis Abbas Cluniacenſ. l. 6. Epiſt. 27. *Peter* Abbot of Clugni, who liued in theſe times, could neuer ſatisfie himſelfe with prayſing Pope *Eugenius*, eſpecially in his ſeuen and fortieth Epiſtle of the fixt

A fixt Booke of S. *Bernard*, in which neuertheleſſe hee ingeniouſly ſaith: *But ſome man may ſay, the Church hath no ſword, Chriſt hath taken it away, when he ſaid to Peter, Put vp thy ſword into the ſcaberd; whoſoeuer ſmiteth with the ſword ſhall periſh with the ſword.* Verum eſt, inquam, verum eſt, *It is true, I ſay it is true: The Church hath not the ſword of a King, but the rod of a Paſtor, of which the Apoſtle ſaith, What will yee, ſhall I come vnto you with the rod, or in the ſpirit of meekeneſſe? And what ſay I, ſhe hath a rod, yea, ſhe hath a ſword alſo, according to the ſame: Take vnto you the helmet of ſaluation, and the ſword of the ſpirit, which is the word of God, &c.* And yet by that which followeth it is apparent, that againſt ſome which had troubled him he would not haue refuſed the helpe of another ſword. I let paſſe the Satyres of *Bernard* a Monk
B of Clugni, vnder this *Peter* his venerable Abbot, wherein he wonderfully diſciphereth the Pope and the Court of Rome: not to wearie the Reader, I wil quote onely ſome few verſes to this purpoſe, although the reſt be of the ſame nature.

O mala ſecula, venditur inſula pontificalis,
Inſula venditur, haud reprehenditur emptio talis;
Venditur annulus: Hinc lucra Romulus auget & vrget.
Eſt modò mortua, Roma ſuperflua, quando reſurget?
Si tibi deſ ſua, non repleat tua guttura Cræſus
Marca vel aureus à modo non Deus eſt tibi Ieſus.

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O wicked times, wherein the Crowne and See is ſold,
And yet the merchandiſe thereof is vncontrold:
The Ring is alſo ſold: But *Romulus* doth gaine.
Superfluous Rome now dies, when ſhall it riſe againe?
Not *Cræſus* could ſuffice, if Rome ſhould giue he his,
Nor any gold, for now no God or Chriſt there is.

Alſo *Peter* Deacon, continuer of the Chronicle of Mont Caſſin, ſheweth, that *Chron. Caſſinenſ. Petri Diac. l. 4. c. 116. & 117.* when the Emperour of Greece had ſent his embaſſadours to *Lotharius*, when hee
D aſſiſted *Innocent* in the warre againſt the Monkes of Mont Caſsin, there was among others a Greeke Philoſopher, who diſputed againſt him (*Peter* Deacon) that Pope *Innocent* was excommunicated: his words are theſe, *In the Weſterne climat we ſee that propheſie fulfilled, As the people is ſo ſhall the Prieſt be: Whileſt Biſhops goe out to warre, as your Pope Innocent doth: He diſtributeth money, preſſeth ſouldiers for the warres, and is clothed in purple.* No doubt but hee alledged other reaſons which he telleth not.

But beſides them, that in the midſt of the Roman Church we haue heard thunder it out ſo lowd againſt Popes, and the Court of Rome, and their actions, there are found ſome in theſe times which openly fell away from it, aſſailing their do-
E ctrine it ſelfe; and in our France by their preaching drew many Prouinces from it, and from thence, as hereafter we ſhall ſee, ſpred themſelues into neighbour nations. Theſe were *Peter Bruis* in the yeare 1126, and after him his diſciple *Henrie* about the yeare 1147, the firſt being a Prieſt, and the other a Monke, who firſt in the Dioceſſes of Arles, of Ambrum, and of Gap, then after throughout all Auuergne, Languedoc, and Guienne, preached againſt Tranſubſtantiation, the ſacrifice of the Maſſe, Maſſes, Suffrages and Oblations for the dead, Purgatorie, worſhipping of Images, inuocation of Saints, ſingle life of Prieſts, Pilgrimages, ſuperfluous holydayes, conſecrations of water, oyle, Frankinſence, and other Romiſh

miſſi traſh: but eſpecially they inueyed againſt the pride and exceſſe of Popes, A
and of his Prelats, whom they called *Princes of Sodome*, and the Church of Rome
they tearmed *Babylon the mother of fornication and confuſion*. Which we learne from
Petrus Abbas Cluniacen. l. 1. Epiſt. 1. & 2. that venerable *Peter*, Abbot of Clugni, in ſome of his Epiſtles, where he taketh
vpon him to confute them. And it is great pitie that their bookes are with ſo great
diligence aboliſhed, that we are conſtrained to vſe the writings of our aduerſaries,
for to picke out their doctrine; whoſe teſtimonie, by reaſon of their hatred and
calumnie, may juſtly be ſuſpected. For it is imputed vnto them, That they beleeued onely the foure Euangeliſts, and reiected all the other bookes of the Bible.
And here *Peter* truely skirmiſheth with his owne ſhadow, ſeeing that they verily
affirme, following the auncient Fathers, That the rule of religion is to be ſought B
onely out of the Canonicall Scripture. And the Abbot himſelfe ſeemeth to haue
perceiued that he had done them iniurie, when he ſaith of theſe things and the
like: *But becauſe I am not yet fully aſſured that they thinke and preach ſo, I will deferre my anſwer vntill I haue vndoubted certaintie of that they ſay.* Alſo, *I ought not eaſily giue aſſent to that deceiuing monſter, rumour, or common report, &c. I will not blame you of things vncertaine.* So Saint *Bernard* more credulous than reaſon required,
reproueth them, That like the Maniches they condemned the vſe of matrimonie, and of fleſh, and denied alſo baptiſme to infants: But eſpecially againſt
Henrie he obiecteth, the keeping of a concubine, and playing at dice. In like manner we read in *Tertullian*, That monſtrous opinions and crimes were imputed to C
Bernard. in Cantic. ſerm. 66. the firſt Chriſtians. Yet *Bernard* in the meane time ſaith, *They are ſheepe in habit, Foxes in craft, Wolues in crueltie. Theſe are they that would ſeeme good, and yet are not, wicked, and yet would not ſeeme ſo.* It muſt needes be then, that their outward conuerſation was good. It is alſo confeſſed, that their diſciples went cheerefully to the
fire, and conſtantly ſuffered all extremities for the doctrine of their faith. Can that
agree with a diſſolute life & doctrine? And they were in the meane time follow-
Epiſt. 240. & 241. & in vita Bernard. l. 2. c. 5 ed with ſuch a multitude, *that the Temples*, ſaith *Bernard*, *remained without people, the people without Prieſts, Prieſts without their due reuerence, & Chriſtians without Chriſt, the Churches* (to wit, the Romiſh) *were reputed Sinagogues.* The argument brought
againſt them, was as in theſe dayes: *Haue our Fathers then ſo long a time erred? are ſo many men deceiued?* Yet were they defended by notable perſons, both of the D
Clergie and Laitie, and by ſome alſo of the Biſhops and nobles of the realme,
namely by *Hildefonſus* Earle of S. Giles, vnder whoſe protection they preached
in his countries: The people of Tholouſe alſo, where *Peter* preached the word of
God the ſpace of twentie yeares, with great commendation, and in the end was
burned. *Henrie* alſo his diſciple, ſome few yeares after, being betrayed to *Albericus* Cardinall of Oſtia, was carried bound to in chaines into Italie, and neuer afterward ſeene: notwithſtanding the perſecution was hot all that time againſt the
poore people, without any difference of age or ſex.

Now as we haue noted, that the corruption of doctrine euer accompanied the E
iniquitie of this Myſterie, there aroſe in this time *Peter Abayllard*, a man of moſt
ſubtile wit, who brought in againe the opinions of *Pelagius*, and others following,
who deſtroyed, as we haue elſewhere ſhewed, the free juſtification in the faith of
Chriſt Ieſus, that is to ſay, tooke the Chriſtian Church by the throat: againſt
whom Saint *Bernard* writeth diuers treatiſes, and maintaineth the auncient truth,
taught by S. *Auguſtine*, S. *Hierome*, *Proſper*, and *Fulgentius*, in the Church, ſweepeth away by the ſame meanes many filthie doctrines, which the Semi-Pelagians,
Fauſtus, *Caſſianus*, and others, had brought in, eaſily getting foundation of their
doctrines,

A doctrines, out of the naturall pride of men. But Saint *Bernard* being once dead,
the ſchole of *Abayllard* continued in the Schole-men, who haue ſo followed his
methode, that he by right may be acenowledged their father. It little wanted
then, but that the tares choked the good corne, when with them little or no
mention is made of juſtifying by faith, the fortreſſe of ſaluation is thenceforth
placed in dead workes; as if Chriſtian doctrine, that moſt profound ſecret, hidden
before all time, and reuealed in his time, were nothing but a certaine morall diſcipline. In the ſame time alſo *Gratian* compiled his Decrees, not more fortunatly
than *Iuſtinian* his Pandectes, out of the Canons and auncient Decrees, which hee
in many places applieth to the abuſes of the time, and eſpecially to the Roman
B ambition, although he leaue vs therein many good footſteps, by helpe of which
the diligent ſearchers may find out the ancient doctrine & practiſe of the Church.
Auentine, an Author moſt ſtudious of antiquitie, teacheth vs, that before *Gra-* *Auent. l. 6.*
tian the Canon law was farre otherwiſe; *For*, ſaith he, *as it is perfect and whole in our Libraries, it containeth two parts, the firſt the Acts of vniuerſall Councells, which are manifeſtly receiued; the other of the Conſtitutions, Epiſtles, and Reſcripts of Popes, as euerie thing was done, the cauſes, aſſiſtants, witneſſes, with the circumſtances of places and times.* Would to God he had not taken ſo much paines. And in the meane time
Pope *Eugenius* approueth it, and commaundeth it to be read in all Vniuerſities,
becauſe without doubt he reduced the whole Church vnder the Popes yoke, lit-
C tle remembring the good counſels that Saint *Bernard* gaue him in his bookes of
Conſiderations. The ſame methode hath *Peter Lumbard* (this *Gratians* brother) in
his foure bookes of Sentences, collected out of the places of auncient Fathers,
compiled into a certain order, which he oftentimes maketh to ſerue by changing,
leauing out, or adding ſome word to the corrupt diuinitie of his time: ſo that
from thenceforth onely *Gratian* is conſulted with, and onely *Lumbard* is read in
ſcholes. In theſe two conſiſts all Chriſtian law and diuinitie. No man hence careth
for ſeeking to the fountaine in the holie Scriptures of the old and new Teſtament,
in the monuments of the Fathers, or Acts of auncient Councels, to looke more
neerely into the matter, is counted hereſie. *Auentine* to this purpoſe ſaith: *I haue* *Auent. Annal. Baior. l. 6.*
D *learned, and heard of my Maſters Iacobus Faber, and Clitonous, more than a thouſand times, That this Lumbard had troubled the pure fountaine of Diuinitie with muddie queſtions, and whole riuers of opinions; which experience, if we be not blind, doth more than ynough teach vs.* Which notwithſtanding, as well as himſelfe, are moſt famous among them of the Church of Rome.

47. Progression.

Of the humilitie of the Emperour Frederick, and the pride and inſolencie of Pope Adrian the fourth. The Pope ſtirreth vp the ſubiects of William King of Sicilia to rebell againſt him.

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TO the Emperour *Conrade* ſucceeded in the yeare 1152 *Frederick* his nephew, *An.* 1152.
in the Empire of Germanie; a Prince, by the teſtimonie of all writers, qualified with many vertues: And in the yeare 1153 dieth *Eugenius*, whom *Anaſtaſius* *An.* 1153.
ſucceedeth, created (as aboueſaid) by the Cardinals alone; who continued but one
yeare neuertheleſſe, peaceable at Lateron, becauſe he let the Romans doe what
they liſted. Then behold *Adrian* the fourth, an Engliſh man borne, entreth into the Popedome, who could not be conſecrated at Lateran, vnleſſe firſt the peo-

ple

ple chaſed away *Arnold*, who (as we haue ſaid) preached at Rome againſt the ſuperfluous pompe of Popes; and withall would put downe the Senat which they had eſtabliſhed. Both which being refuſed him, he waxeth angrie, forſaketh the citie, and with his Court retireth to Orvietto. *Frederick* in the meane time ſetteth forward to be crowned in Italie, who in his way inueſted *Anſelme* of Hauelburge with the Biſhopricke of Rauenna, then vacant by the death of *Moſes*, being choſen by the voyce of the Clergie and of the people, and moreouer maketh him Exarch: whence he tooke the title of *Seruant of ſeruants, Archbiſhop and Exarch of Rauenna.* This ſet *Adrian* alreadie into an ague, who neuertheleſſe met him at Viterbe; where *Frederick* ſtepping to him, held his ſtirrop for him, to light from his horſe, and conducted him into his tent. There the Biſhop of Bamberge ſpeaking for the Emperour, declared vnto him with much reſpect, *That all the Church was come from the end of the world for to bring him this Prince, and that ſeeing proſtrat at his feet he had rendred him due honour, he beſought him to doe what lay in him to ſet the Imperiall Crowne vpon his head. Sigonius* ſaith here, that he paused a while, ſeeming as it were to conceale from vs the inſolencie of this Pope (which we read in *Helmold*, an Author not to be ſuſpected) becauſe he was rightly aſhamed of it. The anſwer then of *Adrian* was this; *Brother, theſe are but words that thou telleſt vs, thou ſayeſt thy Prince hath giuen due reuerence to Saint Peter, but Saint Peter hath rather been thereby diſhonored; Inſtead of holding our right ſtirrop he hath held the left. This being told againe by the Interpreter to the King, he humbly anſwereth, Tell him, that it was not want of deuotion, but of knowledge, for I haue not much learned to hold ſtirrops, and he is the firſt (to my knowledge) that euer I did that ſeruice vnto. The Pope replied, If he haue through ignorance neglected that which is moſt eaſie, how thinke yee that he will acquit himſelfe of that which is greater? Then the King ſomewhat moued, I would be better inſtructed*, ſaith he, *whence this cuſtome hath taken footing, from good will, or of duetie? if from good will, the Pope hath no cauſe to complaine, that I haue failed in a ſeruice which is but arbitrarie, and not of right: but if you ſay, that of duetie from the firſt inſtitution this reuerence is due to the Prince of Apoſtles, what importeth it betweene the right and left ſtirrop, ſo that humilitie be obſerued, and that the Prince proſtrat himſelfe at the Popes feet? Thus* (ſaith the Hiſtorie) *was this point long and eagerly diſputed, and in the end they departed each from other*, ſine oſculo pacis, *without the kiſſe of peace.*

Sigon. de regno Ital. l. 12.

Helmold. in Hiſtor. Sclauorum c. 81.

Helmold. l. 1. c. 73.

Let the Reader note here the charitie of this Biſhop, to reiect an Emperour onely for hauing held the left ſtirrop for the right, and an Emperour endued with ſuch vertues, as the Author faileth not to ſay, *That his wiſedome and courage was greater than of all the inhabitants of the earth.* And he addeth, *The principall Lords, which were as the pillars of the realme, were afraid to returne without doing ſomething, & won the Kings heart with many perſuaſions, to intreat the Pope to come againe into the campe; and comming againe he receiued him* integrato officio, *with intire duetie, that is, hee held his right ſtirrop. But whileſt they all reioyced at it, thinking all matters well, Adrian ſaith vnto them, There remaineth yet one thing for your Prince to doe, hee muſt conquer Apulia for Saint Peter, which William of Sicilia poſſeſſeth by force, and that done let him come to vs to be crowned.* And verie hardly obtained they of him, to deferre this conqueſt till after his coronation. The Acts of the Vatican produced by *Baronius*, doe onely ſay, That *Frederick* refuſed to hold the ſtirrop, & in the end was brought to doe it, *ſtregulam*, ſay they, *fortiter tenuit*, that otherwiſe *Adrian* would not receiue his kiſſe. Yet this is the *Adrian* that ſaid, *To couet the Popedome is not to ſucceed S. Peter in feeding the ſheepe, but Romulus in committing paricides, becauſe a man cannot attaine thereto without ſhedding the bloud of his brethren*; and now he is entred

Otho Friſing. de geſtis Friderici l. 1. c. 20.

Baron. an. 1155 art. 8. & ſequēt.

A entred is as hot in the buſineſſe as any of the reſt. Now *Frederick* at the laſt hauing recouered his good fauour, *Arnold* was apprehended in Tuſcan by the ſeruants of *Adrian*, and deliuered vnto him, and was condemned vnder pretence of hereſie, and burned aliue, and his aſhes caſt into the riuer Tiber. But when *Frederick* returned into Germanie, either becauſe of the hot ſeaſon of the Canicular dayes, which the Germans could not well endure, or for the cold ſatisfaction he had receiued from *Adrian*, or ſome other affaires calling him backe thither, *Adrian* in his abſence made ſo good vſe of his opportunitie, that *William* Duke of Calabria, and King of Sicilia, who had vndertaken the inueſtitures of Biſhops in his lands, by the rebellion that he ſtirred vp of the Lords his ſubiects againſt him, is conſtrai-

B ned to fall downe at his feet to obtaine pardon, and to acknowledge himſelfe his liege vaſſall. And ſo this ſucceſſe, beſides his naturall diſpoſition, raiſed vp his heat againſt *Frederick* vpon the firſt occaſion offered. A Biſhop of London then was taken by robbers in Germanie, and it ſeemed vnto *Adrian* that *Frederick* ſtirred not in it as he ought, who in the meane time was at Bezanſon in Bourgondie, whither he was come to marie *Beatrice* the Earls daughter. He ſendeth to him his Legats, the Cardinall *Rowland*, & *Bernard*, with his letters of complaint, or rather of reproach, for that he ill remembred, ſaith he, *Quanto ſtudio Imperialis Corone inſigne tibi contulerimus, With what affection we haue giuen him the Imperiall Crowne, & benefícia, and the good turnes, or rather benefits.* Thus ſaith mildly *Sigonius*. But *Radeuicus*,

Anton. ex Ioh. Sariſbur. & Halinando Part. 2. Tit. 17. c. 1. § 9.

Radeuicus canonic. Friſing. l. 1. c. 10.

Sigon. de regno Ital. l. 12.

C an Author of that time, Canon of Friſingen, produceth a copie of the letters in rougher tearmes, Remember thou *Quantam tibi dignitatis plenitudinem & honoris contulit mater tua Romana Eccleſia, What ample dignitie the Church of Rome hath beſtowed vpon thee, and that thou haſt receiued from her hand, maiora beneficia, the greateſt benefits that might be.* Clauſes which properly offended the Princes: as if the Pope ſhould haue ſaid, That the Emperour held the Empire by homage of him, and that the Empire were his fee. And ſo much the more, ſaith *Radeuicus, did they hold themſelues to the ſtrict interpretation of his words, becauſe they knew that the Romans raſhly affirmed, That the Empire of the citie, and the realme of Italie, had not beene poſſeſſed till then by our Kings, but of the donation of Popes. Which they were not content*

D *onely to ſay, but repreſented in writings and pictures, and ſo conueyed to poſteritie: Inſomuch*, ſaith he, *that there was written ouer a certaine picture of the Emperour Lotharius, which was ſet vp at the Palace of Lateran:*

Rex venit ante fores iurans prius vrbis honores,
Poſt homo fit Papæ, ſumit quo dante Coronam.

The King before his gates doth come, which ſweares firſt to the towne,
Whom both the Pope his ſeruant makes, and after, him doth crowne.

E *That after he had taken his oath he was made the Popes ſeruant, and receiued the Crowne in gift of him. When Frederick was told of this picture, being then about Rome, he complained thereof to Adrian, who promiſed him to cauſe both the writing and picture to bee taken away, leaſt ſo vaine a thing ſhould giue matter of ſtrife and diſcord betweene two the greateſt perſons in the world.* And indeed that ſuch was the meaning of *Adrian* appeareth by his owne letters to *Arnulph* Archbiſhop of Mence, *Frederike* of Cologne, and *Hillin* of Treuers, in theſe words: *The Roman Empire was tranſlated from the Greekes to the Germans, ſo as that their King was not called Emperour till after he was crowned by the Pope. Before the conſecration he is King, after he is Emperour.*

Auent. l. 6.

whence hath he then the Empire but from vs? From the election of his Princes he hath the name of King, from our conſecration the name of Emperour, of Auguſtus, and Ceſar. From vs then he hath the Empire. Call to mind antiquities, Zacharie aduanced Charls, and gaue him a great name, that he might be Emperor: to the end that frō thenceforth for euer the king of Germanie might be an Aduocat of the Apoſtolike See, & that Apulia by him reduced, might be ſubiect to the Biſhop of Rome, which is ours, with the citie of Rome, and not the Emperours: For Rome is our ſeat, the ſeat of the Emperour is Aix in Ardenna. All that the Emperor hath he holdeth of vs. As Zacharie tranſlated the Empire of the Greeks to the Germans, ſo may we from the Germans to the Greekes. Beholde it is in our power to giue it to whom we will, and for this are we eſtabliſhed of God ouer nations, and ouer kingdomes, for to deſtroy and plucke vp, to build and to plant, &c. Thus you ſee the enterpriſe of *Adrian*; it remaineth for vs to ſhew what *Frederick* doth thereupon, without forgetting by the way, that this is that *Adrian*, who writing to *Henrie* King of England, was not aſhamed to ſay, *That Ireland, and all iſlands on which Chriſt the Sunne of righteouſneſſe hath ſhone, by right appertaine to Saint Peter, and to the Church of Rome: Therefore that he ſhould honourably receiue him thither, without preiudice of the ſaid rights, and namely pay him a penie pention by the yeare for euerie houſhold.*

Adrian. Epiſt. ad Regem Anglie Henr. apud Matth. Weſtmonaſter.

OPPOSITION.

Krantz. l. 6. c. 35 *So ſoone as Frederick had ſeene that picture of Lotharius doing homage, hee ſuddenly turned away his ſight, and fretted at it without ſpeaking a word; for there was Innocent the ſecond ſitting in his Pontificall chaire, and Lotharius proſtrat at his knees receiuing the Imperiall Crowne: and when he was returned into Germanie, the Pope by two Cardinalls ſent him the Epiſtle aboue mentioned.* Therefore all the Princes of the Empire which aſſiſted him, were greatly offended hereat; and as ſome of them complained of ſo inſolent a Legation, one of the Popes Legats, *Quaſi gladium igni addens, as it were adding the ſword to fire*, replied, for to take away all ambiguitie, *Of whom then doth the Emperour hold the Empire, if not of my Lord the Pope?* At which words *Otho* Count Palatine ſet his hand to his ſword, and would haue ſlaine him, had not the Emperour withheld him, who alſo without any other anſwer ſent away the Legats in ſafetie to Rome, by the neereſt way, for feare leaſt they ſhould goe vp and downe ſuborning the people. In the meane time *Frederick* writeth to all the States of the Empire, complaining of this inſolencie; and ſent them a copie of the letters, obſeruing vnto them the clauſes aboueſaid, *Flowing*, ſaith he, *from the Mammon of Iniquitie, that puffeth him vp with a heape of pride, of hautineſſe, of arrogancie, and of execrable loftineſſe* (elatione) *of heart: notwithſtanding that he held the Empire by the election of the Princes, and from God alone: That the Apoſtle S. Peter himſelfe had inſtructed the world in theſe words, Feare God, honour the King: So that whoſoeuer ſhall ſay he holdeth the Imperiall Crowne by the benefit of the Pope, is contrarie to diuine inſtitution, to the doctrine of S. Peter, and conuicted of lying.* To this he added moreouer, That he was reſolute, as he had begun, to warrant *the libertie of the Churches from the hands of the Ægyptians*, to wit, from the Pope, as from a *Pharaoh*, exhorting them to lend him their helping hands. And it is not to be forgotten, that he found about the Legats *many blankes ſigned and ſealed, to be filled at their diſcretion, for to ſow their venime of iniquitie through the Churches of Germanie, to deſpoyle the Altars, carrie away the veſſels of the houſe of God*, cruces excoriare, *to flea or fleece the croſſes*, that is to ſay, to plucke off the gold and ſiluer that couered them; which was the cauſe that he made them take the neereſt way, that hee might cut off ſuch practiſes. The Legats being come to the Pope, who beſides was in contention

A tention with the Romans, reſolued vpon their anſwer to write to the Biſhops of Germanie, complaining that *Frederick* had miſconſtrued the good meaning of his letters, and namely theſe words, *Inſigne beneficium tibi contulimus, We haue giuen thee this notable benefit of the Crowne*: And much harder were the words in his letters. He requeſted them to pacifie his mind, and to induce him to make ſuch ſatisfaction of the ſpeeches to his Legats, as that all men might be edified thereby: So doing they ſhould doe a good ſeruice to Saint *Peter*. But the Biſhops and Prelats of Germanie being vpon this Legation aſſembled together, doe anſwer him, That all the Commonwealth of the Empire was moued at the clauſes contained in his letters: that the eares of the Emperour could not patiently heare them, nor of the

Radeuicus l. 1. c. 15, & 16.

B Princes endure them: that themſelues, for that ſiniſter ambiguitie, could not approue them, being vnuſuall, and neuer before heard of till then: That in conſequence of his letters they had admoniſhed the Emperour, *From whom, thankes be to God*, ſay they, *we haue receiued ſuch an anſwer as became a Catholike Prince.* Note here his words as followeth: *There are two things*, ſaith he, *whereby our Empire ought to be gouerned, the holie lawes of Emperours, and the good cuſtome of our Fathers and predeceſſors. Theſe bounds of the Church we neither will nor can tranſgreſſe, neither admit any thing that departeth from them. We willingly yeeld to the Pope his due reuerence, but we hold the free Crowne of our Empire onely from God and his diuine bountie. The firſt voyce of election we acknowledge is from the Archbiſhop of Mentz, and*

Radeuicus l. 1. c. 16.

C *then of other Princes euerie one in his order, the royall vnction from the Biſhop of Cologne, the laſt, which is the Imperiall vnction, from the Pope. Whatſoeuer is more than this*, ex abundanti eſt à malo, *is ſuperfluous, and from that wicked one, &c. Wee haue not, neither will we by Edict ſtop the entrance and paſſage of Italie from them that goe to Rome, be it for voyage, or other reaſonable cauſes, hauing the teſtimonie of their Biſhops and Prelats; but we haue an intention to remedie the abuſes wherewith all the Churches of our realme are grieued, and almoſt all cloiſter all diſciplines dead and buried. In time paſt God exalted the Church by the Empire, now the Church (not by God, as we beleeue) ruinateth the Empire. They began by a picture, from that they came to writing, and now writing endeuoureth to paſſe into authoritie: We will not endure it, we will not ſuffer it,*

D *we will rather for goe our Crowne than conſent, that by vs it ſhall fall into decay. Let them deface the pictures, let them withdraw theſe writings, that there remaine not an eternall memorie of enmitie betweene the Kingdome and the Prieſthood.* In theſe tearmes repreſented they to *Adrian* the reſolution of *Frederick*, concluding with a ſupplication, That he would mitigat the former writings by other more mild, for to appeaſe the magnanimitie of the Emperour. And in the mean time the Emperour ſent into Italie *Otho* of Witelsbach Palatine, and *Renold* Earle of Aſſell, his Chauncellor, great perſonages, for to keepe all men in obedience, and to receiue the oath of

Sigon. de regno Ital. l. 12.

E the Lords, Biſhops, and Comminalties; the forme whereof was this, *I promiſe that from henceforth I will be faithfull to Frederick the Emperour of the Romans, my Lord, againſt all men, &c. namely I will not take away from him his royalties of ſuch a Countie, or Biſhopricke, &c. I will execute all his commaundements that he ſhall commaund me by himſelfe, or by letter, or his embaſſadour, to doe iuſtice, &c.* So that *Adrian* ſeeing the commiſſion of theſe forerunners of the Emperour proſperouſly to goe forward, and perceiuing him about to paſſe into Italie with an armie, he ſent vnto him two Legats, *Henrie* and *Iacinth*, Cardinals, with letters; wherein he correcteth his plea: Which Legats (ſaith the Author) *reuerently with an humble countenance, and a modeſt voyce, began their Legation in theſe words*: Præſul Sanctę Romanæ Eccleſiæ, *the Biſhop of the holie Church of Rome, and moſt deuout Father of your Excellencie in Chriſt, ſaluteth*

Radeuicus l. 1. c. 18. 19.

Radeuicus de geſtis Frederic. l. 1. c. 11.

ſalutethyou, as his moſt deere and ſpeciall ſonne of Saint Peter: Our venerable brethren, your Clerkes, all the Cardinalls, doe alſo moſt humbly ſalute you, as Lord and Emperour, vrbis & orbis, *of the citie of Rome and of the world.* How different is this ſtile from that we read before in his letters to the Archbiſhops of Mentz, Cologne, & Treuers. Then they preſented their letters which *Frederick* gaue to *Otho* Biſhop of Friſingen to interpret, the tenor whereof we may read in *Radeuicus*, ful of ſubmiſſion, ſatisfaction, & reuerence. The particular clauſes are: *By occaſion of the word* Beneficium *thy heart (as I am informed) hath beene moued, which truely ought not to moue the heart of an inferiour, nor yet of ſo great a man: For although the word* Beneficium *be taken by ſome in another ſignification, yet it ſhould then haue beene taken as we meant it, and in the ſence it hath from his original; for it is compoſed of* bonum & factum, *and with vs we call* beneficium, non feudum, *not a fee, but* bonum factum, *a good action, in which ſence it is found in all the bodie of holie Scripture, where it is read, That we are gouerned and nouriſhed,* ex beneficio Dei, *by the benefits of God,* non tanquam ex feudo, *not as by a fee, but by his bleſſing. And ſo your magnificence knoweth, that wee haue ſo honourably ſet the ſigne of Imperiall dignitie on your head, that all men may iudge it to be,* vt bonum factum, *as a good deed, or a good action.* And thus corrected he not only his former letters, but alſo the inſcription of the picture of *Innocent* the ſecond, *Poſt homo fit Papæ, He was made the Popes vaſſall.* He proceedeth: *Some haue alſo turned theſe words to another ſence,* Contulimus tibi inſigne Imperialis Coronæ, *Wee haue giuen thee the ſigne of Imperiall dignitie* (he had ſaid more harſhly, *plenitudinem dignitatis, the fulneſſe of dignitie,* that is to ſay, the whole dignitie) *but without cauſe, and of ſet purpoſe, becauſe they loue not the peace of the Kingdom and of the Church; for by this word* contulimus, *we vnderſtand nothing but* impoſuimus, *wee haue ſet it upon thy head.* And thereby he renounced alſo the reſt of the verſe of *Innocent, Sumit quo dante Coronam, That the Emperour receiued the Crowne in gift from the Pope.* Radeuicus l.1. c.13.

And by this mild interpretation of Grammar *Frederick* was appeaſed, who moreouer declared vnto the Legats, and gaue them in writing certaine articles, in default of which a ſeed of diſcord would continue betwixt them; to which they promiſed the Pope ſhould ſatisfie, being in no manner willing to derogat from his royall dignitie. So for this time he yeelded them peace. And note here with what faithfulneſſe the ſame was done: *Adrian* (ſaith *Baronius*) *did it in wiſedome, for to giue place to wrath, interpreting alſo this word* beneficium *for to auoid diſcord,* and not in good earneſt; *for theſe things could not long ſubſiſt.* This was in the yere 1158. Baron. an. 1158. art. 6.

An. 1158.

And neuertheleſſe *Frederick* paſſed the Alpes for to appeaſe the rebellions of Lombardie, and to refreſh his armie, not long after he led it into the Popes lands, whereby ariſeth againe a new quarell. *It was an auncient cuſtome,* ſaith *Otho* Biſhop of Friſingen, *ſince the time that the Roman Empire was deriued to the Frenchmen, vntil this preſent, that ſoeuer as the Kings had a purpoſe to enter into Italie, they ſent ſome of their ſeruants afore, being men of vnderſtanding, who viſiting euerie citie and towne, demaunded thoſe things that belonged to the Kings reuenew, which the inhabitants call* Fodrum: *whence it came to paſſe, that at the Princes comming the cities, townes, and caſtles, which either altogether refuſed to pay the ſame, or did not wholly pay it, were oftentimes raſed euen with the ground, for an example to poſteritie. Another iuſtice alſo followeth from ancient cuſtome, that the Prince entring into Italie, all dignities & magiſtracies ceaſed, and all matters were ordered* ad ipſius nutum, *according to the lawes & iudgement of the Lawyers.* When *Frederick* therefore by his officers thought to vſe theſe rights, namely in *Fodro colligendo, Adrian* began, through the inſtigation of ſome, to bee grieuouſly offended, ſaying, *That he had receiued euill for good, and that the Emperour* Otho Friſingenſ. l.2.c.13. Radeuicus l.2. c.15.

A *rour was ingratefull for his benefits, eſpecially when hee heard that as well the Cities, and Lords, as the Biſhoppes and Abbots had acknowledged the Royalties of the Prince: And thereupon hee wrote Letters vnto him, in ſhew mild, but in deed beeing well conſidered, full of ſharpe reproofe, which hee preſented vnto him by a vild and baſe meſſenger, who before they were red, was ſuddenly vaniſhed.* At this, *Frederic* was againe greatly moued, and the rather, for that a little before, he had refuſed, at his requeſt, to confirme *Wydo* ſonne of the Earle of Blandrara, in the place of *Anſelme* Archbiſhop of Rauenna, being by the people and Clergie choſen therunto, vnder pretence that he was ſub-deacon of the Church of Rome, who could not be tranſlated, to any other Church without his com-

B maund; although *Adrian* in many other things, & of greater importance, diſpenſed withall as it pleaſed him: wherefore neuertheleſſe reſolued to trie him in this, yet once more, by ſending the Biſhop of Verde with verie honourable letters, is againe refuſed. He therefore then commaundeth his Secretarie, *That thenceforth in the Letters that hee wrot to the Pope,* Nomen ſuum præferrens Romani Epiſcopi ſubſecundet, *he ſhould ſet his name firſt and the Popes afterward, and ſhould ſpeake to him onely in the ſingular number. Adding that either the Pope ought to write vnto him after the cuſtome of his Predeceſſours, or elſe not thinke it ſtraunge, if he followed in his letters the auntient manner of Princes. Adrian* was not pleaſed at this, &

C therefore admoniſhed him, that this was not to giue due reuerence to S. *Peter,* redemaunding of him an accompt of his Royalties and other rights abouefayd. *Frederic* anſwered, that he had followed the auntient cuſtome, and agreeable to reaſon, that Biſhops ſhould render vnto *Cæſar* the things belonging vnto *Cæſar*: For his Cardinals, hee had ſhut the gates of Cities againſt them, becauſe they came, *non ad prædicandum, ſed ad prædandum, not to preach, but to make ſpoyle.* And to encreaſe this miſchiefe, in the meane time the Letters of *Adrian* are intercepted, written to them of Milan, and ſome other Cities, whereby hee ſtirred them vp to rebellion againſt *Frederic*: And thereupon alſo *Frederic* ſent his Embaſſadors to Rome to the Senat and people. Then *Adrian* growing verie impatient,

D ſent foure Cardinals to *Frederic* at Bononia, who *poſt leue principium, after a gentle beginning, propound vnto him theſe hard Articles; That hee ſhould (vnknowne to him) ſend no more meſſengers to Rome, ſeeing all the Magiſtrates there, were of S. Peter, with all the Royalties: That he ſhould not collect the* Fodrum *of the Demaines of the Church, except in the time when he commeth to receiue the Crowne: That the Biſhops of Italie ſhould giue him oath of fidelitie, but not of homage: That his Embaſſadors ſhould not be lodged in the Palaces of Biſhops: That he ſhould reſtore the poſſeſſions of the Church of Rome, and the tributes of Ferrara, of Maſſa, Figarvola, of all the Land of the Counteſſe Mathilda, and from Aquapendente to Rome, of the Duchie of Spoletum, and of the Iſlands of Sardinia and Corſica.* And when the Emperour conſtantly offered

E to *doe them iuſtice in theſe things, if they would doe him iuſtice in other matters; they would onely receiue iuſtice, and doe none, alledging that it was not in their power, to iudge the Pope: And on the contrarie the Emperor made his complaints againſt him, who had broken the concord he had promiſed him in word of truth: That he would not receiue the Grecians, Sicilians, and Romans but with common conſent: That he had ſent without the Emperours leaue, his Cardinals, who paſſed freely throughout his Realme, entred into the Royall Palaces of Biſhops, and vexed the Churches of God with vniuſt Appeales, and many other things*: which the Pope refuſing to ſatisfie, *Concordiæ verbum,* ſaith *Radeuicus, diu deſideratum, peccatis noſtris exigentibus, euacuatum eſt, The word of concord ſo long deſired, for our ſinnes was made voyd.* Notwithſtanding *Frederic* to omit Radeuicus l.2. cap.18. Sigon. de regno Ital. l.12. Radeuicus l.2. cap.18. Radeuicus l.2. cap.30.

no duetie of his ſide, anſwereth by letters the Articles of *Adrian* in theſe words: *I affect not the homage of the Biſhops of Italie, If they will hold none of our Royalties: But if they take pleaſure to heare the Pope ſay vnto them,* Quid tibi & Regi, *What haſt thou to doe with the King? Let him not thinke it ſtrange, if conſequently the Emperour ſay vnto them,* Quid tibi & poſſeſſioni, *What need haſt thou of the poſſeſſion? I am content, that my Embaſſadours be not receiued into the Palaces of Biſhops, prouided that the ſayd Palaces ſtand on their owne ground, and not on ours: Otherwiſe, if they ſtand on our ground, ſeeing euerie building* ſolo cedat *pertayneth to the ground whereon it ſtandeth, they be our Palaces. It is therfore an iniurie, to forbid our Embaſſadors from the Royall Palaces. Whereas he ſaith, the Emperour is not to ſend Embaſſadours to Rome, ſeeing all the Maieſtrates there, are of S. Peter, with all the Royalties: This thing I confeſſe is great and graue, and hath need of graue and mature counſell: For ſeeing I am called, and am by diuine ordinance Emperour of Rome, I haue but the ſhew of raigning, and beare but the vayne Title, and name thereof, without the thing, if the power ouer the Citie of Rome be plucked out of our hands.* At length it was propounded that ſixt Cardinals on the Popes ſide, and ſix Biſhops on the Emperors ſide ſhould be choſen arbitrators in the matter, to decide the ſame: But (ſaith he) *of the Romans part this Councell is ſayd to be voyd*, alledging that the Pope was not ſubiect to the iudgement of any. And when *Frederic*, vpon this refuſall was earneſt by his Embaſſadours, that he would referre himſelfe to the iudgement of a generall Councell, he anſwered, *I ought to call, not to be called; I am to iudge, not to be iudged*; an anſwer which was verie much deteſted of all the elder ſort, that he refuſed the iudgement of the Church: Now followeth out of *Nauclerus*, the recipocrall Epiſtles of *Adrian* and *Frederic*: That of *Adrian* began thus: *The Law of God, as it promiſeth long life to them that honour their Parents, ſo it pronounceth ſentence of death, againſt ſuch as curſe them. And the voyce of truth teacheth vs, that whoſoeuer exalteth himſelfe ſhall be humbled.* And thereupon he reproueth him, that he had ſet his name, firſt, *againſt the Loyaltie ſworne to S. Peter*; That he required homage of Biſhops, *who are Gods, and all ſonnes of the moſt high, and preſumed to put their ſacred hands, within his prophane hands*, imputing vnto him arrogancie and infidelitie. To this *Frederic* anſwered, vſing this ſalutation: *Adriano Eccleſiæ Catholicæ Pontifici, omnibus illis adhærere, quæ cœperit Ieſus facere & docere, To Pope Adrian greeting, and to cleaue and to ſticke vnto all things that Ieſus began to doe and teach.* And whereas *Adrian* had ſayd, *The diuine Law pronounceth ſentence of death &c. Frederic* likewiſe beginneth, *The Law of iuſtice rendreth vnto euerie man, that which belongeth vnto him &c.* Then he proceedeth, *I pray you, had Siluester in Conſtantines time any Royalties? But by the graunt of his pietie, libertie & peace is reſtored to the Church & whatſoeuer your Popedome hath of Royaltie, that is from the bountie of Princes &c. Turne ouer the Annales, and you ſhall find it to be ſo.* He reproued him of infidelitie, in that he had taken oath and receyued the homage of Biſhops, whom hee called Gods, *and ſonnes of the moſt high*: Whereunto *Frederic* anſwereth, *Why may we not exact homage and royal oaths, from them which of God by adoption hold our Royalties, ſeeing that he which is our Authour and your, receyuing nothing from any earthly King, but beſtowing all good things to all men, did yet pay tribute to Cæſar for himſelfe, and for Peter, giuing you example to doe the like, and he teacheth you ſo, ſaying, Learne of me, for I am meeke and humble of heart.* Laſtly, hauing repeated againe the foreſayd clauſes, he concludeth: *For we cannot anſwer reports, when we ſee the deteſtable beaſt of pride, crept to the ſeat of S. Peter.* And theſe two Epiſtles are written by *Nauclerus*, taken out of the Librarie of *Hirſauge*. And vpon this died *Adrian* at Anania, in September 1159: *William*

Radeuicus l. 2. cap. 31.

Nauclerus Gener. 30 vol. 2.

Sigon de regno Ital. l. 12.

A *William* of Tyre ſaith, he was taken with the Squinancie: But the Abot of Vrſperg ſaith, that hauing newly excommunicated the Emperour *Frederic*, he went walking to a fountaine, where taking ſome water, a flie got into his mouth and ſtrangled him, the Phiſitians being not able to helpe him. *Baronius* is herewith offended; yet is he the Authour he moſt vſeth againſt the Emperours, in fauor of the Popes.

Johannes Stella in Pontificib. Willibelm. Tyr. l. 18. cap. 26. Abbas Vrſperg. an. 1156.

Now to this is to be referred the conference of *John* of Sarisburie Biſhoppe of Chartres, with Pope *Adrian*, which he himſelfe hath left vs in writing: *I remember*, ſaith he, *I went into Apulia to viſit Pope Adrian the fourth, who admitted me into great familiaritie; & I remayned with him at Beneuent about three moneths. When therfore we conferred together often of many things, as the manner is betweene friends, hee*

B *diligently and familiarly inquired of me, what opinion men had of him, and of the Romain Church, I plainely layed open vnto him with libertie of ſpeech, the euill words I had heard in diuers Prouinces: For thus it is ſayd: The Church of Rome, which is mother of all Churches, behaueth herſelfe, towards others, not as a mother, but as a ſtepdame: The Scribes and Phariſes ſit in the ſame, lading mens ſhoulders with burthens, heauie to be borne, which they themſelues touch not with a finger: They haue dominion ouer the Clergie, and yet are not an example to the flocke, leading the right way to life: They heape vp pretious moueables, load their Tables with gold and ſiluer, beeing ſharing to themſelues through ouermuch couetouſneſſe: For the poore, they are neuer, or verie ſeldome receiued,*

C *and then not ſo much for the loue of Chriſt as for vayne glorie: By force of terrour they wreſt from the Churches, they ſtir vp contentions, incite the Clergie and people the one againſt the other, haue no compaſſion of the paynes & miſeries of the afflicted, they delight in the ſpoyles of Churches, and doe all account gayne for godlineſſe: They do iuſtice, not for the truths ſake, but for gaine: All things to day are done for money, but to morrow thou ſhalt obtayne nothing without reward: They often hurt, wherein they imitate Diuels, and they are thought then to doe good, when they ceaſe from hurting, ſome few excepted, who fulfill the name and office of Paſtour: Yea the Pope of Rome himſelfe is burthenous to all,*

D *and almoſt intollerable: Moreouer we ſee that although the Churches, which the deuotion of our Fathers haue builded, goe to ruine, and altars to be without ornament, yet in the meane time he buildeth for himſelfe Palaces, and goeth not onely in purple, but all couered ouer with gold: The Palaces of Churchmen glitter in beautie, but in their hands the Church of Chriſt is foule and without furniture: They take by violence the ſpoyles of Prouinces, as if they purpoſed to repaire the treaſuries of Cræſus: But the moſt high beholdeth them well, giuing them as a prey vnto others, and often vnto moſt vile perſons, and (as I thinke) whiles they wander out of the way, the ſcourge of God will not depart from them, for the mouth of the Lord hath ſpoken it, that with what iudgement they iudge they ſhall*

E *be iudged, and their owne meaſure ſhall be meaſured to them againe. This is it (ſay I) to Father which the people ſay, ſeeing you will haue me ſhew you their opinions.* And ſurely he ſufficiently alſo declared thereby his owne opinion, when he ſayd *as I thinke*: But *Adrian* putteth him vpon the racke: *And thou, ſaith he, what is thine opinion? I am in a ſtrait euerie way (ſayd I) for I feare I ſhall incurre the blame of lying and flatterie, if I alone doe contradict the people, and if otherwiſe I feare to be accuſed of high treaſon, and be thought to deſerue the gibbet, for opening my mouth againſt heauen: Yet ſeeing that Guido Clemens Prieſt, Cardinall of S. Potenciana, witneſſeth vnto the people, I preſume not in any ſort to contradict him; for he ſaith, that in the Church of Rome there is a certaine root* duplicitatis *of doubleneſſe*, which is contrarie to the *ſimplicitie of a Doue*, which is ſo much commended to Chriſtians: *A nourriſhing alſo of all couetouſneſſe, which is the head and root of all euils. And this he publiquely profeſſed, not*

Johannes Sariſburienſis in Policro. l. 6. c. 24.

not in a corner, but to the Cardinalls his brethren ſitting in Conſiſtorie, before Eugenius, when the Ferentines were hot againſt my innocencie. Yet, I boldly ſay, my conſcience bearing me witneſſe, that I haue now here ſeene more honeſt Clergie men than in the Church of Rome. And here he nameth vnto him *Bernard* of Redon, Cardinall Deacon, and the Biſhop of Preneſt; without doubt, that he might prepare a way to that which he had to ſay. *Becauſe therefore that you inſtantly vrge and commaund me, and that it is not lawfull to lye vnto the holie Ghoſt, I confeſſe what you command muſt be done, and yet all are not to imitate you in all workes; for he which diſſenteth from the true doctrine is either an heretike or a ſchiſmatike: but through Gods mercie there bee ſome which imitate not the workes of all of vs, &c. But I feare leaſt in continuing to enquire of me what you will, you heare of an imprudent friend that which you would not. What is this Father, that thou examineſt the life of others, and doeſt in no wiſe ſearch into thy ſelfe? All men applaud thee, all men call thee Lord and Father, and the whole oyle of a ſinner is poured on thy head. If then thou art a Father, why doeſt thou expect gifts and retributions from thy children? If a Lord, why ſtrikeſt thou not a feare in thy Romans? and repreſſing their temeritie, why doeſt thou not call them backe to the faith?* For he had ſaid a little before, That God tooke away godlie men from Rome, *becauſe being corrupt, it was found with God vnworthie of ſuch men. But thou wilt preſerue the Citie to the Church by thy gifts; did Silueſter obtaine it by gifts?* In inuio Pater es, non in via, *Father thou art out of the way, and not in the way: It is to be preſerued by the ſame gifts whereby it was gotten. That which you haue receiued freely giue freely: Iuſtice is the Queene of all vertues, and bluſheth to be changed for any price whatſoeuer: for to be gracious it muſt be freely beſtowed. Let not her by any meanes be proſtituted to price of money, which cannot be corrupted. Iuſtice is entire, and euer vncorrupt. In oppreſſing others thou ſhalt be more grieuouſly oppreſſed. The Pope,* ſaith he, *laugheth at it, and congratulateth my libertie.* But what ſaith the Pope to this? ſurely he telleth him that fable of *Æſop*, of the members of one that ſometime mutined againſt the ſtomacke, for it receiued all and did nothing; and when they had determined to ſend no more any thing into it, after ſome few dayes the whole bodie pined away: thereupon concluding, that euen ſo would it be with all Chriſtendome, if from all parts they ſent not riches to Rome. But whence would he haue proued vnto him, that Rome, as the ſtomacke, holdeth little or nothing to it ſelfe, but digeſteth and diſtributeth whatſoeuer is put into it, for the good of the whole bodie, & of euerie part thereof? Thus ſpake this good Biſhop to the Pope, hauing doubtleſſe more in his mind than hee durſt expreſſe: for he purpoſely ſet forth a treatiſe, the title whereof was *Obiurgatorium Cleri*, wherein he grieuouſly reprehended the whole Clergie; and likewiſe in many places of his Polycraticon more ſtoutly: and in another place ſaith, *One hoping in the multitude of his riches* (entreth into the Church) *Simon leading him by the hand* (that is to ſay *Magus*) *and findeth not there any to ſay vnto him, Thy money periſh with thee. Another feareth to come neere S. Peter with gifts, and neuer theleſſe priuily, as ſometime Iupiter did into the lap of Danae, ſo this inceſtuous ſuitor by a golden ſhowre ſlideth himſelfe into the lap of the Church, &c. Alreadie all things are openly bought, vnleſſe the modeſtie of the ſeller hinder it. A prophane heat of couetouſneſſe doth ſo houer ouer the ſacred Altars, that theſe things are bought aforehand, &c. As for manners, they are the laſt they make mention of, and the Canon lawes were in no ſort made for theſe men*; alluding to the words of the Apoſtle, *Lex non poſita eſt iuſto, They are free from iuſtice, and are led with that ſpirit, that they haue no need to be vnder the law, &c.* Openly mocking them, *You would wonder that Simon were come againe to deceiue the credulous and ſimple.* In another place, *Who would beleeue that the Fathers of the Church, the Iudges*

Idem l.7.c.17. 18.19.

Idem l.8.c.17.

Iudges of the world, and that I may ſo ſay, the moſt cleere lights of the world, loue gifts, follow rewards, Prouincias concutiant vt excutiant, *By their concuſſions ruinat Prouinces, emptie other mens purſes to fill their owne, preach pouertie in words, and by crimes hunt after riches; condemne the trafficke of ſpirituall goods, but to the end men may contract with none but with them, hauing no other end, but to be feared of all, and lôued of none: preaching peace, that they may raiſe contentions, ſeeming humble to diſſemble their owne pride, beating downe other mens couetouſneſſe to feed their owne auarice, inioyning liberalitie, and perſiſt themſelues in niggardneſſe: and to knit vp all in a word, putting their portion with all ſorts of wicked people, and applying themſelues to wickedneſſe,* in ſolidum, *wholly, that they may ſeeme a Councell of vanitie, the wicked Synagogue of the Gentiles,* Eccleſia malignantium, *the Church of the enuious and euill doers, in whoſe hands are iniquities, and their right hand filled with gifts.* Of the head of this Synagogue what may then be thought? Wee muſt not here forget the matters of the Eaſt, that Pope *Adrian* for to oblige vnto him the Templers, hauing exempted them from the iuriſdiction of the Patriarch, which the Author calleth *Pernitioſam libertatem, a pernicious libertie*, the Patriarch, with his principall Biſhops, being neere an hundred yeares old, is conſtrained to come to Rome to make his complaints vnto him; whom the Pope deluded long with many fained delayes, till at length conſumed with griefe and great charges he is forced to giue ouer his cauſe. *William* the Archbiſhop of Tyre ſaith plainely, *The Templers had corrupted the Pope with gifts, and therefore hee held them for his lawfull children, and the Patriarch with all his for baſtards, and as vnworthie put them away from him.* Moreouer, *Of ſo great a troupe of Cardinals there were ſcarcely found two or three, who following Chriſt would fauour his miniſter the Patriarch in his cauſe, all the other hunting after rewards, haue followed the wayes of Balaam, as ſonnes of Boſor.* Soone after died the poore Patriarch, to whom ſucceeded *Almaricus*, who receiued the Pall from Rome, *but by meanes of great bountie and liberalitie.* Thus ſpake they of the corruption of Rome.

Guiliel. Tyrius l.18.c.6.7 8.

48. Progression.

Of the factions in the Popedome, and the diuers moleſtations procured by Rowland, called afterward Alexander the third. Of the ſtrange pride and inſolencie of the ſaid Alexander, and how he inſulted ouer the Emperour Frederick doing him all the honour he could. How this Alexander was the firſt Pope that tooke vpon him the canonizing of Saints.

Adrian was no ſooner dead but this fire began to kindle more and more. The Cardinals being diuided fell to ſedition, and the one part of them choſe *Octauian* Cardinall of S. Cæcill, whom they called *Victor* the fourth, the other *Rowland* Cardinall of S. Marke, whom they named *Alexander* the third. This *Rowland* was one of the two Legats whom *Adrian* had ſent to *Frederick* into Germanie with his ſharpe and thundering letters, which cauſed their welcome to be the worſe, and thereby nouriſhed, as it ſeemed, ſome inward hatred in him toward *Frederick*. Theſe two therefore vſed their beſt indeuours to iuſtifie and fortifie their owne cauſes, from whence aroſe thoſe two famous factions in Italie, of the Guelfes and Gibellines. *Rowland* alledged for himſelfe, That he was choſen by the voices of twentythree Cardinals: *Octauian* albeit had he but fiue, was the firſt that wore

wore the ſcarlet Robe, and ſat in S. *Peters* chaire, with the conſent and approbation both of the people and Clergie. But *Rowland* not daring to contend with *Octauian*, in the Citie, beeing a Citizen of Rome, retired himſelfe to Tarracina, and there was the firſt that was conſecrated, and then condemned all thoſe to the pit of hell that ſhould conſecrat *Octauian*: Neuertheleſſe he within few dayes following was conſecrated by his owne companie, and requited him with the like execrations; But with the helpe of *Otho* Countie Palatine he inuaded Campania, and the Patrimonie of S. *Peter*: Both in the meane time abiding without Rome, becauſe the Senat of Rome held authoritie in the Citie, a thing not compatible with the Papacie. So *Alexander* the third held his reſidence at Anaigne, *Victor* the fourth at Sienna; both the one and the other had need of the Emperours fauour, who then lodged at Creme in Lombardie; but *Alexander* who had offended him, had the leſſe hope to be ſupported by him: This is that which we haue vnderſtood by their Letters, related by *Radeuicus* to the Patriarches, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops &c. of which Letters thoſe of *Alexander* are more ſharpe, wherein ſpeaking of *Victor*, theſe words are to be noted: *He prefiguring the time of Antichriſt, is exalted ſo high aboue himſelfe, that he ſits in the Temple of God, as if he were God, and many haue beheld with their owne eyes the abomination of deſolation in the holie place, not without great effuſion of teares.* And it is not to be doubted but that *Victor* ſaith the like of *Alexander*, ſo that the aduerſe part of either, iudgeth the other Antichriſt, by which name they excommunicat one another with *burning lights*, and condemne the contrarie part of each other to the pit of hell, *with the Diuell their Authour.* Theſe are their verie words. *Frederic* gaue them to vnderſtand that he would not meddle in this controuerſie, either with the one or with the other, thinking it fitter to be referred to the iudgement and cenſure of the Church. Therefore according *to the example of the auntient Emperors* he aſſembled a Councell at Pauia by his authoritie in the yeare 1160. And to ſummon them both he ſent two reuerent and prudent men *Daniel* Biſhop of Prague, and *Herman* Biſhop of Verde: whereby it ſhould appeare, he would not doe any prejudice either to the one, or to the other; and thither alſo inuiteth the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Prieſts, not onely of the Empire, but of Fraunce, England, Spaine, Hungarie, Denmarke, with proteſtation of all *ſecuritie and ſafe conduct* for their perſons, and ſinceere juſtice in the conduct of theſe affaires; *Hauing truely vnderſtood* (ſaith he) *of the Decrees of the Popes, and Statutes of the Church, That a Schiſme ariſing in the Church of Rome through the diſſention of two Popes, it is our duetie to call both parties, and according to equitie and iuſtice to decide the controuerſie.* The day therefore being come, he ordayned faſting and publike prayers, for the good ſucceſſe of this Councel: then declared he firſt vnto them, That albeit the conuocation of Councels rightly appertayned vnto him, *For ſo* (ſaith he) *haue Conſtantine, and Theodoſius, and alſo Iuſtinian, beſides thoſe of later time, Charles the great and Otho Emperours done; Neuertheleſſe the authoritie of defining and deciding this great and important buſineſſe he thought fit to commit to their wiſedome and iudgement.* For ſince it pleaſed God to ordaine them Prieſts, in thoſe things that belonged vnto God, It is not (ſaith he) *our parts to iudge of you, to whom God hath giuen power to iudge of vs*, Onely *we exhort you* (ſaith he) *that you ſo carrie your ſelues in this buſineſſe, as you will anſwer the matter at the iudgement ſeat of God.* This done he retired himſelfe from the Councell leauing the examination thereof to the Church and Eccleſiaſticall perſons, that is to ſay, to fiftie Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and Abbots without number, beſides Embaſſadours from diuers Prouinces, *who promiſed they*

Radeuicus l.2. ca.43. & ſeq.

Radeuicus l.2. cap.52.53. 54.55.

An.1160.

Radeuicus l.2. cap.55.56.

Radeuicus l.2. cap.64.65.

A *they would ſtand to whatſoeuer ſhould be decreed in this Synode.* So the Biſhops and all the Clergie continued in the canuaſing of this cauſe the ſpace of ſeuen daies: at length the lot fell to *Octauian* called *Victor* the fourth; the Councell or rather the Court giuing their ſentence for him, and condemned *Rowland*, called *Alexander* the third, who being lawfully ſummoned, proudly refuſed to appeare. *Blondus* and *Sigonius* ſay, his reaſon was, *That he that ought to iudge all men, ought not to be iudged of any man.* But *Radeuicus* in his narration ſeriouſly admoniſheth the Reader, *that in the inquiſition of the veritie of this act, a man reſpect not his words, but the writings that came to his owne hands, which are inſerted into this worke*, and will not ſeeme tedious to the Reader.

B But firſt he produced an Epiſtle of the Chanons of S. *Peter* of Rome to *Frederick*, wherein after they had bewailed the corruption of Rome as the Prophets before deplored the ſtate of Ieruſalem, in theſe words; *For the ſinnes of the Prophets, and the iniquitie of the Prieſts, they haue wandered like blind men in the ſtreets, for the face of the Lord was turned from them*; They declare that in the time of *Adrian* one *Boſon*, whom they call the firſt borne of Satan, poſſeſt the ſorts and holds of S. *Peter*, by corrupting the gard, who were inſorſt by oth to giue their faith vnto him: But *Rowland* ſeeing the lawfull election to fall vpon *Octauian*, without any contradiction aſcended the ſame fort, and there lurked with his aſſociats in a hollow vault of *Neroes*, I ſay the ſame vault whereinto the Romane *Nero* fled C through feare of the Romans, yet could he neuer afterward attaine the pontificall Mantle for all the care and diligence of his followers. And heere let the Reader note a peece of ſtrange diuinitie, that from a mantle caſt vpon the ſhoulders of a man, whether by right or by wrong, by freewill or by force, an argument ſhould be drawne of a lawfull or vnlawfull election, eſpecially his that is accounted the chiefe Biſhop of the Chriſtian Church. They come afterward to the act of the Councell, which being plainely and ſimply propounded by the Author, by all circumſtances iuſtifieth the election of *Victor*, and weakeneth and diſableth that of *Alexander*; But yet it is continually a queſtion, *An immunis atus Rolandus nec ne?* which is perpetually denied by all. Then was made a catalogue of all thoſe D that had giuen their conſent with *Victor*, and *Rowland* himſelf ſaid to his partakers, *De me non facietis ridiculum, ibi eſt Papa, ite ad eum & obedite, Make not me your laughing-ſtocke, the Pope is there, goe to him, and obey him.* The Councell therefore being led by theſe and the like proofes pronounced ſentence, which was likewiſe ratified by the Emperour being preſented vnto him. The Preſidents of the Councell writ into diuers parts of the world, that for theſe cauſes aforeſaid *they had excommunicated Victor and abandoned Rowland, whom they had ouerſwith bookes and candle to the Deuill himſelfe*, becauſe in the life of *Adrian* he would haue made a confederacie, that none but of the number of the confederats ſhould be choſen Pope: and theſe Synodall letters were ſigned by *Peregrinus Patriarch* of Aquileia, with his ſuffragans, *Arnaldus* of Mentze, *Artemicus* of Bremo, *Hellinus* of Treuers, *Renaldus* of Colleu, *Wickman* of Magdeburge for Germanie, with their followers; For France the Archbiſhops of Bizanſon, Arles, Lion, Vienna, with their ſuffragans; The Embaſſadors of the Kings of England, Hungarie, Denmarke, grounding themſelues vpon the commaunds and letters of their Lords, and an infinite number of Biſhops, Abbots, and Prelates of Italy and Lords of the Empire, as well within as without Italy, did likewiſe ſubſcribe thereunto: And the Embaſſadours that were ſent from the Councell to worke a quiet approbation of what was done in that Councell, was the Biſhop of Collen into France, of Verdune into Spaine, of Prague into Hungarie;

Idem l.2. c.66.

Radeuic. l.2 c. 66.67.68.69. 70.71.72.73. 74.75.76.

Hungarie. Which to this end be it ſpoken, that it might plainely appeare how iuſtly and vprightly *Frederick* carried himſelfe in that Councell, againſt the practiſes that were afterward made in diuers parts by *Alexander*. The Abbot of Vrſperge made a ſhort abridgement of all this buſineſſe: *There is law ynough*, ſaith he, *that the election of Rowland being diſproued, Octauian ſhould be iudged the right and lawfull Biſhop of Rome, &c. And Rome continued in confuſion through conſpiracies, that that might be fulfilled which was ſpoken by the Prophet, They that riſe vp againſt me ſhall be confounded*; and againe, *My ſeruant ſhall be repleniſhed with ioy, &c.* *Alexander* had no ſooner vnderſtood theſe things, but he was the more eagre and forward to excommunicat *Victor* and *Frederick*; but firſt he ſent to Milan the Cardinall of Anaigne, who excommunicated all thoſe cities that fauoured *Frederick*, and joyned in a firme league with his enemies. But doubting it would not fall out well for his aduantage to hold a Councell in Italie, reſolued with himſelfe at the Spring of the

An. 1162. yeare 1162 to paſſe into France, being the bolder becauſe *Lewis* the younger, and *Henrie* the ſecond, King of England, were yet wauering, and doubtfully affected the one towards the other, and that thoſe of the Order of the Ciſtertienſes, who then bare great ſway in France, would be readie to take his part: He arriued at Montpellier about Eaſter, where he was receiued in the Kings name by *Theobald* Abbot of S. Germaine, neere Paris; from whence departing within ſome few dayes, he held a Councell at Claramont in Auergne, where he curſed and excommunicated *Victor* & *Frederick*, and all that tooke their part. *Frederick* in the meane time drew to Bezanſon, and inuiteth king *Lewis* to meet him neere Ararim, to conferre touching the peace of the Church: But the miſchiefe was, that *Frederick* arriuing about the euening at the day appointed, *Lewis* was alreadie departed:

Helmold. Hiſtor. Sclauorum l. 1. c. 91. whereupon theſe Princes grew afterwards ſo jealous and ſuſpicious of each other, as they neuer afterward agreed vpon any point. Whereby it came to paſſe, that *Frederick* hauing in vaine attempted to renew this parley betweene them, few daies following *Alexander* the third was entertained at Toſſack vpon Loyre by the

An. 1163. Kings of France and England: from whence he went to Tours in the yeare 1163, and there celebrated a Synod to the ſame end; the reſt was onely to make a ſhew of things, ſaue onely an Act againſt the Waldenſes, whereof wee ſhall ſpeake in

An. 1164. his due place. And at the end of the yeare 1164 *Victor* happening to dye, the Cardinals preſently created in his place *Guido* of Cremona, Cardinall of S. Caliſte,

An. 1165. who was called *Paſchal* the third, approued afterward in the yeare 1165 by a Councell held at Wiertsborge. *Auentinus* noteth a memorable Decre which was then

Auent. l. 6. made, *That from thenceforth not any Pope ſhould be created but after the auncient manner, with the conſent of the Emperour, nor ſhould be otherwiſe ſtiled but* Nuntius duntaxat Chriſti, *The meſſenger onely of Chriſt, and the ſucceſſor of S. Peter, and to be no more a riuall of the Imperiall power*: In obſeruation whereof all tooke their oathes not otherwiſe euer to admit of any, though the Emperour ſhould dye: and whoſoeuer ſhould refuſe to doe it, to be depriued of their offices. *Alexander* making benefit partly by this change, and partly by the abſence of *Frederick* being gone into Germanie, was reſolued to paſſe into Italie, and ſo much the rather, becauſe he vnderſtood the cities began to be wearie of the gouernement of the Germans, eſpecially the Romans being bewitched by the perſuaſions of the Cardinal *John* his Legat, deſired his returne. Whereupon his affaires began to ſtrengthen, albeit *Frederick* to intercept his proceedings, ſent *Renaldus* Archbiſhop of Collen, and *Chriſtianus* of Mence, into Italie, whileſt he prepared an armie to come himſelfe in perſon.

Frede-

Frederick arriuing in Lombardie, all the cities thereof mutually condeſcended to complaine of the iniuries offered vnto them by the Almane Gouernours, and made humble petition to be releaſed from their ſeruitude and oppreſſion. But he eaſily ſmelling the ſubtiltie of *Alexander*, reſolued to march with his armie directly vnto him, and in the meane time deferred his anſwer. Theſe on the other ſide, who gained nothing by attending the euent, concluded a league for the common libertie, in ſuch ſort that few cities there were that remained vnder his obedience. *Frederick* in the meane time haſted with his armie towards Rome, to eſtabliſh *Paſchal* in the throne; ſo that *Alexander* through the helpe and aid of the King of Sicilies gallies was conſtrained for his ſafetie to flie to Gaieta. But the heat of the Summer drawing on, and the plague growing verie hot in his armie, *Frederick* was conſtrained to leaue *Paſchal* with a ſtrong garriſon in Rome, and retired himſelfe into Lombardie; where he vnderſtood at his returne, that the league of the cities were increaſed both in number, and ſtrengthened with new oathes, yet adding this clauſe for faſhion ſake, *With exception of his ſeruice*: in ſo much that the Venetians themſelues, flouriſhing in Italie both in reputation and wealth, were willing to joyne with them, and all at once gaue courage to the Milanois to reuolt. All this happened through that tickling deſire of libertie, which the cities had taſted, by the abſence or farre diſtance of the Emperour, being all reduced into the forme of Commonwealthes. *Frederick* therefore ſeeing his armie greatly

An. 1168. weakened, in the yeare 1168 repaſſed the Alpes, and thereby gaue by his abſence a fit occaſion to *Alexander* for his aduantage, to whom in the meane time *Emanuel* Emperour of Greece offered to vnite the Greeke Church to the Latine, if hee would yeeld into his hands the Empire of the Weſt; but it was farre from his meaning to eſtabliſh the one or the other, but rather to deſtroy them both. In the meane time died *Paſchal*, to whom ſucceeded *Iohn* a Hungarian, called *Calixtus* the third, whom the Romans both choſe, and vndertooke the protection of him againſt *Alexander*. Now whileſt theſe things thus happened, and *Frederick* being returned about his affaires into Germanie, *Alexander* vpon this change propounded to the Romans, That if he might be receiued into the citie, he would be contented onely with the Eccleſiaſticall adminiſtration, & would neuer meddle with

An. 1175. any ciuile gouernement: which neuertheleſſe he could not yet obtaine for the contradiction of *Fredericks* fauourers. But in the yeare 1175 *Frederick* being returned into Lombardie, at his firſt arriuall ſet vpon *Alexander*, where in the heat of the ſiege, *Henrie* Duke of Saxonie faining himſelfe to be touched with ſcruple of conſcience, for the Popes Excommunications, departed ſhamefully from him, and carried away with him the greateſt part of the Germans, for which crime he was afterward accuſed in Germanie. The confederats by this diminution of their power gathered courage, and gaue him battell at Lignane, where after long and doubtfull fight they got the victorie: and of this vnhappie chance enſued other troubles and moleſtations in Germanie, and then his counſellors tooke occaſion to perſuade him to peace.

Then *Frederick* ſent an embaſſage to *Alexander* being at Anaigne, the chiefe whereof was *Chriſtianus* Archbiſhop of Mence, by whom a perpetuall peace was concluded betweene them, and with *William* king of Sicilia for the ſpace of fifteen yeares, and with the cities of Lombardie for ſix yeares, vpon condition that hee ſhould acknowledge *Alexander* the Catholike Pope, and *Calixtus* the third to liue a contented life in an Abbie, and the Cardinals created by him to returne to their priſtinat ſtate: The Acts of whoſe agreement and treatie, are extant in the wri-

*An.*1177. ters of theſe times. But becauſe this peace would not ſeeme firme ynough, vnleſſe A
Naucler.2.vol. Generat.40. Iacob.Bergom. in ſupplem. Chronic.ad ann. 1162. Petrus Iuſtinian.l.2.rerum Venetarum Patrirus Maſſo l.5.de Epiſcopis vrbis. Aſorius Ieſuita in Inſtitut.moral.parte 2.l.5. c.43. Hieronim.Bardus in victoria nauali. Sabel.l.7.Decad 1 de rebus venetis. Chronic. Codex Cardinal. Beſſarionis. Aſſertionis in Bibliotheca Veneta Pluteo 17. citatus ab Hieron.Bard.in Victoria nauali p.140.& 141. apud Baron.an. 1176.art.2. & 5. Baron.an.1177 art.85.

the parties came to entcruiew; in the yeare 1177, after certaine delayes on both ſides, in the end Venice was appointed the place of their parley, and the performance of their othes to each other: and there, ſaith *Sigonius*, *they drawing neere to the Palace of S. Marke, Frederick came to meet Alexander, and taking him vpon the right hand, leadeth him in, and after diuine ſeruice followed him out, where Alexander mounting his palfrey, the Emperour holding his ſtirrop, did him all the honour and reuerence he could*: But for ſhame he durſt not tell the reſt; *For the Emperour being proſtrat before him, Alexander putting his foot vpon his necke, ſaid, It is written, Thou ſhalt walke vpon the Aſpe, and the Baſilick, and ſhalt tread vpon the Lion and the Dragon. Frederic anſwered, Not to thee, but to Peter, whoſe ſucceſſors Iobey. The Pope replied, preſſing his foot the harder,* Et mihi & Petro, *Both to me and Peter.* This pride, being in B
the ſight of all the people, neuertheleſſe was patiently endured by *Frederick*, partly fearing worſer things, through the great priuiledges that *Alexander* had beſtowed vpon this Commonwealth, namely, *The marying of the Sea euerie yeare with a ring, &c.* and partly at the inſtance of his ſonne *Henrie*, who exceedingly deſired the kingdome of Italie: Some adde, That his ſonne *Otho* being taken by the Venetian gallics, was ſet at libertie vpon this condition. *Baronius* in the meane time endeuoureth to make this hiſtorie doubtfull, although he relateth it at large by his owne confeſſion, out of that famous Chronicle that is kept in the Librarie at Venice; and his reaſon is (let the Reader judge whether it be otherwiſe) that C
there is no likelihood that a Pope ſo mild and patient would commit ſo arrogant, ſo inſolent, and ſo monſtrous an act. But firſt we muſt agree vpon that pretended equanimitie and modeſtie, and the prodigious pride of *Gregorie* the ſeuenth, in receiuing *Henrie* the fourth to doe penance, and we ſhall eaſily giue credit hereunto. But it is moſt certaine, and the Venetian hiſtorie affirmeth it, and the Ieſuites themſelues doe triumph therein; ſo farre are they, with *Baronius*, from bluſhing at it. Now the Romans in regard of this ſubmiſsion, by their embaſſadors inuite him to Rome, which he accepted, vpon condition that the Senators choſen by them ſhould take vpon them an oath of fidelitie to the Church of Rome, before
*An.*1178. they entred into that office. And ſo in the yeare 1178 he came into the citie, and D
*An.*1180. the yeare afterward 1180 he held a Councell at Lateran, where he ordained, *That if the Cardinalls could not agree in the election of the Pope, the Pope might bee choſen by two of the parts, and whoſoeuer being choſen by the third part ſhould carrie himſelfe as Pope, ſhould be depriued of the Communion; and ſo he declareth the ordinances made by Victor the fourth, Paſchal and Calixtus the third (arch heretikes) to be of no force.* And
judge the Reader into what ſcruple of conſcience he brought, by theſe vaine and idle ordinances, the beſt and greateſt part of Europe. But he died not long after,
Sigon. de regno Ital. l.14. *hauing more valiantly ouercome, than moderatly handled his enmitie with Frederick*, as *Sigonius* ſaith; ſeeming no doubt vnder theſe mild words to conceale that ſhamefull and horrible act which he was not willing to expreſſe. E

Neither were this fit to be omitted, being both an argument, and an augmentation of the Papall authoritie, That this *Alexander* was the authour of that law, whereby the canonizing of Saints ſhould be only in the power of the Biſhop of
Extra de reliquijs ſanctorum venerat.c.1. Rome; *It is not lawfull* (ſaith he) *that any ſhould be worſhipped for a Saint without licence from the Pope*; By which law he chalenged to himſelfe the authoritie of the ancient Biſhops of the Panims, who placed whom they pleaſed in the number of the gods; and to giue the greater luſtre, he began with S. *Bernard*, who was famous for his ſanctitie, then followed *Thomas* of Canterburie, whom he pronounced

A ced Martyr, becauſe he defended his pontificall vſurpations againſt the kings royal authoritie in England. When notwithſtanding (it is a thing worthie the noting) that after his canonizing it was publikely diſputed among our Sorboniſts, that he was damned, for rebelling againſt the King, the miniſter of God. Another law he alſo made that none ſhould weare the Archbiſhops pall *vnleſſe he had taken an oth of fidelity to the Pope*. Farthermore he called to this Synod all the Churches of the weſt, but thoſe which either for the diſtance of the places, or through other impediment could not appeare, *were puniſhed by the purſe*, which redeemed the fault of their abſence, *which was* (ſaith *Neubrigenſis*) *more diſhoneſtly exacted, than payed*. We must likewiſe remember that he was Vicar vnto him that ſaith in the Goſpell, *I*
B *will giue thee all theſe Kingdomes, if thou wilt fall downe and worſhip me*, for he granted to *Alfonſus* the firſt, Duke of Portugall, the title and dignitie of a King, vpon condition he ſhould doe him homage, and pay him yearely a reuenew of two markes of gold, which by a letter from *Innocent* the third to King *Sancius* euidently appeareth, finding himſelfe greeued, that ſince that time his ſucceſſours had neglected the paiment thereof, giuing him to vnderſtand that he had taken order with his Legat *Ramerius* to leuy the ſame by Eccleſiaſticall authoritie.

Caſorius Monach. in Dialog. l.8.c.69.

Gulielm.Neubrig.l.3.c.2.

*Baro. An.*1179. *art.16.& 17.*

Opposition.

This is an oppoſition worthie the noting againſt the Papall tyrrannie, when ſo
C great an Emperour, ſo great an Empire bent their wits, and endeauored with the vtmoſt of their courages to reſiſt and impugne it; the Romans themſelues ſhut their gates becauſe they knew him inſupportable. But the oppoſition did beſt appeare when theſe Popes mutually ſtriued with curſes & execrations to put down each other, and pronouncing one another Antichriſts in their Synodes; but it ſhal not be amiſſe to note ſome of the principall. *Auentinus* expreſly telleth vs, *that*
Auent.l.6. *the greater part* neutrum Pontificem recipiebant, *would receiue neither of the Popes, vſing that ſaying of the Apoſtle, all things are yours, be it Paul, be it Apollo, be it Peter, one faith, one God, and one Father of vs all; and the wordes of Chriſt, there is but one maſter, and yee are all brethren*; And furthermore he addes that *Gerochus* Biſhop of
D Richemberg writ much vpon this controuerſie, and the title of his booke is *de Antichriſto*. This *Gerochus* was afterward Biſhop of Halberſtat, depoſed, as *Sigonius*
Sigon.de regno Italie l.14. ſaith, through the treatie of a peace with *Alexander*, *and Vlrich inſtituted into his place.*

In England in the yeare 1164 *Henrie* the ſecond aſſembled all the principall *An.*1164.
of his Clergie at Clarendon to confirme *auita conſuetudines, the cuſtomes of his anceſters*, to the end they ſhould ſerue as a barre betweene the vſurping enterpriſes of the Clergie, and the Kings Iuſtices, and the cuſtomes are comprehended in
Mathew Paris in Henrico.2. 16 Chapters, recited by *Mathew Paris*; the moſt important are as followeth; That the Churches which hold in fee of the King, be not graunted in perpetuitie with-
E out his permiſſion. That Clerkes accuſed of any crime, being aduertiſed by the Kings Iuſtice, may come to the place appointed and anſwere for themſelues. That the Archbiſhops & Biſhops may not depart the realm without the Kings licence, and without taking an oth, to do nothing, either in going, ſtaying, or returning to his preiudice. That the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and others, who hold *of the King in Capite, and haue their poſſeſſions of the King, ſhould anſwere to the Iuſtices after the ſame manner as the Lords and Barons of the realme.* The vacation of a Church happening, the King ſending for the principall perſons thereof commandeth them to make choiſe of a ſucceſſour in his Chappell with his conſent, and the Councell of

the realme, in whoſe preſence the man choſen ſhall doe homage, and loyaltie to A
the King, *as to his liege Lord of his life, his body, and of his worldly preferment, except his order*; and that before he be conſecrated: and to this are ſworne, all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Earles, Barons, and the Nobilitie of the realme *viua voce*, in the word of truth to obſerue towards the King, and his ſucceſſours for euer. *Thomas Becket* Archbiſhop of Canterburie who was the firſt that had taken this oth, within few daies after, being corrupted by *Alexander* the third (who in a Councell held at Tours placed him vpon his right hand) requeſted his abſolution, whom *Alexander* ſoone diſcharged both of the oth, and the ſinne. But this is to be noted, that the thing that vrged him moſt, was, That they of the Clergie that were taken in *publico Flagitio*, in publike wickedneſſe, by the Kings officers, B
might bee deliuered to the Biſhop without any puniſhment inflicted vpon them, contrarie to that order the King had ordained, that thoſe whom the Biſhops themſelues ſhould find faultie, ought to be degraded in the preſence of his officers, and afterward be deliuered to the Kings Court to be puniſhed. But *Thomas* did heere exclaime, that this was to be puniſhed twice for one and the ſame thing, that is to ſay, degraded by the Biſhop, and puniſhed by ſecular authoritie. Now good Reader, hee that dies for ſuch a cauſe, is he a Saint or a Martyr? For what wickedneſſe will not a man iuſtifie, if only degrading may diſcharge the puniſhment? Now *Thomas*, hauing wrought with al the Biſhops of England his ſuffragans to renounce their allegiance, without the kings knowledge paſſed the ſea C
towards *Alexander* into France, who from time to time delaied his anſwere vnto him, fearing to offend the King, his affaires then hanging but in a wauering and doubtfull manner; but as the authour ſaith *penſans periculoſa tempora, weighing the dangerous times*, granted to the Archbiſhop of Yorke by a Bull the office of Legat; Inſomuch that *Thomas* diſpleaſed with theſe delayes, writing to the Archbiſhop of Mence, thus complaineth, *Epiſt. Thome Cantuarienſ. ad Archiepiſc. Moguntin.* *Matrem Romam factam eſſe meritricem, & pro mercede proſtitutam, Our mother Rome is become a harlot, and proſtituted to whoſoeuer will giue moſt.* From this wee may gather what the other Biſhops of England might ſay, when *Thomas*, his pretended Martyr, had ſpoken in this ſort. Now of this *Henrie* the ſecond, whom *Thomas* had wilfully made his aduerſarie, *Peter* of D
Blois, Archdeacon of Bath and Chancellour of Canterburie, writing to *Gualterus* Biſhop of Palerme, hath left vs this worthie teſtimonie. *No man* (ſaith he) *is more wiſe and ſubtill in counſell, in ſpeech more vehement, more careleſſe in dangers, nor more conſtant and reſolute in aduerſitie &c. hauing alwaies in his hands either a bow, a ſword, or a iauelin, except ſitting in counſell, or buſie at his booke; for whenſoeuer he had any reſpite from his important and waightie affaires, ſpent his time in priuate ſtudie and reading, or in arguing with learned men; his daily life is as if it were a Schole of learning in diſſoluing continually difficult queſtions. None more mild than he in ſpeech, more temperat in eating, more moderat in drinking, more bountifull in gifts, more liberall in almes &c. Our King is peaceable, victorious in warre, glorious in peace &c.* E
None more gentle and meeke to the afflicted, more gratious and affable to the poore; none more ſeuere to the proud, for he euer ſtudied as it were by an image of diuinitie to beat downe the hauty and proud minded, to raiſe the oppreſſed, and continually to perſecute the ſwelling loftineſſe of pride &c. But when according to the cuſtome of the realme, he had in elections the greateſt, and moſt powerfull part, neuertheleſſe hee would haue his hands euer free from all partiality and corruption. For the death of this *Thomas*, who procured his wrath through ſo many miſchiefes and iniuries, *I tell you* (ſaith he) *in the word of our Lord, and by the faith and order of a Deacon, that in my conſcience, he was no*

way

A *way culpable, or guilty thereof: And thus much the Lord Theodinus Biſhop of Port, and the Lord Albert Chauncellor, who came hether as Legats to examine the truth, and haue knowne and reported his innocency, can affirme &c. which Legats after a canonicall purgation by the commandement of the Pope, pronounced him cleare of this crime before God and the World.* Notwithſtanding theſe Legats made benefit, as the manner is, of the rebellion of *Henrie* his ſonne, through certaine words that he had vttered in ſome choler, whereby the authours of his death were emboldened to attempt the life of the ſaid *Thomas*, who inforced him to purchaſe his abſolution with the hurt of his kingdome, aboliſhing thoſe cuſtomes that were brought in againſt the liberties of the Church, and approuing all appellations to the ſea of Rome, and
B all this for the remiſſion of his ſinnes. *Mathew Paris* diſcourſing of this Hiſtorie, *Math. Paris in Henr. 2.* giueth vs to vnderſtand by certaine circumſtances, that it was the pride of *Alexander*, or at leaſt his Legats: *The King and the Archbiſhop* (ſaith he) *being come to Freteuall* to be reconciled, *they twice deſcended their horſes, and as often mounted againe, and both theſe times the King held the raines of the Biſhops bridle.* What dutie would the Pope haue looked for, when ſo much was done to his Legat? Againe, though the King alwaies proteſted, *that he neuer commanded nor willed, nor by any deuiſe ſought the death of Thomas*, neuertheleſſe becauſe through ſome of his own words, *not aduiſedly ſpoken, theſe murtherers had taken occaſion thereby to kill him*, this proud beaſt inforſt him, asking his abſolution, *to ſubmit his naked ſkin to the puniſhment of*
C *the whip, and that all the religious people there aſſembled, being a great multitude, ſhould euery man giue him three or fiue laſhes*: which the King, miſerably bewitched by thoſe Romiſh ſorceries, ſubmitteth himſelfe vnto. The ſaying of one *Gratian* the Popes Legat, is worth the noting in this cauſe, to the King of England, who had ſaid ſomewhat vnto him in threatning manner, *Sir* (ſaith he) *threaten vs not; we feare no threatnings, for we belong to that Court that vſeth to commaund both Emperours and Kings*: And *Baronius* hath ſet downe this excellent Apothegme, in great letters. *Baron. an. 1169. art. 11.* By the pride of the ſeruant we may iudge the modeſtie of the Maſter.

Doubtleſſe the wiſeſt of this world judge otherwiſe of the power and authoritie of the Pope. *Otho* Biſhop of Friſingher ſaith, *Two perſons are conſtituted in the* *Otho Friſingenſ. in prologo. l. 4. Chron.*
D *Church by God, the Prieſtlie and the Princelie; the one hath the adminiſtration of the Sacraments of Chriſt, and to exerciſe Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline with the ſpirituall ſworde; the other carieth the materiall ſword againſt the enemies of the Church, defending the poore and the Churches of God from the oppreſſion of the wicked, puniſhing euill doers, and exerciſing ſecular iudgement. Theſe are the two ſwords whereof we read in the Paſſion of our Sauiour; but Peter is ſaid to vſe but onely one. Therefore euen as to the ſpirituall ſword ſpirituall poſſeſſions belong, that is to ſay, the tithes, the oblations of the faithfull; and others of like ſort, ſo to the materiall are ſubiect all worldlie dignities, as Dukedomes, Earledomes, and the like. Now God would that theſe things ſhould be in his Church orderly, and not confuſedly, that is to ſay, not in one perſon alone, but diuided betweene two, as I*
E *haue formerly named. Euen as theſe perſons therefore that carrie the materiall ſword are not to meddle with thoſe things that are ſpirituall, ſo is it not fit for the ſpirituall to vſurp the other. And to make good this ſaying, many teſtimonies of the Scriptures, And of our Lord himſelfe, beſides the example of Saints, may be alledged, as that Goſpell that ſaith, Giue vnto Cæſar the things that belong vnto Cæſar, and vnto God the things that are Gods. That which our Lord Ieſus Chriſt had deliuered in words, he declared alſo by effects, when yeelding tribute to whom tribute belonged, he gaue tribute for himſelfe and Peter. And S. Paul acknowledged that we ought to yeeld honour to whom honour belongeth, conſidering that all power is from God; who being brought to iudgement, did not ap-*

peale

peale to Saint Peter, who then possest the chaire at Rome, but to Nero, a most impious and A
a wicked man, ordained by the will of God King of the whole world. And thus much touch-
ing the honour of Kings. But he goeth about to defend the Pope by some poore &
weake reasons, but in the end concludeth, *I confesse I know no other refuge but this,*
that we haue known holie men, both of Apostolike faith and merit, as Sylvester, Gregorie,
Vlric, Boniface, Lampert, Gothard, and diuers others that haue had these things; but
for my selfe to speake my owne opinion, I doubt whether this exalting of the Church
in these dayes, be more acceptable to God, than the humilitie of former times. Verily it
seemeth that state was the better, this the happier. Neuertheless I agree with with the
Church of Rome &c. That is to say, to be rather temporally happie with the one,
than spiritually happie with the Apostles and the holie Fathers; and shortly af- B
ter he hides not from vs vpon what foundation he groundeth his reason; *That all*
scruple, saith he, *of that controuersie, being resolued by his authoritie and example, is a-*
gaine secretly signified by that which was sayd to S. Peter, Duc in altum, *launch into the*
deepe, and cast your nets to take fish, Luke 5. yea it is so secret, that for the space of
500 of the first and best yeres, none of the auntient Doctors could perceiue this
Idem l. 3. Chron. c. 3. mysterie. But the same authour speakes more openly in another place; *After*
the donation of Constantine, the Church of Rome affirmeth that all Realmes of the west
belonged to it by the gift of Constantine; this he refuteth himselfe, *In token whereof*
it doubted not to exact tribute euen to this present of all those except the two Kingdomes
of the French, that is to say, the Gaules and the Germans, which hee would gladly C
draw into his Net, if they would suffer him.

But in our France, at the verie same time, they that were called Waldenses or
Albienses, earnestly set against the Church of Rome, condemning all the tradi-
tions thereof, rejecting the ceremonies, and declaring it in expresse words to be
that Babylon in the Apocalyps, the mother of fornications, and the Pope verie
Antichrist, the man of sin, foretold by the holie Scriptures. These people main-
tayned the puritie, veritie, and simplicitie of the Christian Religion in all the
Countries, both on the mountaines and vallies of Daulphine, Prouence, Langue-
doc, and Guyan, where the corruptions, and papall inuentions could not so ea-
sily penetrat: no otherwise than as we see the Tongues, customes, and habits of D
nations to be preserued in Countries more remote, against the inundation and
mingling of the people; as the originall Tongue of Spaine in the mountaines of
Biscay, and the auntient Tongue of the Brittons in Wales, with their manners
and customes also; and so likewise of others: For, that so great a multitude of
people spread from the Alpes euen to the Pirenee by the instruction of *Waldo* had
beene as it were hatcht vp in one day, exceedeth all beliefe, all reason. Contrari-
wise, he that would retire himselfe from the world seriously to contemplate his
owne saluation, it is likely he rather learned it of them, and afterward taught at
Lyon, where for the renowne of the citie, they that were his followers, or affec- E
ted his doctrine, were called Waldenses, as they who preached in the citie of
Alba were called Albienses, and not many yeres before *Peter Bruis* and *Henrie*
his disciple publiquely teaching at Tholouse, were called Tholousians; and so
likewise were they called at the Councell of Lateran held vnder *Alexander* the
third. Of this antiquitie (to the end we need not doubt thereof) the aduersaries
themselues auouch the truth; amongst whom Frier *Rainerius*, who writ about
An. 1250. Frater Rainerius de Waldensibus. the yeare of our Lord 1250, *Among all the sects that are* (saith he) *or euer will be,*
none can be more pernitious to the Church of God than that of Lyons, for three causes;
the first, because it hath continued a longer time than any some say that it hath beene e-
uer

uer since the time of Sylvester; others say from the time of the Apostles; that is to say,
inasmuch as integritie euer went before corruption, and the same maintayned
by them, as it is said of the true Church in the Apocalyps, that it was preserued e-
uen in the desart: *The second because it is more generall, for there is not almost any*
Countrie wherevnto this sect hath not crept; whereas in the meane time they aske
vs, where our Church then was: *The Third, because all the other procure horrour by*
their blasphemies against God, this of the Leonists hath a great apparence of pietie, in
as much as they liue vprightly before men, and put their trust in God in all things, and
obserue all the Articles of the Creed, onely they blaspheme the Church of Rome, and hold
it in contempt, and therein they are easily beleeued by the people. To the end that all
A accusations may vanish away, which were spred against them among the people; *Baron. an. 1178. vol. 12. art. 17. 21.*
although *Baronius* following the report of certain Monkes is not afraid to recite,
that they haue fained the to be sometimes Arrians, & sometimes Manichees, but
wrongfully as he himselfe acknowledgeth; although *Rainerius* was more impa-
tient in his whole discourse against them, *Iacobus* of Riberia in his collections of *Iacob. de Riberia in Collectaneis de vrbe Tholosa.*
Tholouse, hath these words: *The Waldenses or Lugdunenses haue continued a long*
time, the first place they liued in, was in Narbone in France, and in the diocesse of Albie,
Rhodes, Cahors, & Agen. And at the same time there was of little or no estimation such as
were called Priests, Bishops, and Ministers of the Church; For beeing verie simple and
ignorant almost of all things, it was verie easie for them through the excellencie of their
C *learning and doctrine to get vnto themselues the greatest credit among the people; and*
forasmuch as the Waldenses disputed of Religion more subtilly than all others, were of-
ten admitted by the Priests to teach publiquely, not for that they approued their opinions,
but because they were not comparable vnto them in wit: In so great honour was the sect
of these men, that they were both exempted from all charges & impositions, and obtayned
more benefit by the Willes and Testaments of the dead than the Priests. A man would not
hurt his enemie, if he should meet him vpon the way accompanied with one of these here-
tikes, insomuch that the safetie of all men seemed to consist in their protection. What
greater testimonie could a man expect from an aduersarie? As touching their
doctrine, we cannot better learne what it was, than by their owne confession, pre-
D sented sundrie times to the Kings of Bohemia, who after their dissipation in
Fraunce fled thither, agreeing in substance with the profession of our Churches;
although according to the rudenesse of the time not so clearely expounded, as
also by their Catechismes, wherein they instructed their children. Neither will
we refuse to giue credit to the acts of the Court of Inquisition, and the writers of
those times, who for the most part caried away with malice, endeuoured to make
it odious to the world. The aforesayd *Rainerius* noteth, among the causes of their *Rainerius de Waldensibus.*
heresies, *That men and women, little and great, day and night cease not to learne, and*
to teach. I haue heard from the mouth of a credible person, that a certaine heretike, whom
I knew, that he might diuert him from our faith, and pervert him to his owne, did swim
E *ouer the riuer Ibis in winter, and euen in the night to come vnto him. Let the Doctors*
of the true Religion blush at their owne negligence, who are not so zealous of the truth
of the Catholike faith, as the Leonists are of the errour of infidelitie. Moreouer they
haue translated the new and old Testament into the vulgar Tongue, and so they teach and
learne it so well, that I haue seene and heard, saith he, *a Countrie Clowne recite Iob word*
by word, and diuers others that perfectly could deliuer all the new Testament. Then he
distinguisheth their errors into three parts, *against the Church of Rome, against the*
doctrine of the Sacraments, and of Saints; & against the honest customes and rites of the
sayd Church; Of the Church of Rome (saith he) they teach that it is not the
Church

Church of Chriſt, but *the Church of the malignant*, which fell from Chriſt euer A
ſince the time of *Sylueſter*, when the poiſon of temporall dominion entred in-
to it; that it is that whore deſcribed in the Apocalyps; that the Pope is the
head of all errours, his Prelats Scribes, his Monkes Phariſies, and all turned
from the Doctrine of the Goſpell to follow their traditions: As touching
the Sacraments, they diſallow the adminiſtration of them in an vnknowne
tongue, the Godfathers vnderſtanding not what they anſwere or promiſe in
the Baptiſme; as alſo the exorciſmes, and the ſigne of the croſſe, and others
the like; They hold the Maſſe as nothing, and that the Apoſtles neuer knew
what it meant, and as little did they know their Canon, holding themſelues
to the words of the inſtitution of Chriſt, deliuered in a vulgar tongue: That the B
oblation of the Prieſt ſerueth to no purpoſe; And as touching the ſacrament,
that it ought to be conſecrated in a knowne tongue, & that for this purpoſe there
needed no altar, and that the changing of the formes, *is not done in the hand of the
Prieſt conſecrating, but in the mouth of him that worthily receiueth it*: And all this,
becauſe they admit nothing into their Church, but what is written in the Bible;
no decrees, no epiſtles decretals, not the Legends of Saints, nor Traditions of the
Church; and condemne alſo the inuocation, and praying to Saints, and whatſo-
euer is comprehended vnder the name of *honeſt cuſtomes, the feaſts of candles, the a-
doration of the Croſſe vpon Good friday*, the conſecration of Palmes, of Aſhes, of the
Chriſme, of fire, of the Agnus dei, of ſalt and water, of certaine veſtments and C
places, of Pilgrimages to Rome and other places: *They denie alſo Purgatorie, ſay-
ing there is only but two waies, the one heauen for the elect, the other hell for the damned;
they condemne Maſſes, and oblations for the dead, beſides anniuerſaries, and other ſuffra-
ges for the ſoule.* Theſe are the points that may be gathered out of that Authour,
who beſtowed much time afterward in refuting them, and mingled by the way
Æneas Syluius in hiſtoria Bohemica ca. 35. many falſe accuſations, from which they were afterward freed by *Æneas Syluius*,
called Pope *Pius* the ſecond, whoſe doctrine he comprehended in theſe few words:
*That the Biſhop of Rome is equall to other Biſhops, neither is there any difference between
them, one Prieſt being not greater in dignity than another, but in holineſſe of life: That
the ſoules departing the body, paſſe either to paine, or to ioy eternall: That there is no fire* D
*in purgatorie: That a man prayeth in vaine for the dead, being nothing elſe but an inuen-
tion of the auarice of Prieſts: That the images of God and Saints were fit to be abolished:
That the hallowing of waters and palmes are but mockeries: That the religion of begging
friers was inuented by ſome euill ſpirit: That Prieſts ought to be poore, and content to liue
by almes: That the preaching of the word of God is free to euery man: That no man ſhould
ſinne to auoid any euill whatſoeuer: That whoſoeuer is guilty of deadly ſinne* (they mean
a crime) *ought not to be admitted either into any ſecular, or eccleſiaſticall dignity: That
the confirmation by the Chriſme, and extreme vnction, are no Sacraments of the Church:
That auricular confeſſion is but a friuolous and vaine thing, and it is ſufficient for euery
man if he confeſſe his ſinnes priuatly to God: That Baptiſme ought to be done with com-
mon water, without the mixture of oyle: That Churchyards haue been inuented for gaine,
for the earth is all one euery where to burie in: That the world is the temple of God, and
that they that builded Churches, Monaſteries, and Oratories would reduce the maieſtie
of God into a narrow ſtrait, as if a man ſhould find his diuine goodneſſe more propitious
there, than elſe where: That the Prieſts veſtments, that ornaments of the altar, robes,
cups, Chalices, diſhes, and other the like veſſels are little worth, and of no moment: That
a Prieſt, in what place or time ſoeuer, may conſecrate the body of Chriſt, and adminiſter
the ſame to others, vſing only the words of the inſtitution of the Sacrament: That it is in*

vaine

A *vaine to implore the fauour of Saints, who raigne in heauen with Chriſt, who can no way
helpe: That a man loſeth his time in ſinging or ſaying his Canonicall houres: That no day
a man may ceaſe from his labour, except the Sunday, and not the feaſts of Saints: That to
obſerue the faſts ordained by the Church is of no merit.* Which opinions the Author,
who had looked more inwardly into them, carried by that malice he bare towards
them, ſetteth downe maliciouſly ynough in his owne words: but being rightly vn-
derſtood, nothing differed from the true doctrine, if diſtinctly ſet downe as well in
their confeſsion as in ours. At the leaſt they free themſelues from their falſe accu-
ſations which charge them with errours, againſt the due obedience to Magiſtrats,
and againſt a lawfull oath, and diuers others mentioned by *Rainerius*. And much
B more they defend themſelues from the ſorceries, or diuinations by lots, which the
malice of the time had blazed abroad, although ſorcerers & wicked perſons were,
and alſo are in diuers Prouinces called Waldenſes; and from that putting out of
candles to commit whoredome one with another, auncient ſubtilties of the diuel
to defame the firſt Chriſtians, and by him renewed againe, when it pleaſed God to
ſend the light of the Goſpell. *Frederick* the ſecond therefore in the conſtitutions
which he made againſt them, accuſed them not, but for ſeperating themſelues
from the Church of Rome, and from the ceremonies and ſeruices thereof, with-
out imputing any other crime vnto them, as appeareth in the Epiſtles of *Peter* of *Petrus de Vi-
neis li. 1. c. 25. 26. 27.*
Vineis, his Chancelor. And alſo *Claudius Seiſſellienſes* Archbiſhop, a man of great
C credit vnder *Lewis* the twelfth, although he had written a booke expreſly againſt
them, he acknowledgeth them to be a good people, vpright and honeſt, innocent
and irreprehenſible in their conuerſation, and obſeruations of the commandement
of God. Notwithſtanding they were excommunicated by *John de Bellamaine* Arch-
biſhop of Lyon, at the commaundement of *Alexander* the third, and ſoone after
were ſummoned to the Councel of Lateran, but they would not appeare, becauſe
*Guido de Per-
pinian pag. 79.
de hæreſibus.*
they knew they ſhould haue the Pope both their iudge and aduerſarie. Where-
upon he proceeded againſt them with all perſecutions, as warres, ſlaughter, ſpoils,
maſſacres; and whoſoeuer could moſt cruelly purſue them, obtained forgiue-
neſſe of all their ſinnes. But at length, through the great prouidence of God, it
D came to paſſe, that through their diſſipation and ſcattering abroad, were gathe-
red together a great number of Churches ouer all Europe, as ſhall bee hereafter
declared. We may adde, That ſome writers of this Age, albeit aduerſaries, tell
vs, that there was held a conference at Realmont, among the Albienſes, where
diſputed on their ſide *Ponticus Iordanus*, *Arnoldus Auriſanus*, *Arnoldus Otho*, *Phi-
libertus Caſtienus*, and *Benedictus Thermenſis*: On the other ſide *Peter de Caſtro no-
no*, a Monk of the order of the Ciſtertians, and the Popes Legat, and alſo *Radolphus*
deputed by the Pope, *Didacus* Biſhop of Erenenſes, and *Dominicus* a Canon of the
ſame Church, both Spaniards. And there were choſen as Arbitrators two of the
Nobilitie, *Bernard* of Villa noua, and *Bernard* of Arre, and of the Comminaltie
E *Raymond Godeus*, and *Arnold Riberia*: There, they ſay, *that theſe Doctors of the Walden-
ſes did conſtantly affirme, That the Church of Rome was not the holie Church, nor the
ſpouſe of Chriſt, but a Church polluted with the doctrine of the diuell, and that Babylon
whom S. Iohn deſcribeth in his Apocalyps, the mother of fornications and abhominati-
ons, ouerwhelmed and drowned in the bloud of Saints: That the Maſſe was not inſtitu-
ted by Chriſt nor his Apoſtles, but a humane inuention*; and many the like things, and
ſo departed, not agreeing vpon any thing. *Guilielm. de
Podio Laurentij
Noguier en l'hi-
ſtoria Tolouſe.*

A

49. Progression.

The contentions and ſeuerall differences betweene the Emperour Frederick & Pope Lucius the third. Of the voiage to the Holie Land by the Emperour and the Chriſtian Princes, for the recouerie of Hieruſalem from the Souldan, with the death of the ſaid Emperour; and of the troubles that afterward aroſe to his ſonne Henrie. The ſolemnitie and manner of the coronation of the Emperour.

B

A *Lexander* the third held the ſeat two and twentie yeares, which happened to few either before or ſince; and in all this time it fell out ſo happily for him, that the Antipopes liued not long, ſo that by theſe mutations he aduanced not a little his owne affaires. Foure, the one after the other, had oppoſed themſelues againſt him, whereof euerie one being entred the throne, labored with new ſlights either to doe or vndoe. The onely power of *Frederick* made head againſt him, being often diſturbed as wel in Germany as in Italie, through the rebellions which *Alexander* had ſtirred vp againſt him; whereby the cities and Princes tooke occaſion, vnder the colour of his Eccleſiaſticall reformations, to reuolt. Neither did the ambition of his ſonne *Henrie* leſſe troble him, who at what price ſoeuer would be King of Italie, yet feared leaſt the death of his father, then engaged in the C
Popes warres, might ſurpriſe him in that eſtate, and ſo much the rather, becauſe the Popes ſeemed to be Arbitrators of the greateſt part of the Empire of Italie. *Alexander* therefore being dead, and *Hubald* Cardinall of Oſtia, named *Lucius* the third, elected in his place, according to the order decreed in the Councell of Lateran, by the Cardinalls onely, without the conſent of the Clergie and the people. *Henrie* to perſuade his father to be at peace with Italie, omitted no meanes or opportunitie whatſoeuer; but firſt of all remouing all lets, procured the friendſhip of *Lucius* the third, who hauing a deſire to gratifie the citie of Lucca where he was borne, *Frederick* at his requeſt ſoone granted that no other money ſhould D
be currant through all Tuſcane, Marchia, Romania, and Campania, but that which ſhould be coyned in Lucca in the Emperours name. *Lucius* in the meane time did no better agree with the Romans than his predeceſſors, who when hee ſought to put downe the Conſuls, they cruelly chaſtiſing his faction, and threatning himſelfe worſe meaſure, inforced him, according to the example of his predeceſſors, to forſake Rome, and to hold his See at Velitre. Who neuertheleſſe prouiding himſelfe againſt them, vnder a pretence of a Saraſen warre, called a Councell at
An. 1184. Verona in the yeare 1184, where the Emperour *Frederick* himſelfe was preſent.
Naucler. vol. 2. Gener. 40. *Frederick* making benefit of the time, hauing now pacified Lombardie, and receiued Alexandria into fauour (touching which citie there had growne ſo great E
contention betweene him and *Alexander*) ſeemed to reduce things to their priſtinat ſtate, as appeareth by theſe articles, *That all the citizens of Alexandria ſhould at*
Sigon. l. 14. de regno Ital. *his will and pleaſure depart the citie, and ſo long ſhould abide from thence, till they were brought in by his Deputie or Lieutenant in a ſolemne manner; that by this act it might appeare, that he gaue and they receiued their countrey from the hand of the Emperour, and ſo the citie ſhould from hence forward be called Ceſaria.* In this Councell *Lucius* the third ſo farre preuailed by meanes of the Emperours preſence to repreſſe the Romans, that they were proclaimed as enemies to the Church: But on the other part, as *Frederick* requeſted to crowne his ſonne Henrie Emperor, he expreſly denied it, vn-

A vnleſſe he would reſtore firſt vnto him the inheritance of the Counteſſe *Mathilda*, and other dueties which he withheld from the Church; thereby not ſo much renuing an old quarrell, as determining it at his owne pleaſure. It was alſo requeſted by the Emperour, That he would receiue into fauour thoſe Eccleſiaſtical perſons that were ordained by the Antipopes; whereunto he conſented: but the day following, when he ſhould haue laid his hands vpon them, vtterly refuſed it, and referred it to another Synod, *Fearing*, ſaith *Krantzius*, *leaſt the Church, as in former times, ſhould fall into a moſt dangerous ſchiſme, which euill the neerer they knew it, the more they feared it.* Euen ſo both with grudge and diſcontented minds diſmiſt the Councell. And now *Frederick* paſſing forward into Italie, ſtraitly purſued the
B cities that held with the Church; and on the other part *Lucius* was reſolued to vſe all extremities, euen when he died, in the citie of Verona, hauing neuer dared to looke backe toward Rome: and in the ſame place was choſen for his ſucceſſor *Lambert* Archbiſhop of Milan, who was named *Vrban* the third. It is a thing worthie to be noted, That this *Lucius* excommunicated the Waldenſes, and Albienſes, becauſe they did weare *ſandalls on their feet, and a hood*, ſaying they did therein imitat the plainneſſe and ſimplicitie of the Apoſtles. But out of all doubt it was rather through malice; let it ſuffice vs, that he had no greater crimes to charge them withall. There is alſo extant another Decree of his, *That a Clergie man for euerie crime ſhould be conuented before an Eccleſiaſticall Iudge, notwithſtanding any other cuſtome whatſoeuer.* Here is alſo of him a certaine Epigram, which is alluded to the
C fiſh called a Pike, being in Latine *Lucius*, who deuoureth other fiſh.

Krantzius l. 6. Saxon. c. 47.

Abbas Vſperg. in Chron. extra de Iudicijs Tit. 1. c. clerici 8.

Abbas Vſperg. Ex Epiſtola quadam Pragenſ. vniuerſad Oxonienſem tempore Wenceſlai Imperatoris ſcripta. Sigon. de regno Ital. l. 15. ex Naubrig. Vſpergenſ. & Viterbienſ. Krantzius in Saxon. l. 6. c. 52.

Lucius eſt piſcis, Rex, atq; tyrannus aquarum,
A quo diſcordat Lycius iſte parum:
Deuorat ille homines, hic piſcibus inſidiatur,
Eſurit hic ſemper, hic aliquando ſatur.
Amborum vitam, ſi laus aquata notaret,
Plus rationis habet, qui ratione caret.

D *Lucius* is a fiſh, a tyran in water,
Like to this *Lucius*, as mother to daughter;
He deuours men, this fiſhes doth eat;
He ſtill hungers, this ſometime's full with meat:
If both their liues we equally ſhould praiſe,
He hath moſt reaſon that reaſon denayes.

In the remainder of the hiſtorie of theſe times wee muſt follow the ſelfeſame ſteps. *Vrbanus*, although he continued not long, notwithſtanding in that little time purchaſed the name of *Turbanus*, through the troubles which hee euerie-
E where procured. *Frederick* made peace with *William* King of Sicilia, and for the better confirmation thereof, maried his ſonne *Henrie* to *Conſtance* the daughter of *Roger*, the grandfather of the ſaid *William*, who dying without iſſue was the next heire. This mariage pleaſed not *Vrban*, and the leſſe, becauſe *Frederick* in an aſſemblie holden at Geilhauſen, cauſed the Prelats of Germanie to write vnto him, to preſerue the tenthes held in fee, and other rights to the Nobilitie, being by her worthily obtained in the defence of the Church. But as hee prepared at Verona to excommunicat him, they of Verona, to whom hee was now retired, made knowne vnto him, That they would not endure that in their citie ſuch a Decree

ſhould

should be publiſhed againſt the Emperour: Whereupon, he departing to Ferra- A
ra for the ſame purpoſe, was preuented by death. The Abbot of Vrſperg, of him
thus briefely ſpeaketh, *Being borne in Milan, in hatred of the Emperour, he was
verie troubleſome to the Church, which had a while beene quiet; but he was preuented by
the will of God, and died, hauing continued in the ſeat but one yere ten Moneths and fif-
teene dayes.*

*An.*1187. In the yeare 1187 the Cardinall *Albert* his Chauncelor, choſen by the Cardi-
nals at Ferrara, ſucceeded him, being called *Gregorie* the eight; who ſoone after
writ to all Princes to perſuade them to goe perſonally into Paleſtina to recouer
Hieruſalem, which the infidels had forcibly gotten from the Chriſtians, aſſu-
redly promiſing them life euerlaſting, and the protection of the Church, during B
the time of their abſence, for the ſafetie both of their ſtates & goods. And doubt-
leſſe the miſerable eſtate there of the Chriſtians perſuaded many to vndertake
this journey, as the Emperour *Frederic, Philip* king of Fraunce, and *Richard* King
of England, and diuers other Princes in their owne perſon. Notwithſtanding
Gregorie ſaw not the ſucceſſe thereof, death preuenting him in Piſa euen at the ſet-
ting forward of this enterpriſe. But the Cardinals that were of his traine, choſe
in the ſame place Cardinall *Paule* a ſcholler of Rome (who was *Clement* the third;
being ſo named, becauſe the diſſention that had continued betweene the Popes
and the Romans the ſpace of fiue and fortie yeares, was extinguiſhed and appea-
ſed by his meanes) vpon condition that they might haue a *Patricius: But the Sena-* C
*tors and Gouernours of the Citie created by them, before they enter into that office, ſhould
be inueſted* per mantum, *with a mantle by the Pope.* Now *Frederic* died in this voy-
*An.*1190. age after many notable & worthie exploits, in the yeare 1190, hauing entred into
a certaine riuer in Armenia, called Serra, to refreſh himſelfe in the violent heat of
ſummer, the ſuddaine cold to the extreame heat ſtriking inwardly into him, pre-
Otho de S. Bla-ſio cap. 35. ſently ouercame his vital parts. A Prince commended by all Hiſtories for his pie-
tie, vertue, clemencie, forgetfulneſſe of all iniuries, whereby he left a deſire in all
men of his continuance, & yet no man euer endured greater & more vnjuſt dea-
Abbas Vrſper-genſ. lings by the Popes. Through his death aroſe many moleſtations to his ſon *Hen-*
Sigon. de regno Ital. l. 15. *rie* as well in Germanie as in Italie: But the thing that moſt troubled him, was to D
get into his poſſeſſion the kingdome of Sicilie in the right of *Conſtance* his wife, by
the death of *William*; the which Pope *Clement*, for want of an heire male chal-
lenged to belong to the church, and had ſent his forces to inuade it, if the States
and gouernours thereof had not oppoſed againſt him one *Tancred* the Baſtard ſon
of *Roger*; by which meanes the inuaſion of *Clement* being delayed, *Henrie* had the
better opportunitie to prouide for himſelf. Thus did he obſerue the promiſe made
by his predeceſſor to thoſe that went into the holie Land, to defend and protect
Platina in Clement. 3. their eſtates and rights in that ſtate they ſhould leaue them. *Frederic* being dead
in this expedition, his ſonne *Henrie*, beſides the griefe for the loſſe of his father E
through ſo extraordinarie and vnexpected an accident, was no leſſe diuerſly diſ-
quieted and diſturbed in the kingdome of Germanie: But *Clement* while he was
endeauouring to put by *Henrie* from the imperiall Diademe, died in Aprill in the
yeare 1191, whom Cardinall *Iacynthus* ſucceeded, a Citizen in Rome, and was
called *Celeſtine* the third. By this change *Henrie* ſped the better, and with all dili-
gence came to Rome, where he was crowned by *Celeſtine*, whom hee had before
Naucler. vol. 2. Gener. 40. bound vnto him, by reſtoring into his hands the citie of Tuſculus which had been
deliuered into his protection, a meanes for *Celeſtine* to gratifie the Romans, be-
cauſe that for the ſpace of 50 yeares before it had beene either the cauſe, or pre-

A tence of many diſſentions and brawles betweene them and the Popes. But
as ſoone as hee had reſtored it vnto them, hee refrained not any kind of
crueltie, that he might practiſe againſt thoſe miſerable people. But the man-
ner of his coronation is worthie to bee noted. *After the Emperour had ta-
ken his oath to defend the Church, and the patrimonie of Saint Peter, and to reſtore
whatſoeuer belonged to the Church, whole and entire, if any thing were withheld or
detayned from it; the Emperour and the Empreſſe are brought into the Church by
the Pope, and Maſſe being ſolemnely celebrated by him, he annoynteth firſt the Em-
perour with words inſtituted to that purpoſe, and afterward the Empreſſe. Then ſit-
ting downe in his pontificall Chaire, holdeth the imperiall Crowne betweene his feet,*
B *and the Emperour bowing downe his head, and likewiſe the Empreſſe, receiue it
from his feet; And after this immediatly the Pope ſtriking the Crowne with
his foot, kickes it from his head to the ground, in token hee hath power, if his me-
rits ſo deſerue, to depoſe him; then the Cardinals, ſtanding round about, receiue
the ſame Crowne, and reuerently puts it vpon the heads of the Emperour, and the Em-
preſſe.* *Baronius* himſelfe is the Author, and likewiſe *Ranulph* in the ſame words. *Ranulph in Po-lycr. l. 7. ca. 26.*
Thus this proud myſterie did ſtill riſe by degrees. Now by the death of the Ba-
ſtard *Tancred* it was the eaſier for *Henrie* to make his peace with the kingdome
of Sicilia. But *Celeſtine* was now readie to excommunicate *Henrie*, and alſo his
brother *Philip* if his death had not preuented it, by an auntient pretence, wher-
C by he had vſurped the poſſeſſions of the Counteſſe *Mathilda*, though before, to
the end that *Henrie* ſhould ruinate and deſtroy *Tancred*, whom hee ſaw now
eſtabliſhed by the States, hee had inueſted the ſayd *Henrie* into theſe domi-
nions as his feudatarie. But *Henrie* dying in the yeare 1197 left onely a ſonne
by *Conſtance* his wife of the age of one yeare, and the troubles that euerie-
where riſe about the ſucceſſion, gaue *Celeſtine* meanes, or rather a fit oppor-
tunitie to his ſucceſſour *Innocent* the third to doe whatſoeuer they would in
prejudice of the Empire: For as *Philip* the brother of *Henrie*, and *Otho*
Duke of Saxonie ſtriued for the Kingdome of Germanie, *Innocent* taking
an oath of faithfull homage of the Gouernour of the Citie of Rome, in-
D uadeth the Dukedome of Tuſcane, which *Henrie* had giuen to *Philip* his
brother, and ſending to the Biſhoppes of Germanie, commaundeth them
to deliuer the hoſtages which *Henrie* had brought out of Sicilia, with him,
namely *Sibilla* the widow of *Tancred*, his children, and the Archbiſhoppe
of Salerne; Butt if *Vezilus de Berco* (their keeper) ſhould refuſe to deli-
uer them, then they ſhould excommunicate him, by which meanes he ſee-
med to haue compoſed the buſineſſe of Sicilia to his owne deſires. The ve-
rie ſame way, partly by force, and partly by excommunication hee chaſed
away *Marcoaldus* out of Romania, and *Conradus* out of the Dukedome of
Spoleto, whom *Henrie* had inueſted, and interdicted all the Cities that
E any whit fauoured them, and ſtrengthened and confirmed the Cities of
Lombardie in their ſocietie to remayne free, in ſuch ſort that the Empe-
rours, who afterward came into Italie, found they had no authoritie leſt vn-
to them. Furthermore hee enforced *Conſtantia* the widow of *Henrie* to take
an oath to hold of him and his ſucceſſours in homage *Apulia* and *Calubria*,
paying yearely ſixe hundred ſquifats, and for the Countrie of Mercia foure
hundred, vpon condition that her ſonne comming to age ſhall take the ſame
oath; And as *Conſtancia* not long after chaunced to dye, hee tooke vpon
him to bee the Tutor and Gardian of the child (who was *Frederic* the ſe-

Vignier. ex Chron. Germ. manuſcr. Baro an. 1191. Sect. 1. & 10. ex Rogero au-thore Coetaneo par te poſteriore in Richardo primo.

cond) and by theſe cunning ſleights hath made himſelfe Arbiter of the King- A
dome. Againe in Germanie he refuſed the election of *Philip* brother of *Henrie*, as excommunicated by him, and approued that of *Otho* Duke of Saxonie, thereby taking from his pupill the ſupport and helpe of the Vncle, neither doth hee diſſemble it, that what hee did was in hatred of his predeceſſours, who had oppoſed themſelues againſt the See of Rome, that is to ſay, for defending the rights of their Empire. And here the Reader may ſee the care they had of the affaires of the Eaſt, that whileſt they were bent wholly to the care of themſelues all things went to ruine. And here we make an end of the twelfth age.

B

Opposition.

I willingly omit thoſe frequent contentions betweene the Emperours and the Popes in theſe times, contenting my ſelfe to haue noted here what the better ſort haue thought of the Church of Rome. *Clement* the third ſolicited the kings of Fraunce and England to the voyage of the holie Land, who for the differences that grew betweene them, thought it not fit and conuenient for them to go forward into a ſtrange Countrie, vnleſſe the cauſe of the diſcord were firſt taken away; and it ſeemed to *Clement*, that *Philip* the ſecond, our king, was the cauſe to delay and prolong it, whereupon he threatned to excommunicat him, and to in- C
Mat. Paris in Richardo. terdict his Realme, if he did not the ſooner agree. *Mathew Paris* the author of the Engliſh Hiſtorie ſaith, he made him this anſwer, *That he nothing feared his ſentence, as being vpheld with no equitie; he addeth that it belongeth not to the church of Rome to puniſh by ſentence any King, eſpecially of France, if the ſayd King be diſpoſed to reuenge himſelfe vpon his ill deſeruing, vntamed people, and rebellious to his Kingdome: He addeth moreouer, that the Cardinal of Anagne his Legat had ſmelt the ſterlings of the King of England, by whoſe odour beeing attracted, according to the faſhion of the Romans, he became more fauourable to him, and therefore had the more reaſon to ſuſpect him to be his iudge. Moreouer the Earle Richard did hardly containe himſelfe, and as hardly could the Lords hold his hands, but that with his ſword drawne he had furiouſly* D
aſſaulted the Cardinall, inſomuch that the Cardinall retiring and hiding himſelfe for feare, Verba continuit ampulloſa, *ſtayed his ſwelling words.* Both theſe Kings hoiſe vp ſaile, and *Richard* of England arriued within the Riuer of Tiber, where met him *Octauian* Cardinall of Oſtia, ſent from *Clement* the third; to whom (as *Roger Houeden* ſaith) he ſpake many reprochfull words, *Blaming the Simonie of the Romans,*
Rogerus Houenden. in Annalium parte poſteriore. *that to conſecrate the Biſhop of Mans they had taken 700 markes, and 1500 for the legation of the Biſhop of Elie, and beſides a great ſumme for not depoſing the Biſhop of Burdeaux, accuſed by his Clergie.* But he ſaith beſides, that he arriued at Meſſine about the ſame time that *Philip* King of Fraunce went with a deſire to ſee *Ioachim* Abbot E
of Courace of the order of the Ciſtertiens, a man in that age verie famous, and thought to haue a propheticall ſpirit, whom hee requeſted to expound vnto him and his followers the viſion of S. *Iohn* in the Apocalyps, wherein he receyued
Apud Rogerum de Houenden. Annal. parte poſteriore. much content, eſpecially when he ſpake of ſeuen Kings, *Whereof one was not yet come,* he ſayd vnto him, *this man is Antichriſt, who is now in the Citie of Rome, and is ſet on high in the Apoſtolike ſeat, and of this Antichriſt, ſaith the Apoſtle, he is an aduerſarie, and exalteth himſelfe againſt all that is called God &c.* The king replied vnto him, *I thought that Antichriſt ſhould be borne in Antioch, or in Babylon, of the progenie of Dan, and ſhould raigne in the Temple of the Lord at Hieruſalem &c.* But *Ioachim* per-

A perſiſted in his expoſition, adding, *That the ſeuen Diademes ſignified the Kings and Princes of this world, who ſhould beleeue in Antichriſt, &c. but,* he ſaith, *in the times of this Antichriſt many of the Chriſtians ſhould preſerue the Chriſtian faith, in the feare of the Lord, in dennes and caues of the earth, and in ſolitarie rockes and deſert places, euen vntill the conſummation of Antichriſt.* All this he ſpake, notwithſtanding the Archbiſhops of Roan, Pamiers, and Dauch, who were there preſent, haue endeuoured to proue the contrarie: And to this purpoſe it was that the Abbot ſpake vpon *Ieremie*, *There is another fig tree, who through the malediction of his preuarication is now withered; The Latine Church, or the little barke of S. Peter, whoſe leaues are temporall things, whereof they make breeches to hide their wicked conuerſations, wherewith*
B *they excuſe the diſhoneſtie and ſhame of their life, as well of Adam the High Prieſt, as Eue, that is to ſay, the Church, ſubiect vnto them, and miſerably hide themſelues in the wood of Eccleſiaſticall glorie.* Now *Baronius* toucheth this hiſtorie, but hee taketh *Baron. an. 1190 art. 2. com. 24.* good heed for diſcloſing the principall clauſes which expreſly diſciphers the Pope of Rome.

King *Richard* returning from Paleſtina, was ſtayed by the Duke of Auſtria paſſing through his countrey, who deliuered him to the Emperour *Henrie* the ſixt, who would not releaſe him without a great ranſome. Queene *Elinor* his mother thinking that Pope *Celeſtine* was content to winke at this ſhamefull act, becauſe of the friendſhip that was yet betweene him and *Henrie*, writ three letters vnto him,
C which we may read in the Epiſtles of *Peter* of Blois: the laſt (for as much as hee ſeemed to neglect the former) was more ſharpe, and in more expreſſe tearmes, as followeth: *Deliuer vnto me* (ſaith ſhe) *thou man of God, my ſonne, if thou be a man of* *Petrus Bleſenſ. Epiſt. 144. 145. 146.* *God, and not rather a man of bloud, if thou beeſt careleſſe and negligent in giuing libertie to my ſonne, that the omnipotent God may require his bloud at thy hands. Oh and alas, that the Soueraigne Paſtor ſhould become mercenarie, that he ſhould flie from the face of the Wolfe, that he ſhould leaue his ſheepe committed to his charge, yea a choſen Bell-weather, the leader of the Lords flocke, in the iawes of a cruell beaſt! Hardly truely wilt thou aduenture thy ſoule for him, for whom thou haſt not dained to ſpeake or write one word; and now three times we haue beene promiſed Legats, and yet they are not ſent, that, to ſay*
D *the truth, I may thinke them rather* Ligati *than* Legati, *bound that they ſhall not come, than appointed to come. If my ſonne were in proſperitie they had come with all poſſible ſpeed, becauſe out of his great bountie, and the publicke profit they make of the kingdome, they expected plentifull rewards of their Legations. And what greater glorie can there be, than to ſet free a captiue King, to bring peace to the people, ſafetie to the religious, and ioy and comfort to euerie one? But now they faile at a pinch. The Wolfe holdeth his prey, and the dogges either cannot or will not barke. Is this the promiſe which you made vnto vs at the caſtle of Radolphus, with ſo much proteſtation of loue and fidelitie? What can it profit you to deceiue ſimple people, and by a vaine confidence to mocke the prayers of the in-*
E *nocent? So, long ſince, King Achab made a couenant of friendſhip with Benhadab, but their mutuall loue had a diſmall euent* (comparing the Pope to this Infidell King) *and God proſpered the battels of Iudas, Iohn, Simion, brothers of the Machabees, but ſo ſoone as by their embaſſage they made a contract of friendſhip with the Romans, they loſt the ſuccour and helpe of God; and not once, but often, their mercenarie familiaritie was turned into ſobs and bitter ſighes, &c. I would to God they would remember, that for the negligence of Hely their Prieſt, miniſtring in Silo, the glorie of the Lord was tranſlated from Iſraell; neither is it a parable of the time paſt, but the time preſent, becauſe God forſooke the Tabernacle of Silo, his owne Tabernacle where himſelfe dwelt amongſt men, deliuered their power into captiuitie, and their beautie into the enemies hands* (meaning the Church of

Rome.) *It was imputed to their pusillanimitie, that the Church was troden vnder foot,* A
faith in danger, libertie oppressed, deceit and iniquitie rather nourished than punished,
&c. Where is that which the Lord did once promise to his Church, Thou shalt sucke the
milke of the Gentiles, and shalt milke the breasts of Kings, &c? The Pope sees these things
and yet keepes S. Peters sword hid in the scabberd; so he giueth strength to sinners, his si-
lence argueth his consent. One polleth, another taketh by extortion; one holds the foot, a-
nother strips off the skinne. The time foretold by the Apostle is euen at hand, a time of de-
parting, of Apostacie and reuolt, that the sonne of perdition may be reuealed: Now begins
the perillous times, that the vnseamed coat of Christ may be cut asunder, that S. Peters
net may be torne in peeces, and the soundnesse and solidities of the Catholike vnitie may be
dissolued: these are the beginning of all euils; we feele and suffer that which is grieuous, B
but we feare things more grieuous and intollerable. And it is here a Queene wounded
with griefe that speaketh it, but by the mouth of the Chancellor, the Archbishop
of Canterburie, and no doubt with the consent of the Clergie of England; and
they differ not much from the judgement and opinion of the Abbot *Ioachim*, al-
beit the one in Italie the other in England; but he also describeth vnto vs in the
person of an Officiall, the manner and fashion of the Church of Rome, writing to
the same: *For as much*, saith he, *as I loue thee with all affection euen in the bowels of Ie-*
sus Christ, I thought good to exhort thee with wholesome admonitions, that thou in time
depart from Vr of the Chaldes, and from the midst of Babylon, and leaue the mysterie of
this most wicked and damnable Stewardship, &c. I beleeue that these Officials are so cal- C
led not from the Nown Officium, *but from the Verb* Officio, *which signifieth to hurt, for*
the whole intention of an Officiall is, ad opes Episcopi, *to be carefull for the profits of*
the Bishop, whereof he hath the charge, to sheere for him, miserrimas oues, *the poorest*
sheepe, to poll them, and to pull off their skinnes: (he sets riches against sheepe) and af-
terward pursues their rapines with foule tearmes: *These Officialls are those hidden*
doores, where the Ministers of Bell secretly carried away the sacrifices which the King
caused to be set vpon the table: So the Bishop cunningly, and as it were with a long reach,
gets other mens goods; and if the crime happen to be discouered, to quit himselfe of dis-
credit, layeth the blame on his Officials, &c. The office of an Officiall now adayes is to con- D
found law, to stirre vp contentions, to breake off agreements, to find delayes, to suppresse
truth, to foster lyes, to hunt after gaine, to sell equitie, to gape after exactions, and to bee
cunning in working and contriuing deceits. These are those who burthen their clients
with superfluous charge, being prodigall of another mans purse, and sparing of their own;
lying in wait to catch men in their words, hunt after sillables, and lay snares to get money:
They interpret the law at their owne will and pleasure, and according to their owne wills
they admit them or disallow them. Good sayings they deprane, and peruert those that are
prudently alledged; breake couenants, nourish contentions, dissemble for nications, breake
matrimonie, maintaine adulterie, thrust themselues into other mens houses, and lead cap-
tiue simple women burthened with their sinnes; they defame the innocent, and absolue E
the guiltie: and to conclude many things in a few words, whilest these sonnes of anarice,
and seruants of Mammon doe all things for money, they make sales of themselues to the
diuell, &c. If thou beleeuest me, nay if thou beleeuest in God, leaue in time this office of an
Officiall, the ministerie of damnation, the wheele of all euill, this spirit of giddinesse
which carrieth thee about to that which is vaine and idle: Haue compassion of thy soule,
pleasing God, whom thou canst not please with this office of perdition. Of Bishops hee
spake not more mildly: *In the house of a Bishop*, saith he, *comprehending the Lord with*
his family, nothing is more damnable for merit, nothing more dishonest for manners, no-
thing more vncleane for conscience, nothing more culpable for reputation, and nothing
more

A *more pernitious for example*: And therefore he oftentimes calleth the heads of the
Clergie, *Syria, Edom, the calues of Bethel, the Idols of Ægypt, the fat of Samaria, the*
Priests of Baal; and verie bitterly calls them backe to their duetie, *The profession of*
thy order admits not the cares of the world, nor the rigour and tyrannie of the materiall
sword; the Kings of nations beare rule ouer these, and not thou. If thou accept the ministery
of Christ, if thou refuse not his yoke, stay in that condition, in that ranke whereto thou art
called, and leaue to the Laitie the gouernement of the people. But we may read among
other things an Epistle of his written to Pope *Alexander* the third, in the name of
the Archbishop of Canterburie, who found himselfe grieued because hee had y-
surped to himselfe the onely Abbie that was in his Archbishopricke; which is the
B more to be noted, because hee would seeme elsewhere to referre all things to the
Popes: *After the death of Vrias*, saith he, *and the adulterie of Bersabee, the Prophet* *Idem Epist. 68.*
sent to Dauid proposeth vnto him the example of a certaine poore man, who had onely one
sheepe, which a certaine rich man tooke from him, that had many sheepe: But Dauids ad-
uice being requested, giueth iudgement of death against this rich man, and consequently
against himselfe. And who is now the rich man, that hath innumerable sheepe, but the Bi-
shop of Rome, who possesseth all the Churches of the world? And who poorer than the
Church of Canterburie, who hauing but one onely Abbie, that is to say, the Monasterie of
S. Augustine, which in the bosome of his pastor all prouidence he cherished with a fatherlie
care; and this rich man, I dare not say the Bishop of Rome, hath vsurped it, as peculiar
C *and proper to himselfe. If we may be bold to say what we thinke, when the office of iustice*
willeth a man to giue to euerie one that which is his, is it not manifest iniustice in the Pope
to bestow a benefit vpon one to wrong another, to commit that in ecclesiastical things which
worldlie authority abhorreth euen in secular? Then repeating againe the general com-
plaint, for that he exempted the Abbies from the obedience of the Bishops, and
so reserued them to himselfe; in so much that the Proctor of the Abbots did not
feare to say, *Base and miserable are those Abbots that banish not the power of the Bi-*
shops, when for the yerely paiment of an ounce of gold they may obtain ful libertie of the See
of Rome: That is to say, to liue without a controller, letting loose the raines of
the bridle to lust, without any discipline and feare of correction: *They that iudge*
D *the world*, saith he, *let them see and iudge these things, least wrong should seeme to pro-*
ceed, from whence equitie and iustice should be had. We shall bee condemned of rashnesse,
and said to open our mouthes against heauen; but we write not these things out of a spirit
of pride, but with the inke of griefe, wee feele our owne priuat miseries and deplore the
publike, &c. The Apostle speaking to the Romans, saith, Euerie creature ought to be sub-
iect to the higher powers: If the Apostle so writ to the Church of Rome, who in the Church
of Rome will presume to contradict this Apostolicall doctrine? &c. Some Angels are grea-
ter and higher in dignitie than others, yet they admit not the pride of emancipation or
freedome the one aboue the other. One of them long since would be freed from the power of
God, and of an Angell became a diuell: by these extraordinarie liberties now adayes are
E *wrought the vtter ouerthrow of many. But to dispute of the doings of the Pope is held, they*
say, for sacriledge; besides the disputation is not equall, where it is not lawfull for the de-
fendant to answer, neither is it a quarell when thou strikest, and I onely must endure the
blowes. In the same sence in the Epistle 158 to *Iohn* Bishop of Chartres, and vpon
the same subiect, which was then pleaded by the Author before the Pope, he saith,
All the lawes and the Canons, and whatsoeuer we could alledge out of the word of God, to *Petrus Blesens. Epist. 158.*
affirme and make good our cause, Maiores inter cæteros, *the greatest haue held detesta-*
ble and sacrilegious, and did publikely iudge vs enemies to the Church of Rome, vnlesse
we would relinquish these word, by which we endeuoured to proue the Church of Saint

Auguſtine, which they affirme particularly to be his, to be ſubiect to the Church of Canterburie, &c. For hauing no regard of the loſſe of ſoules, they permit in the Monkes all vnlawfull things, to caſt off the yoke of all diſcipline, to follow all pleaſures of the fleſh, and to pay for their riot and exceſſe through the whole yeare an annuall penſion: Wee, hauing then beene publikely forbidden to produce in this cauſe either Canons or Lawes, but onely priuiledges, if we had any readie at hand, whereof they knew none we had at that time, ſaw that in this reſpect we were deſtitute of all humane comfort; and they being reſolued to prouide a lay man, and not learned, but rich ynough to purchaſe honors, who had bought this Abbie by ſimonie, not priuily but publikely, and as it were in open market, I put my ſelfe forward to accuſe him, and to make my ſelfe a partie againſt him: but when I layed open manifeſt and notorious things, they whom he had made friends with the Mammon of iniquitie, poured wine and oyle into the wounds of his infamie. Moreouer, hauing gotten much money from the Marchants of Flanders, and in a manner drawne them drie, notwithſtanding borrowed an infinit quantitie of gold of the Romans; ſo by this meanes the Doues wings were all ſiluer, and the hinder parts of her backe glittering all in gold, in ſuch ſort that they would heare no more of the libertie and dignitie of the Church of Canterburie, for the which the Martyr Saint Thomas fought euen vnto death. This pretended Martyr notwithſtanding ſuffered for the Popes authoritie, who, as *Peter* of Blois here tells vs (according to the example of the Phariſies) gilded his ſepulchre, that he might the better rob his Church. Neither are we to forget alſo, That in his treatiſe of the Inſtitutions of a Biſhop, written to *John* Biſhop of Worceſter, he attributeth to euery Biſhop that authoritie which the Church of Rome reſtraineth to the Popes, as ſucceſſors of Saint *Peter*: *We read*, ſaith he, *that our Sauiour ſaid to Peter, If thou loueſt me feed my ſheepe: thou art the heire and Vicar of Peter, feed my ſheepe: In being an Euangeliſt, doe the workes of an Euangeliſt, and of a Paſtor, be not aſhamed of the office of a Paſtor. Thy miniſterie hath more charge than honour; if thou affect honour, thou art mercenarie; if thou wilt imbrace the burthen, the Lord is ſtrong to encreaſe his grace, that profit may come by profit, and gaine by gaine: But if thou canſt not endure the burthen, and knowes thy ſelfe inſufficient, it is too late to complaine.* He ſaid before, *Take heed by all meanes thou wrap not thy ſelfe in ſecular affaires, for there is no agreement with the ſpirit of God and the ſpirit of this world; perſiſt in thy vocation, the world is wholly giuen to wickedneſſe.* And this hee afterward recited, Animabus Prælatus es non corporibus, *Thou haſt the charge of ſoules and not of bodies:* Nihil Prælato commune eſt cum Pilato, *A Prelat hath nothing common with Pilat; thou art Chriſts Steward, & Peters Vicar; thou art not to make an account to Cæſar, but to Chriſt, of that iuriſdiction that is committed vnto thee.* And by theſe and the like places we may judge what he thought of the Popes, who ſo violently drew all ſecular power vnto them: But he was conſtrained verie often to temper his ſtile according to the tyrannie of thoſe times; as when he ſaid, *The ſword wherewith Peter cut off the ſeruants eare exceedeth in theſe daies, according to all mens opinion, the weapons of Alexander and Cæſar.*

Petrum Bleſenſ. de Inſtitutione Epiſcopi.

Petrus Bleſenſ. in Tractatu de Peregrinat. Hieroſolimit.

Let vs now come to *Innocent* the third. The Abbot of Vrſperge tells vs of his entrance into the Popedome: *I haue heard in thoſe times (*ſaith he*) things incredible to be related, and hard to be beleeued, that the ſame Pope ſaid, That he would take away the Kinglie Diademe from Philip, or that Philip ſhould take from him the Apoſtolical Enſigne. Now albeit it were not to be beleeued, that he would prefer his will before the will of God, neuertheleſſe it appeareth that he was at all times contrarie vnto him. But God foreſeeing from aboue, permitted not, that through all Germanie his diuine ſeruice and the Eccleſiaſticall dignitie ſhould periſh, which continued there more permanent than in other*

Abbas Vrſperg.

other countries, albeit much corrupted and depraued through the inſtigation of ſinne, and chiefly carnall pleaſures. And he noteth eſpecially, that *Innocent* oppoſed the authoritie of the Apoſtolike See againſt *Philips*, Vt regium genus deperiret, *To ruinat the royall race:* But *Auentine* ſaith, *That he raiſed* cognatas acies, *brother to fight againſt brother, and the ſonne againſt the father, and the one to pollute himſelfe with the bloud of the other:* and then crying out, *Who*, ſaith he, *can giue any other reaſon of the diſcord among Chriſtians, but the ſpectacle of the Roman Biſhop,* quaſi paria componentis, *taking pleaſure to ſee, and to cauſe them, like Fencers, to murder one another? euen ſo the Chriſtian people were ſlaine, the Biſhops of Rome encouraging the one againſt the other.* In the meane time *Innocent* the third, as ſaith the Abbot of Vrſperge, made profit of this confuſion, which he deſcribeth ſo horrible in the Empire, as the like hardly happened euer in any age: *That a man* (ſaith he) *could not ſafely paſſe from one Pariſh to another; for there was ſcarce any Biſhopricke or Eccleſiaſticall dignitie, or Pariſh church, that was not become litigious: by which meanes all proceſſe were brought to Rome, but not with emptie hands. Reioyce our mother Rome, for the floud-gates of the treaſuries are opened vpon the earth, to the end the riuers may flow to thee, and thou maieſt heape money in great aboundance, make thy ſelfe merie vpon the iniquitie of the children of men; the price is giuen to thee as a recompence of ſo many euils; take comfort in Diſcord thy beſt friend, becauſe it is broken looſſe from the bottomeleſſe pit of hell, that the heape of thy treaſures may be rayſed to the top: Thou haſt that thou haſt long thirſted after, ſing a ſong, for through the enuie of men, and not thy owne religion, thou haſt ouercome the world. It is not for deuotion or pure conſcience that men draw vnto thee, but through the multiplicitie of euils, the deciding of controuerſies, and all for money.* And this was of the entrance of *Innocent* the third that he ſpake. And here end the Annales of *Baronius*. Neither let vs omit the affaires of the Eaſt, vnder the ſchiſme of *Alexander* the third, and *Victor*. *Alexander* ſent a Legat into Paleſtina, that he might there be acknowledged Pope: ſo the two Patriarches of Antioch and Hieruſalem, with the King and his Barons, aſſembled together to conſult thereon. The Kings aduice was, to admit neither the one nor the other, and to permit the Legat onely *Sine inſignibus Legationis*, Without the marks of his Legation, to viſit the holie places as a pilgrime, if he thought good thereof, and preſently to returne againe; for there was no need of a Legat in the kingdome, that ſerued to no other vſe but to burthen the Churches with a greater charge, and to impoueriſh them with extortions: But the greater number caried it, that he was receiued; wherby it came to paſſe, *That to thoſe to whom hee was beſt welcome, his long continuance was burthenſome.*

Auent. l. 7.

Abbas Vrſperg.

Guillelm. Tyrius l. 18. c. 29.

50. Progression.

The contentions betweene Philip and Otho, procured by Pope Innocent. Of the pride and preſumption of the ſaid Innocent, and the bold Decrees he made. Of his intruſions in England, and the many troubles he procured Iohn, then King thereof, after he had excommunicated him. Of the ſubmiſſion, in the end, of the ſaid King, who reſigneth his Crowne and kingdome, and becommeth tributarie to the Pope. Of the firſt beginning of the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation. Of the two Orders of S. Francis and S. Dominick, and the blaſphemous compariſons and opinions conceiued of them.

NOw as *Innocent* had kindled the warre betweene *Philip* and *Otho*, hee taketh this mans part againſt the other, and the worſer truely, if wee may giue credit

to

to the Abbot of Vrsperge; *For he was*, saith he, *proud and foolish, but accounted the more valiant.* To establish him he omitted nothing, sent to the Bishops and Princes of Germanie, to obey him, and absolued them of their othes towards *Philip*, and would not giue the Pall to any Archbishop vnlesse by oath hee would acknowledge him; he made his Legat to crowne him in Germanie, and excommunicated and disgraded *Adulphus*, Bishop of Collen, for crowning *Philip*. But as he vnderstood that *Philip* had woon the field, and that in diuers other battels *Otho* was alwayes ouercome, procured a treatie of peace through the mediation of *Hugoline* Bishop of Ostia, and *Leo* Cardinal of the holie crosse, and the conditions were, that *Otho* should marrie the daughter of *Philip*, and relinquish the title of the Realme during his life, and after his death to succeed him. But *Philip* continued not long, for returning from Saxonie into Sweuia, whilest he stayed at Banbridge for his ease, and the recouerie of his health, was let bloud in both his armes, and beeing at rest in his Chamber, accompanied with a few of his owne domesticall seruants, *Otho* Palatine of Witelspach accompanied with certaine seruants of the Bishops rusht in with his sword drawn & killed him, though in vaine his Chamberlaine sought to defend. Here the Abbot of Vrsperge noteth that *Innocent* had broken the lawful election of *Luitpold* Bishop of Mence in hatred of *Philip*; which in the Chapter *Bonæ memoriæ Extr. de electis*, is to be read, *non iudicij facientē*, saith he. *sed iniuriam*, Not doing justice but iniurie; he addeth that this peace was made, *as he vnderstood of credible persons, because it was promised the Pope that King Philips daughter should marrie his Nephew his brother Richards sonne, whom he had lately made an Earle* (some say he was his Bastard) *and therefore resolued with himselfe not to request the Lands which his predecessours often vsed to demand of the Emperours both in Tuscane, Spoleto, and Ancona, hoping they should come into his Nephewes possession through the aforesayd mariage.* And so *Philip* left *Otho* to succeed him, a man qualified with many vertues, as *Vrsperg* who liued at that time often reporteth, namely for his great clemencie and gentlenesse; for which good cõditions he was neuer the better thought of by the Pope. But let vs see whether *Otho*, whom the Pope had defended against *Philip*, found him more propitious, when he challenged to himselfe the rights of the Empire. In the yeare 1209 *Otho* therefore conueying his armie into Italie, was entertayned with great applause of the people, receyued the Crowne of Iron at Milan from the hands of the Archbishop, and so went to Rome to be crowned with the Imperiall Diademe, and hetherto agreed well with *Innocent*; But trusting to the counsell of his Lawyers he went about to search the rights of his Empire in Tuscane, and to recouer into his hands the Townes which through the vacancie of the Empire, the Popes had drawne vnto themselues, in prejudice of the Empire; whereupon *Innocent* presently threatned him with Ecclesiasticall censures; Notwithstanding *Otho* proceedeth in his purpose, taketh Viterbe, Montefiascone, Orui eto, Perusia, and all that was accounted the patrimonie of *Mathilda*; moreouer he gaue the Dukedome of Spoleto to *Bertaldus* his fauourite; That done hee returned into Lombardie to suppresse and hinder new reuolts there. Now therefore *Innocent* vpon new consultations was resolued to serue his turne, by the meanes of young *Frederic* his Pupill King of Sicilia, whom he caused to goe into Germanie, recommended vnto them with the remembrance of his father and grandfather *Henrie* and *Frederic* the first, there to molest *Otho*, and to cause him to forsake Italie. *Otho* beeing otherwise not greatly beloued of the Princes, nor much esteemed for his vertue; so that not long after being inforst to goe into Saxonie, was declared through

Abbas Vrspergensis in chro. *An.* 1209. *Aunt. l. 7.*

A through all Italie an enemie to the Church, and those that tooke his part, namely the Millanois and their adherents were excluded from the communion of the Church: In the meane time *Innocent* died in the yeare 1216, and *Otho* in the yeare 1218, who as an argument of repentance left by testament the ensignes of the Empire to young *Frederic*. *Krantzius* speaking of the causes of discord betweene *Otho* and *Innocent*, although for the most part inclined towards the Popes, saith, *That the Emperour demaunded through Italie the auntient rights of the Empire, whereof long since some of them were transferred to the Church: He also challenged that great inheritance of Mathilda a woman of great estate in Italie, as appertaining vnto him by a double right, for he seemed to be the heyre of his Aunt, who descended from*

B *the Marquesses of Saxonie, and also as falling to the Empire for want of heires: And hereupon Innocent*, saith he, *exhorted the Princes Electors (that forasmuch as he had cast off Otho, first excommunicated, and then deposed) to chose vnto the Empire another Prince, offering vnto them Frederic, of the age of 20 yeares*; of whom, although he had the administration of his Gardenship, he couerted all to his owne profit: for the Continuor of the holie warre saith, *Frederic being yet a child, and a pupill, was deprined by Innocent his tutor of the inheritance of his Kingdome, and beeing free was made tributorie, without respect either of the prayers of Henrie his father, or Constance his mother, or his owne promise made vnto them.* *Blondus* noteth two bold Decrees

C of this Pope, the first, *so often as one Prince shall offend another, that the correction shal belong to the Bishop of Rome*; The which was done vpon the difference betweene the Kings of Fraunce and England, and is inserted into the Decretals: The second, *That two striuing for the Empire, hauing voyces alike, he whom the Pope alloweth shall be preferred* (which is there red, and put in practise in fauour of *Otho* the fourth) *and ought to be receyued as lawfull*: & by this meanes he was made the Arbitrator of the whole world. But the Bookes, especially written by himselfe, doe testifie how much this mysterie did pricke him forward: *The Bishop of Rome*, saith he, *vseth the Globe in signe of Empire* (the Globe is the signe of the Empire) *& vseth the Mytre in signe of his Popedome. But the Mytre he vseth alwayes and euerie where, but the kingdome neyther euerie where, nor alwayes, because the Papall authoritie is both the first and*

D *the worthier, and further spread than the imperial; for among the people of God the Priesthood went before the kingdom, when Aaron the first priest, went before Saul the first king: Noah also was before Nemroth when of him the Scripture saith, That Babylon was the beginning of Nemroth, but Noah built an altar to the Lord, and offered sacrifice vpon it. But speaking of the Priests and Kings, he calleth the Priests Gods, and the Kings, Princes; From the Gods he saith thou shalt not detract, and the Prince of the people thou shalt not curse: and when the Apostle spake of the King, 'All humane creatures be yee subiect euen for Gods cause to your Kings as the most excellent, or to you leaders as sent by him; The Lord saith to Hieremie, the Priest of the Priests of Anatoth, I haue appointed thee ouer Nations and Kingdomes, that thou maiest pull downe and destroy, build and plant*

E *&c. But to Peter especially he sayd, Thou shalt be called Cephas, that is to say, head, wherein the fulnesse of the senses consist.* Who did euer read such Diuinitie? And yet behold there is worse; *When our Lord and Sauiour sayd vnto S. Peter*, Duc in altum, *cast into the deepe, this deepe Sea is Rome which obtayned and holdeth the prioritie and principalitie aboue all the world, as if he sayd, Goe to Rome, and transport thy selfe with all thine to the Citie, there cast thy nets abroad to take.* In another place; *The Church of Rome oweth not any reuerence to any person but the Pope, who hath no superior but God.* But yet see here his companion and corriuall: *The Bishop of Rome*, saith he, *hath the Church of Rome his spouse, and yet bringeth in other Churches subiect vnto him.* This is

Krantz. l. 9. c. 33. & 34. *Continuator bellifacri l. 3. c. 10* *Blond. Decad. 2. l. 6.* *Extra de electione. c. Venerabilem.* *Innocentius 3. ser. in festo Sylvestri i Papæ.* *Idem Serm. 1. in festo Gregorij Papæ.* *Idem in Serm. 2. de festo Sancti Petri.*

is the firſt (that I knew) that hath gone ſo farre as to call himſelfe the ſpouſe of the Church, arrogating to himſelfe the true and incommunicable title of the Lord, who is the true and onely ſpouſe of the true Church: and therefore the Church of Rome cannot be the true Church, if the Pope be her ſpouſe; nor the Pope her ſpouſe, if the Church of Rome be the true ſpouſe. Let vs heare what S. *Bernard* ſaith writing to Pope *Eugenius*: *It remaines now that thou take care that the ſpouſe of thy Lord, who is committed to thee, be made the better by thee: If thou bee a friend of the ſpouſe thou ſhalt not call his beloued, My Princeſſe, but Princeſſe, challenging nothing to thy ſelfe in her, vnleſſe if occaſion were to giue thy life for her. If Chriſt haue ſent thee, thou muſt make account thou art ſent to ſerue, and not to be ſerued.* Can a man thinke that it is ſufficiently excuſed by that poore diſtinction of *Bellarmine, of a principall or ſubalterne ſpouſe.* I omit his compariſon of the two lights which God hath placed in the firmament, the Sunne and the Moone; the Sunne hee compareth to the Pope, the Moone to the Emperour: for doubtleſſe he that feareth not to violat the commaundements of Chriſt himſelfe the King of kings, wee may thinke he will little ſpare the Princes of the earth.

Bernard ad Eugen. Epiſt. 237.

Bellarmin. de Romano Pontif. l. 2. 31.

And truely vnder the pretence of this ſpirituall authoritie hee required at the ſame time the temporall homage of the kingdome of England; for there being a controuerſie betweene the Biſhops Suffragans of the Archbiſhop of Canturburie, and the Monkes, touching the election of the Archbiſhop; the Monkes pretending, that they onely ought to chuſe him, and the Biſhops ſaying they could not doe it without them: Both of them comming to Rome, *Innocent* perſuaded the Procters of the Monkes to chuſe *Stephen Lanthon* a Cardinall Prieſt, his ſeruant; and albeit they proteſted they could not doe it without the King and their Conuent, being ouerborne with his threats of excommunication, hee ouercame them, and pronounced ſentence for the Monkes againſt the Biſhops; giuing the Monkes likewiſe to vnderſtand, that he would excommunicat them if they obeyed not his Decree. King *Iohn*, who then raigned, was much offended, as well becauſe *Innocent* had ſaid, *That it was not his manner to attend the conſent of Princes touching elections celebrated in the Apoſtolike See*, as alſo for that hee had diſannulled the election made by the Biſhops, of the Biſhop of Norwich, to whom he had giuen his conſent; proteſting to maintaine the rights of his realme euen to death, and to gard the ſea, that no more might goe to Rome, except the Pope changing his ſentence would make amends for that wrong he had done. But *Innocent* interdicted his realme, offered it as a prey to the firſt inuaders thereof, abſolued his ſubiects of all oathes both naturall and ciuile, armed all his Clergie, and the greateſt part of the Nobilitie and Magiſtrats of the realme, againſt him, and in the end pronounced him depoſed, and commaunded another to be put into his place: and for to execute his ſentence, he appointed *Philip* King of France, his enemie, promiſing him in reward of this ſeruice remiſſion of all his ſinnes, giuing this realme to him and his ſucceſſors: proceeding ſo farre herein, that he writ to many worthie and honourable perſons, into diuers nations, *Vt ſeſe Cruce ſignent*, That they ſhould ſigne themſelues with the croſſe, & come to aſſiſt the King of France in this expedition, promiſing vnto them in their goods, perſons, and ſoules, the ſame prerogatiue and indulgence as thoſe had that went to viſit the holie Sepulchre. And it is to be noted, that it is a Monke that relateth vnto vs this hiſtorie. In the meane time that *Philip* prepared to take hold thereof, he priuily ſent a Legat into England, who being receiued by the Biſhops, cauſed his approaching ruine to be made knowne vnto him, vnleſſe he ſought meanes to pacifie the Pope: So

Math. Paris in Johan. p. 216.

So that ſeeing himſelfe beſet with dangers on euerie ſide, *reſigned his Crowne, with the realmes of England and Ireland, into the hands of the Pope, and his ſucceſſors, in the perſon of Pandolph his Legat, confirmed vnder an authentike Charter*, with the generall conſent of his Barons, expreſt in theſe words, *For the forgiueneſſe of all our ſinnes, and the ſinnes of all our kindred, as well they which are liuing as thoſe which are dead, we freely grant to our Lord Pope Innocent, and his Catholike ſucceſſors, the aforeſaid kingdomes.* And thereupon *Innocent* gaue to him the ſaid realmes, to hold by faith and homage of him and his ſucceſſors, vpon condition *to pay yearely, beſides the Peter pence, a thouſand markes ſterling to the Church of Rome, that is to ſay, fiue hundred at the feaſt of Saint Michael, and fiue hundred at Eaſter; that is, ſeuen hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland; vnder proteſtation, That if he or any of his ſhould attempt any thing contrarie to this agrecment, ſhould be diſcharged of the kingdom.* This Charter was ſigned by many of the Nobilitie, and in performance thereof hee ſolemnely did the homage euen at *Pandolphs* feet. In the meane time King *Philip*, whom *Innocent* had ſtirred vp to war, continued an vnreconcilable enemie to the King of England. But marke the monſtrous pride of the Legat, in receiuing the tribute: *Pandolph*, ſaith he, *trampled vnder his feet the money which the King payed, as an earneſt penie in token of his ſubiection*: yet he tooke it, and refuſed it not, for God forbid he ſhould ſay with S. *Peter, Thy money periſh with thee.*

Math. Paris in Johan. p. 225. & ſequent.

Now as we haue often ſaid, as this Myſterie of Iniquitie did gather ſtrength, ſo the doctrine grew worſe and worſe, for it was in the time of this *Innocent*, that both the opinion and name of Tranſubſtantiation did firſt come to light, and at the laſt expreſt in theſe words in the Lateran Synod: *The bodie and blond of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar, are truely contained vnder the formes of bread and wine, the bread being tranſubſtantiated into the bodie, and the wine into the bloud, by diuine power.* And hereupon doe ariſe ſo many monſtrous queſtions, which wee read among the Schole-men of this age, which we haue elſewhere noted more at large: The ceremonies alſo from time to time were brought in by the Popes that followed, eſpecially by *Honorius* the third, the ſucceſſor of *Innocent*, that ceremonie *of bowing the knee at the eleuation*, that is, *when the bread is ſhewed in the Maſſe*, and the like.

Concilium Lateranenſe C. firmiter SS. vna vere &c.

But becauſe to ſupport ſuch Idolatries, otherwiſe weake and ſhaken, they had need as it were of a pillar, behold here theſe that ariſe ſo oportunely at this time, *Francis* and *Dominick*; the one an Italian, the other a Spaniard; the one principall and head of the Friers Minors, and the other of the Preachers; the one confirmed by *Innocent*, the other by *Honorius*, his ſucceſſor; both of them ſtriuing by their clients and followers to be equall with Chriſt, nay aboue Chriſt. But what could be done, or approued, that ſauoured more of Antichriſt? And of theſe things we haue ſpoken more at large elſewhere; but it belongeth to the courſe of the hiſtorie, that we here briefely repeat ſomething againe. Of *Francis* therefore they ſay, that he was greater than *Iohn Baptiſt*; *Iohn was the forerunner of Chriſt, S. Francis the Preacher and Enſigne-bearer of Chriſt: Iohn receiued the word of repentance of Chriſt, Francis both of Chriſt and the Pope, which is more: Iohn the friend of the ſpouſe* (that is to ſay Chriſt) *Francis like to the ſpouſe himſelfe: Iohn eleuated into the order of the Seraphins, Francis ſeated in the place from whence Lucifer fell: Francis was better than all the Apoſtles, placed in heauen, proceeding out of the wounded ſide of Chriſt, made a tipe of Ieſus by his paſſion, who receiued in a viſion the ſame wounds of Chriſt, ſuffered the ſame griefes, the paſſion of Chriſt renewed in him for the ſaluation of mankind; of whom Dauid hath ſaid, Thou haſt crowned him with glorie and honour, and haſt ſet him aboue*

Lib. 3. de Euchar. c. 17.

Liber conformitatum p. 24. p. 39

Fol. 66. & 247. Proſa de Francisco ibid. initio libri & fol. 194. Fol. 144. Fol. 17. Fol. 24. Fol. 149. Fol. 133. Fol. 5.

aboue all the workes of thy hands, he is ſet as a light to the Gentiles; which the Prophet ſpake of Chriſt: *Abraham ſaw that day, and was glad thereof.* And to conclude, whatſoeuer was foretold by the Prophets of Chriſt onely, the ſame was pronounced of him: *Of whom may rightly be ſaid that which is ſpoken in the Goſpell, All things are giuen me of my father. Matth.* 11. Of whom it is likewiſe ſaid, *I will be to him a father, and he ſhall be to me a ſonne.* And againe, that which was neuer ſaid nor interpreted by any but by Chriſt, *In whom all the vertues of the Saints, as well of the old as the new Teſtament, are put* vnitiuè & conjunctiuè, *vnitiuely and coniunctiuely*: Wherefore alſo *through his merits he was made the ſonne of God, and ſanctified by the holie Ghoſt, by reaſon of a ſcedule which Frier Leo ſaw to deſcend from heauen, and fell vpon the head of Saint Francis, wherein it was written, This man is the grace of God, wholly conformable vnto Chriſt, the example of all perfection, deified in the glorie of God the Father, in the glorie of the Saints vnited to God, whereby he preceeded all liuing creatures, is made one and the ſame ſpirit with God, whom the Militant Church hath deſerued to be an Aduocat with God, in whom the paſſion of Chriſt is renewed for the ſalution of all mankind, in ſo much that God hath beene pacified for the whole world through one Maſſe of S. Francis. All are ſaued that dye in the Order, and vnder the rule of S. Francis; for Francis prayed vnto God, and obtained of God, that none of that Order might dye any euill death. The ſame grace deſcendeth vpon him, who taketh vpon him that Order of religion, as vpon him that is baptiſed: And the putting on of the hood giueth vnto them full remiſſion of ſinnes, and freeth as well from the puniſhment as the ſinne; and taking vpon him a new purpoſe of a vow, the which afterward he may repent, is neuertheleſſe baptized againe, and hath pardon.* Wilt thou any more? *Chriſt hath prayed, Francis hath obtained.* And when ſhall we haue an end of theſe blaſphemies? This booke notwithſtanding was exhibited in the generall Chapter of the Franciſcans, by Frier *Bartholomew* of Piſa, and approued by all with a generall conſent in the citie of Aſſiſe, the ſecond of Auguſt 1389, with this expreſſe clauſe, *We haue ſearched, debated, and cauſed this booke diligently to be examined, and we find nothing therein worthie correction*: therfore it is called by them *The Golden Booke*, and ſent by the commaundement of the Popes, *Gregorie* the ninth, *Alexander* the fift, and *Nicholas* the third, to all the faithfull, vnder the paine of hereſie to beleeue the markes of S. *Francis*: likewiſe by the commandement of *Benedict* the twelft, to celebrate the day whereon they had receiued it: And that by a Bull of *Alexander* the fourth, the hill of Auernia, whereon they ſay theſe things happened, ſhould be receiued into the protection of the See of Rome. And yet the Authors of theſe times doe not agree among themſelues vpon theſe marks, for *Bonauenture*, who liued fortie yeres after, ſaith in his Legend, That they were ſeene and acknowledged of many, euen to the putting in of the nailes. *Mathew Paris* cleane contrarie, a moſt ſuperſtitious Monke, who liued at the ſame time, affirmeth, that there appeared not any marke or trace *either in his ſide, his feet, or hands.*

There was no leſſe fained of *Dominick*, eſpecially when he was to bee oppoſed againſt the Albienſes: Therefore the Archbiſhop *Anthonie*, who was of his Order, ſo compareth his myracles with thoſe of Chriſts, as euer they excell them both in weight and number: *Chriſt*, ſaith he, *raiſed three onely that were dead, Dominick three in the citie of Rome: But what ſhould wee thinke of thoſe fortie ſtrangers that ſuffered ſhipwracke in the great riuer neere Toloufe, the ſhip being ouerwhelmed, and they a long time vnder water, but that by the prayer of S. Dominick they came ſafe out of the riuer, and were reſtored to life. Chriſt being immortall entred twice among his Diſciples, the gates being ſhut, but Dominicus as yet but a mortall man (which is much to bee admi-*

Fol. 14.

Fol. 4. Fol. 3. Fol. 5. Fol. 144. Fol. 78.

Bernard. in Roſario Thom. in l. 4. Sent. diſt. 4. ex vitis Patrum

Liber conformitatum impreſſus Bononiæ an. 1590. fol. 3. & 254. Item fol. 3. & 250.

Anthon. parte 3. tit. 23. c. 28. Bonauent. in Legenda B. Francis.

Antonius Archiep. parte 3. tit. 23. c. 3. §. 3.

A *admired) entred in the night into the Church, the doores being ſhut, leaſt he ſhould waken his brethren: Chriſt ſaid after his death, All power is giuen to me in heauen and in earth, and this power,* ſaith he, *is not a little communicated to Dominick ouer all celeſtiall, terreſtriall, and infernall things*: Note how he alwayes quarels for the better: *For he had the holie Angels at his ſeruice, the elements did obey him, and the diuels trembled at him, and were not able to diſobey him.* This hee proueth by many examples: He addeth, That *at Venice, before Dominick was borne into the world, there was in Saint Markes Church two Images to be ſeene of all, whereof one was in a verie religious habit, of the Order of the Preachers, with a Lilie in his hand; the other had the ſimilitude of the Apoſtole S. Paul, as they vſe to paint him, ouer whom was written* αγιος

B Paulus, *S. Paul, but vnder the feet of the Image was written,* Per iſtum itur ad Chriſtum, *By this man we come to Chriſt: Aboue the other figure was written* αγιος Dominicus, *that is, S. Dominick, but vnder him,* Facilius itur per iſtum, *The way is eaſier by this man,* that is to ſay, by *Dominick*, for ſaith *Anthonie, The doctrine of S. Paul, and ſo likewiſe of the other Apoſtles, was a doctrine leading to faith, and obſeruance of the commaundements, the doctrine of Dominick to the obſeruance of Counſels, and therefore the way more eaſie by him to come to Chriſt.* And ſo thou haſt one ſuperiour to S. *Paul* and the reſt of the Apoſtles, and his rule better than Apoſtolicall doctrine. But worſe followeth, *Becauſe he was like vnto Chriſt, he was aptly namcd Dominicus, by our Lord Chriſt; for Dominicus,* quaſi totus Domini, *was that principally and by*

C *poſſeſſion, which our Lord was abſolutely and by authoritie*: For the Lord ſaith, *I am the light of the world, and the Church ſingeth of Dominick, Yee are the light of the world. The Prophets diuers wayes foretold of our Lord, for they all beare witneſſe of him. Of Dominick and his Order ſaith Zacharie in his eleuenth Chapter, ſpeaking of the perſon of God, I haue taken vnto me two ſtaues, the one I haue called* Decorem, *Beautie; the other* Funiculum, *a Cord or a Band: Beautie is the Order of S. Dominick, for the beautifull habit of their Prelats; the Cord is the Order of the Minors, becauſe they are girt with a cord.* Thus play they with the Scriptures. Furthermore, *The Lord was borne vpon the naked earth, but the Virgine his mother, for feare of the cold, puts him into a manger; Dominick being borne, and a little infant vnder the cuſtodie of his nurſe, getting out of*

D *his cradle, deteſting as it were the delights of the fleſh, was found ſometimes by his nurſe lying all naked vpon the bare earth. At the birth of our Lord there appeared a ſtar, which guided the wiſe men vnto him, thereby inſinuating that the whole world ſhould be enlightened by him: likewiſe in the forehead of Dominick, as he was baptiſed, the godmother beheld a ſtarre, ſignifying that a new light was come into the world, &c. The prayer of the Lord was euer heard whenſoeuer he would, for, that which he prayed for in the garden, That the cup might be taken from him, was not grãted, becauſe he praying according to the fleſh, he would not obtaine according to reaſon: but Dominick neuer demaunded any thing of God, which he fully obtained not according to his deſire*: that is to ſay, becauſe he neuer requeſted any thing according to the deſire of the fleſh. *The Lord hath loued vs,* Ibidem para. gra. 2.

E *and waſhed vs from our ſinnes in his bloud; but Dominick, not without a certaine perfection of charitie, ſpending the whole night with God in meditation and prayer, did vndergoe a threefold diſcipline, euen with his owne hand, and that euerie day, not with a whipcord, but with a chaine of yron, euen to the effuſion of his bloud; one for his owne faults, which were verie ſmall, another for thoſe which were in purgatorie, and the other for thoſe that liued in the world.* And *Anthonie* the Archbiſhop proſecuteth this compariſon through all the parts of the life of Chriſt. Finally, our Lord departing from this world, promiſed to his Diſciples a Comforter, that is to ſay, the holie Ghoſt, *And Dominick ſayd to his followers, My deere friends weepe not for me, nor let my bodilie departure trouble you, in the place to which I goe I ſhal be more profitable vn-* Ibidem 4. parag. 14.

to you than I can be here; for after death you may haue me a better Aduocat than you can haue in this life. What then ſhall we thinke of that which S. *Iohn* ſayes vnto vs, *If we ſinne we haue an aduocat euen Ieſus the righteous?* And theſe blaſphemies, becauſe they make to the ſtrengthening of their authoritie, are confirmed by the Church of Rome: for *Gregorie* the ninth canonized *Dominick* in there 1223, made him a Saint, appointed him a feſtiuall day, and both approued, and with priuiledges ſtrengthened his Order: And hee that writ theſe things was the Archbiſhop of Florence, verie famous among our aduerſaries, and put into the Canon of the Saints. This is ſaid, to the end the Reader may obſerue what might bee then the corruption of the Church, what the deſignes of the Popes, when theſe and the like horrible blaſphemies were ſupported by the Popes: and alſo with what ſpirits their Conſiſtories & their Councels haue been carried; in which in the meane time they giue vs new articles of faith, Tranſubſtantiation, the Adoration of the Hoaſt in the Maſſe, Auricular confeſſion, the Communion vnder one kind, & the like. But they had need, for the promulgation of ſuch trumperies, of ſuch Preachers as might afterward ſerue their turne for the ſpreading abroad of their factions among the people, and inſinuat themſelues by their preaching into the hearts of men; by making euerie ſmall matter a caſe of conſcience, they propoſe an art to extinguiſh all conſcience: For the Abbot of Vrſperge ſaith, by the commaund of the Pope they abſolue rapes, depopulations, burnings, ſeditions, warres; and therefore he ſaid not without good cauſe, That Pope *Innocent* had rather approue the Minors and Preachers, than the humble & poore of Lyons, *Who derogated from the Prieſthood by thoſe ſermons they made for the moſt part in the ſecret places of Gods Church*; for they preached againſt the vices of the Clergie, and yet they were not accuſed of any hereſie, becauſe, ſaith he, *they reprehended the vices of men, ſtill obeying the See Apoſtolike, from which they deriue their chiefe authoritie.* But theſe things we ſhall better obſerue in their due place.

Idem parte 3. Tit. 23. c. 43. 17.

Abbas Vrſperg. in Chron.

Opposition.

Now it behoueth vs to ſee what judgement the Authors of theſe times haue left vnto vs of the wicked actions of *Innocent*, touching the warre he kindled betweene *Philip* and *Otho*. The Abbot of Vrſperge, who liued in thoſe dayes, ſpeaks freely in this manner, *Innocent endeuoured by all meanes to hinder Philip to attaine to the Imperiall throne, vpbraiding him with that which his brother and kindred had cruelly done (which neuertheleſſe they did by the inſtigation of wicked men) wherein, vnder correction of the Apoſtolike See, he ſeemed not to haue iudged according to equitie; when the Lord ſaith by his Prophet, That the ſinnes of the fathers ought not to be imputed to the children, how much leſſe of brothers, or of other kindred? Ezechias and Iozias, moſt religious kings, had verie wicked fathers: In the genealogie euen of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, ſome wicked ones are recited. There is yet extant an Epiſtle of the ſaid Innocent, directed to Bartholdus Duke of Zaringia, wherein are written many abſurd things againſt Philip, and ſome of them falſe, which he cauſed to be inſerted into the Decretals, &c. Then he began to ſtand vpon friuolous obiections, and exceptions, to the end hee might hinder him, obiecting vnto him the ſentence of excommunication:* that is to ſay, of *Celeſtine* the third. *Moreouer, he ſent the Biſhop of Sutrie to demaund of him the hoſtages of Apulia, whoſe eyes long ſince his brother Henrie the Emperor had commaunded to be pluckt out. But the ſaid Philip, as he was gentle and courteous, when he heard of the ſentence of excommunication, he humbly intreated to be abſolued by the ſaid Legat, and beſides ſent the aforeſaid hoſtages to the Pope. Wherefore the Biſhop of Sutrie, for as much as he had vnlawfully abſolued Philip, exceeding therein the bounds of his commaund, was depriued of*

of his Biſhoprick, and baniſhed into a certaine iſland of the ſea, where he happily ended his dayes in a verie religious and ſtrict Monaſterie. So that hee exclaimes againſt this wilie monopolie: *The horne of iniquitie is exalted, wherewith many haue beene annointed, againſt whom the Lord ſaith by his Prophet, I haue ſaid to the wicked, Doe not wickedly, and to tranſgreſſers, Lift not vp your horne. This horne is now filled with adulterous oyntment. The horne of that oyntment is farre off, wherewith Dauid was annoynted King. What therefore ſhould be done in the members, but that which is done in the heads, &c? O Lord, behold ſuch as the oyntment is in the head, ſuch it deſcends vpon the heard: Oh that it were but vpon the beard onely with the reprobat; it deſcended likewiſe vpon the beard of Aaron: for they that had layed their foundation in the mountaine of ſtrength,* vtpote Clauſtralis, *as cloyſtered Monkes, ſeeming to lead a religious life* (that is to ſay, they whoſe helpe *Innocent* vſed to alienat the hearts of the people from *Philip*) *are farre from the wombe of our mother the Church, in which they were conceiued and baptiſed: They haue wandered from the wombe, wherein they ought to be comforted & nouriſhed with wholeſome admonitions, & now they haue ſpoken nothing but lyes.* And here the Reader may judge what the Abbot thought of him that vſed the helpe of people ſo diſhoneſt.

Through theſe diſcords in England *Innocent* proceeded ſo farre, that king *Iohn* being brought into great extremitie, was inforced to become tributarie vnto him. That king, ſaith the hiſtory, *hauing known* multiplici experiencia, *by deere experience, that the Pope was ambitious and proud aboue all men liuing, and an inſatiable thirſter after money,* Et ad omnia ſcelera pro premijs datis vel promiſſis cereus & procliuus, *Prone to all wickednes whatſoeuer, for rewards either promiſed or giuen,* was reſolued to make a benefit of this his ill fortune, purpoſing with himſelfe a reuenge of the Barons and Biſhops of the kingdome, with the good liking and leaue of *Innocent*, nay he being the author. Whereupon he ſent Embaſſadors vnto him, who carried with them a great part of his treaſure, and withall promiſing more, ſware vnto him, That he would alwayes be his ſubiect, and tributarie vnto him, ſo that he would find ſome ſubtile occaſion to excommunicat his Barons and Biſhops, eſpecially the Archbiſhop of Canturburie, for whom the Pope had ſo much moleſted him. *Nicholas* Biſhop of Tuſcule, his Legat, came into England, to releaſe the interdict that had continued ſix yeares, three moneths, and foureteene dayes, *To the irreuocable loſſe* (ſaith the Author) *of the Church, both in temporall matters and in ſpirituall. Iohn* gaue him this infamous reſignation of his realme, no more in wax, as to *Pandolph*, but ſealed in gold. And becauſe there was made a queſtion of the loſſes which the Biſhops had receiued, the Legat in fauour of the king deferred it to a farther day. But *Innocent*, who deſired to gratifie the king by his Legat of all the vacant Churches, to the prejudice of the Archbiſhop of Canturburie, *Intruſione magis quàm electione canonica diſponit*, Diſpoſed of them rather by intruſion than canonicall election. Hereupon this Archbiſhop appealed, but the Legat reiected his Appeale, & proceeded in his purpoſe: and *Innocent* ratified the acts of his Legat, ſpeaking now of nothing but the praiſes and commendations of the Prince. The Barons they aſſembled to demaund their libertie, with whom alſo joyned the citie of London. The Pope as the chiefe Lord reuoketh them, and becauſe they would not preſently obey, he excommunicated them, and ſtirred vp all the ſubiects of the realme againſt them, promiſing them remiſsion of their ſinnes; and included in the ſame excommunication all the Biſhops that delayed to publiſh the Anatheme: But becauſe *Stephen* Archbiſhop of Canterburie, hauing lately beene his fauourite, declared that hee could not publiſh

Math. Paris in Iohan.

liſh it, before he had ſeene the Pope; and being readie to take ſhipping for the Councell aſsigned at Rome, becauſe *tacita veritate ſententia erat in Barones lata*, The ſentence was pronounced againſt the Barons, trueth it ſelfe being ſilent, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, & *Pandolph* the Legat, the executioners of this ſentence, forbad him the Church, and ſuſpended him from the celebration of his office; of ſo great force and efficacie was the money king *Iohn* powred into the lap of the Pope. But beſides, he was no ſooner come to Rome but the ſentence of ſuſpenſion was confirmed by *Innocent*. Theſe proceedings now put the Barons of England into deſpaire, who (ſaith the hiſtorie) ſeeing all hope of their good to be taken away, and knowing not what to doe, curſt the fraud and infidelitie of the king: *Woe be to thee O Iohn* (ſay they) *the laſt of the Kings, the abhomination of the Princes of England, the confuſion of the Engliſh Nobilitie. O miſerable England, being now waſted, and readie to be more waſted and deſtroyed. O wofull England, England that hitherto hath beene the Prince of Prouinces in all good things, art made tributarie; not onely ſubiect to fire, famine, and ſword, but to the empire and commaund of baſe ſlaues and ſtrangers, though there be nothing more vnhappie than to be enthralled to ſuch people. We read that many other kings, yea and but petie kings too, haue fought for the liberte of their countrey euen to death: but thou Iohn, of a mournefull memorie to all poſteritie, thy countrey that hath beene free for many yeares, thou haſt found the meane to bring it into bondage, and employed thy endeuors to draw others with thee into ſlauerie: thou haſt firſt debaſt thy ſelfe, being made of a free king a tributarie, and a veſſell of ſeruitude: Thou haſt bound the nobleſt of all countries with a band of eternall ſlauerie, neuer to bee freed from ſeruile fetters, vnleſſe he hauing pitie vpon vs, and the whole world, vs I ſay, whom auncient ſeruitude hath held vnder the yoke of ſinne, vouchſafe at the laſt to ſet vs at libertie.* Neither doe they leſſe complaine of the Pope: *Thou (ſay they) who ought to be an example of light to the whole world, the father of ſanctitie, the myrrour of pietie, the defender of iuſtice, the keeper of veritie, conſenteſt thou to ſuch a thing? doeſt thou approue and defend ſuch a man? But doubtleſſe thou defendeſt him, becauſe hee hath exhauſted the money of England, exacted vpon the Engliſh Nobilitie, to the end that all this might be ſwallowed vp in the gulfe of the Roman auarice: But this cauſe and excuſe is an offence and accuſation before God.* In the end they reſolued to make choyce of ſome Potent Prince to be their King, who might reſtore vnto them their auncient poſſeſſions and liberties; and this was *Lewis* the ſonne of *Philip Auguſtus*, the father afterward of S. *Lewis*, to whom they ſent twentie foure hoſtages, to aſſure him the kingdome, which he accepted. *Innocent* vnderſtanding hereof, ſent *Waldo* his Legat to *Philip* into France, willing him, That he ſuffer not his ſonne to trouble England, nor *Iohn* the King: but rather to defend him as a vaſſall of the Church of Rome, and England as the demaine thereof. *Philip* plainely told him, That the kingdome of England neuer was the patrimonie of S. *Peter*, nor is, nor euer ſhould be: and that *Iohn* condemned of treaſon againſt his brother *Richard*, is not, nor euer was the true and lawfull king, nor could giue the kingdome, although he had aſpired to the Crowne, by the murder of *Arthur*, for which he was condemned in his owne Court. Moreouer, no King or Prince can giue away his kingdom without the conſent of his Barons, who are bound to defend it: *And if the Pope be determined to defend ſuch an errour, he will giue a moſt pernitious example to all kingdomes.* All the Nobilitie therefore of the kingdome cried out with one voice, *That for this point they would fight euen to death.* This was at Lyons a little after Eaſter in the yeare 1216. The day following *Philip* gaue the Legat audience, commanding his ſonne *Lewis* to be preſent, where all this buſineſſe was againe diſputed. The Legat

Math. Paris in Iohan. *An. 1216.*

Legat, notwithſtanding all theſe reaſons, forbad *Lewis* to enter into England, and threatened the father vnder pain of excommunication not to permit him: whereupon *Lewis* departeth, the Legat demaunding of *Philip* ſafe conduct for himſelfe, which *Philip* willingly granted vnto him by his letters: *But if perhaps, ſaith he, you fall into the hands of the Monkes of Euſtachius, or any other belonging vnto Lewis, which keepe the ſea coaſts, blame not mee:* and ſo with diſcontent hee departeth the Court. *Lewis* being reſolued to this enterpriſe, who alſo chalenged a title to the kingdome by the right of his mother, proteſted to his father euen with teares, That hauing giuen his word to the Barons of England to aid and ſuccour them, *he had rather for a time to be excommunicated by the Pope, than incurre the diſcredit of falſhood;* and ſo preſently embarking himſelfe with a mightie army paſt into England: and inſtantly followeth him the Legat *Waldo*, who with all the Biſhops of his faction excommunicateth *Lewis* with burning lights, with all his adherents and followers, ordaining, that euerie Saboth and feſtiuall day, throughout all England this ſentence ſhould be publiſhed. *Lewis* neuertheleſſe proceedeth in his expedition, whom the death of *Iohn* in the meane time ſtayeth, which ended the hatred of the Barons. Wherefore recompenſing *Lewis* for his paines and expences imployed in their defence, they eſtabliſhed his ſonne in his place. All the circumſtances of theſe proceedings are wholly related by *Mathew Paris*, who was an eye witneſſe of theſe affaires, and are there worth the reading. *Math. Paris in Iohan.*

Vnder this *Innocent* the Weſterne people hauing taken Conſtantinople, created Emperour thereof *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders; and he, as depending of the Latine Church, made the Greeke Church forthwith ſubiect thereunto. Notwithſtanding he could not hereby keepe the fauour of *Innocent*, who required ſuch things as ſeemed vniuſt vnto him, complaining, That he let the Patriarch of Conſtantinople ſit *beneath him on his left hand*; ſignifying that *Innocent* preferred the dignitie of the Prieſthood farre aboue the Imperiall, and thinking that what in this behalfe he tooke away from the Emperour, would be ſo much the more payned for himſelfe. *Baldwin* therefore writing vnto him, could not hide from him that this was not the voyce of *Peter*, who on the contrarie commaundeth, *Be yee ſubiect to the King, as vnto the ſuperiour, and vnto Gouernours, as vnto them that are ſent of him for the puniſhment &c.* And therefore he ſubiected Eccleſiaſticall dignities vnto ſecular powers. Hence it is that we haue that Decretall of *Innocent* directed to *Baldwin*, wherein he expoundeth vnto him this place of S. *Peter*: and his diuinitie here is worth the noting: *The Apoſtle, ſaieth he, wrot vnto his ſubiects, and prouoked them to the merit of humilitie, yea rather vnto ſtrangers of all ſorts, ſcattered in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, &c.* By what right were theſe his ſubiects, vnleſſe it be in as much as they were Chriſts ſheepe, who acknowledged his voyce in *Peter*? He proceedeth, *If thy expoſition take place, it will then follow, that ſeruie ſeruant alſo ſhould beare rule ouer Priеſts; for it is there ſaid, Be ye ſubiect to euerie humane creature for Gods ſake.* But hee ought not to be ignorant, that the Greekes interpret the word κτίσει by τάξει, Order: *Oecumenius*, τῇ τάξει, ἀντὶ τοῦ, *Excellencie, power.* And here it is he alledgeth that pleaſant allegorie of the *two great lights*, of which we haue aboue ſpoken: Whence conſequently, ſaith the Summe, *The Empire is not aboue the Prieſthood, but vnder it, and is held to obey it.* Alſo, *Biſhops ought not to be vnder Princes, but aboue them: and this ſaying is very worthy to be alledged.* 1. Pet. 2. verſ. 13. & 14. *Extra de Maiorit. & obedientia c. 6. ſolicitæ.*

We haue before made mention of new traditions intruded for articles of the faith in the Councell of Lateran. *Peter Cantor* a moſt learned Diuine was there preſent, who deliuered there a long ſpeech of the multiplicitie of vayne ceremonies,

monies, and of the profanation of the ſeruice of God; by occaſion of which, that which was chiefeſt in Religion was neglected. And we haue yet his Booke intituled, *Verbum abreuiatum*, where he ſharpely inueyeth againſt them; but he told a tale to them that had no eares to heare. Alſo floriſhed at the ſame time in England, *Walter Mapez* Archdeacon of Oxford, a man of excellent wit, who in his verſes painteth forth in their right colours, the life of Popes, the exactions and rapines of the Court of Rome, the exceſſe, hautineſſe and pride of the Prelats, as may be read in his Booke, entituled, *Diuerſe poemes of the corrupted ſtate of the Church*, which are longer than can be here fitly inſerted: The beginning thereof is thus,

Roma mundi caput eſt, ſed nil capit mundum,
Quod pendet à capite totum eſt immundum.

Rome is our head, which nothing but vncleaneneſſe doth imbrace:
And in the ſame, all filthineſſe (that is) hath wholly place.

But among the reſt he compoſed a treatiſe, entituled *Apocalypſis Pontificis Goliath*, by which name he ſignified, that Antichriſt was reuealed in the Pope. Alſo *prædicationem Goliath*, the beginning whereof is, *Viri venerabiles, &c.* and other treatiſes in *Papam & Curiam, & de malis Curiæ Romanæ*, againſt the Pope and his Court, and of the euils of the Court of Rome. *Giraldus Cambrenſis* maketh mention of him in his *Mirrour of the Church*, and witneſſeth that he was a man in great eſtimation in that age.

Giral. Cambrenſ. l. 3. c. 1. & 14. in ſpeculo Eccleſiæ.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Waldenſes or Albigenſes multiplied in France, maintayning and publiſhing euerie where their doctrine aboue mentioned, and did ſo ſpread themſelues from the Alpes to the Pyrenean mountaines, that verie many both in Cities and Countries departed from the traditions of the Church of Rome; yea many great and noble men joyned vnto them, as namely, *Raymund* Earle of Thoulouſe and of S. Giles, the Kings couſen, *Raymund Roger* Vicount of Beſiers and of Carcaſſonne, *Peter Roger* Lord of Gabaret, *Raymund* Earle of Foix, nere kinſman to the King of Arragon, *Gaſto* Prince of Bearne, the Earle of Bigorre, the Ladie *de la vaur*, the Earle of Carman, *Raymund de Termes*, *Americ de Montrueil*, *William de Menerbe*, and infinit others, both Lords and Gentlemen; men truly of that ranke, that no man of ſound judgement will thinke, they would haue expoſed to manifeſt daunger their life fortunes and honour for the defence of vices and errours ſo execrable as they were charged withall: On the contrarie it muſt needs be (whatſoeuer the Monkes of that time, and the Popes champions doe prate) that by the onely force of their conſciences they were moued thereto. And this doth *William Paradin* acknowledge in his Annales of Bourgundie, who teſtifieth that he had red Hiſtories that clearely juſtified the Albigenſes, and the Princes and Lords their fauourers from all theſe falſe imputations; affirming that they were vexed onely becauſe they reproued openly the traditions and corruptions of the Church of Rome. Pope *Innocent* then, about the yere 1208, ſent firſt vnto them two Legats, the Biſhop of Oxford and *Dominicus*, to haue a conference with them at Carman; and preſently joyned vnto them the Ciſtertian Abbot with twelue others of the ſame order, and againe held a conference with them at Pamiers: And of the part of the Albigenſes were defendants, *Theodore* (before Canon of Neuers) *Baldwin* and *Bernard* of Simorre and others.

But

A But their aduerſaries hide from vs here, the points in controuerſie in theſe conferences: If they had beene Manichees, Gnoſtickes, Cathares, Montaniſtes, Adamites, as they would make men beleeue they were, no doubt they would not haue omitted them. But when theſe conferences did little ſatisfie the Lords, and that the people were nothing moued at the preaching of *Dominicus*, whom the Pope (hauing beene, as he ſayd, warned in a dreame) had choſen to vphold his Palace of Lateran that otherwiſe was readie to fall to ruine; he hath recourſe to other counſels, which theſe fore-proceedings did but colour, for forme ſake. He therefore excommunicateth Earle *Raymund*, whoſe authoritie was chiefeſt, expoſeth his Countrie for a prey, diſchargeth and abſolueth all men that were bound
B vnto him by neceſſitie, league, or other couenant, from that bond, and from their oath of fidelitie, and that *by Apoſtolike authoritie*, affirming, *that to him that had not kept his faith with God, faith ought not to be kept*; and alſo giueth leaue to all men to attempt againſt his perſon, and againſt all the Albigenſes, no leſſe than againſt the Saracens, largely promiſing them the like indulgences; Inſomuch alſo that the mony that had beene appointed for the holie warre is turned to the ſlaughter of Chriſtians; The croſſe which in times paſt was (at leaſt in pretence) aſſumed againſt the infidels, is now taken vp for to crucifie Chriſt in his members, by a new and horrible example. So that, ſuch was the furie or ignorance of that age, he incited many Princes, Lords, and Prelats to aſſemble themſelues on all parts, to
C ſet vpon them; who might better cheape and eaſier expiate their vices, with the dammage of this people, than by fighting againſt the Saracens in the holie land. At their comming, with the fright of this deluge, Earle *Raymund* is aſtoniſhed, and promiſeth obedience to the Church of Rome. But (marke here the manner) *Almarick* the Popes Legat, Generall of this armie, draggeth him into the Church by a ſtole caſt about his necke, and with ſcourgings. From thence the countries are laid waſt, Townes are ſacked, and all places filled with ſlaughters, fire, and ruine; neuertheleſſe the Albigenſes courage fayled not vtterly, but many times renewed the warre. Earle *Raymund* alſo, after this ſo great diſgrace, finding himſelfe no gentlier vſed by the Pope, taketh armes again with them, affiſted
D with the Earles of Foix, and of Comminges; till ſuch time as there comming new ſupplies from all parts, of Biſhops and Lords of Fraunce, into the Popes armie, ſigned with croſſes, Earle *Raymund* is conſtrained to withdraw himſelfe into Arragon, and the Albigenſes forced to forſake the champian Countrie and flie vnto the mountains, and ſome vnwarlike families to ſeeke new countries to inhabit. Meane time, it is here to be noted, that although this warre was made in Fraunce, yet King *Philip Auguſtus* was not the head thereof, but the Pope and his Legat, who made it his owne conqueſt that was woon in this warre. The King onely ſuffered his ſubjects to enrol themſelues for the Popes wars, and the Lords of the Kingdome to lead troupes of ſouldiers thither. For in the yeare 1215 *Pe-* *An.* 1215.
E *ter Beneuent* the Popes Legat in a Synod holden at Monpellier in the name of *Innocent*, appointeth *Simon* Earle of Montfort Prince and Lord of his conqueſt, others ſay Gardian, vntill the Councell of Lateran ſhould more fully determine of it. The Albigeois Hiſtorie alſo noteth, that *Lewis* the Kings eldeſt ſonne coming at that time into the armie, the Legat was not well pleaſed at it, fearing leſt he would diſpoſe of the Land by right of war gotten to the Pope, which the Soueraigne Lord himſelfe had ſo long time abandoned to the poyſon of hereſie. Therefore in the Councell of Lateran, the Pope pronounceth *Simon* Earle *Montfort*, Lord of all that had beene *Raymunds*, yet on condition that hee ſhould doe

ho-

homage for it to the King, which alſo the King admitteth. But preſently after, all the Townes from Auignon to Thouloufe reuolted from *Simon* to *Raymund* his ſonne, and by this means the hearts of the Albigenſes were reſtored: So that new worke is made, the war reuiued againe, Biſhops and croſſed ſouldiers ſent for from all parts; and whileſt they loſt in one place and gained victorie in another, the Earle of Montfort hauing nine moneths beſieged the citie of Thouloufe, in a ſallie receiued a blow with a ſtone, whereof the ſame day he dyed, ſo that the citie was deliuered from ſiege, and the Albigenſes got the vpper hand. This *Simon de Montfort* was indeed a man of courage, and a great captaine, but particularly noted of ignorance, which perpetuall enemie of truth wee haue alſo found in our dayes; ſo as they onely haue perſecuted it, as neuer had, nor would haue the care to ſearch after it. And thus much briefly out of the Albigenſes hiſtorie of *Peter des Vallees*, and out of the Chronicle of Montfort it ſelfe.

In the meane ſeaſon, whether it were by reaſon of the diſperſion of the Waldenſes, or for that in other Prouinces God had made the truth knowne, at the ſame time in diuers places the like ſermons were heard, and by conſequence had the like perſecutions: For *Trithemius*, and others both before and after him, recite, That in the citie of Strasbourge, for the ſame, were burned to the number of foureſcore; and in the countrey about it were ſlaine an hundred in one day. *Nauclerus* ſaith, That in Italie this doctrine (which he calleth hereſie) wonderfully increaſed, as well among the Nobilitie as the common people; and that euery yere they ſent to Milan ſome collection for the maintenance of their Teachers. *Bruſchius* ſaith, That at Mentz were burned nine and thirtie. And from this time forth nothing is more frequent, theſe aſhes hauing beene as it were by the breath of Gods ſpirit ſtrewed into all the corners of Europe; and yet this cannot be aſcribed to any conniuence, or tolleration of it: For *Trithemius* and the Monke *Godfrey* telleth vs plainely, *That Conrade of Marpurg, an Apoſtolike Inquiſitor, was wont to proue theſe men attainted of hereſie, if they denied it, Iudicio ferri candentis, By touching of red hot yrons, and thoſe whom the yron burned hee deliuered ouer to the ſecular power, as heretikes, to be burned. So all, a few excepted, that were once accuſed, & brought to this triall, were condemned to the fire. Some beleeued that he had condemned many innocents, becauſe the hot yron found not any free from ſinne, though not infected with any ſpot of hereſie.* And a few pages after he addeth, *In this time many noble and ignoble, Clergie men, Monkes, Nunnes, Burgeſſes, citizens, and countrey people, in diuers places of Germanie, were vnder the name of hereſie condemned to the fire, by a ſentence (as ſome thought) too raſh & headlong; and that by a Frier of Marpurg, of the Order of Preachers, who had beene appointed by the Apoſtolike See generall Inquiſitor of heretikes. For, as one writeth, the ſame day that any man was accuſed, whether iuſtly or vniuſtly, no refuge of any Appeale or defence being able to helpe him, he was condemned and caſt into the cruell flames.* And a little before ſpeaking of the great number of them diſcouered in Germanie, Italie, and principally in Lombardie, he ſaith, *They which had beene taken at Strasbourg confeſſed openly before all the people and Clergie, that the number of them was ſo great, that if any of them were to goe from Cologne to Milan, hee ſhould find euerie night by the way an hoaſt of their ſect; and that they had little tokens about the doores of their houſes, and roofes, whereby they knew how to find the dwellings of their complices.* Now he aſcribeth vnto them the enormities aboue refuted, but I pray you who wil beleeue that they would voluntarily vndergo the fire for ſuch things? None other, truly, but monks could write theſe things, whom no man hardly wil be found ſo fottiſh as to beleeue. At length, ſaith *Trithemius*, this *Conrade* hauing made himſelfe

Chronic. Hirſaug. Naucler. 2. vol. Gener. 41.

Trithem. in Chron. Hirſaug. Godofrid. Monach. in Annalibus.

A B C D E

A ſelfe hatefull to all both noble and ignoble, eſpecially for that hee perſecuted the Earle of Seine, falſely defamed of hereſie, he was ſlaine not farre from Marpurge, notwithſtanding his ſafe conduct, *by certaine gentlemen, who had found no place of pardon or fauour with him.* Whereas we ſaid, that they were principally in Lombardie, let vs adde thereto the teſtimonie of an Author of thoſe times, though an aduerſarie: *In all the cities* (ſaith he) *of Lombardie, and in other kingdomes and lands, they had many Auditors, and diſputed in publike, and called the people to ſolemne ſtations in a hall, and in the field, and preached on the tops of houſes: There was none that durſt hinder them, by reaſon of the power and multitude of their fauourers. I haue beene often preſent at the Inquiſition, and at their examination, and there hath beene reckoned vp*
B *fortie Churches infected with their hereſie, and in one onely Pariſh of Cammach were ten ſchooles of heretikes.* And this ſo notable an oppoſition happened in the time of the Councell of Lateran, ſo famous for new inuentions, and of *Innocent* the third, whom they are woont in all qualities to compare with *Hildebrand.*

51. Progression.

The voyage of Frederick the Emperour to the Holie Land, and of the affaires and accidents there, with the wicked practiſes of Pope Gregorie the ninth againſt him in his abſence;
C *& of the tumults & factions in Italie, ſtirred vp by the ſaid Gregorie. Of his malicious mind towards the Emperor, and how he procured his owne ſonne to rebell againſt him. Of Innocent the fourth, that he depoſed the Emperor Frederick, and corrupted diuers of his own domeſtike ſeruants to poyſon him. Of the death of the ſaid Emperor, and of his great vertue, magnanimitie, and prudence.*

FRederick the ſecond, being ſometimes brought vp vnder *Innocent* the third, as ſoone as he came to the Empire, found as little courteſie at the hands of *Honorius* the third, *Gregorie* the ninth, and *Innocent* the fourth, as his grandfather and fa-
D ther, *Henrie* and *Frederick* the firſt, had found before at the hands of their predeceſſors: For when as purpoſing with himſelfe to goe into Italie, in the yere 1220, he had ſent before *Conradus* Biſhop of Spires, his Chancellor, with a large commiſſion, *Honorius* conſtruing this as an alarme, and much diſtaſting the tenor of his commiſſion, wherein *he ſtiled himſelfe King of the Romans and Sicilia*; directing the ſame to all Prelats, Marqueſſes, and Earles, *in Lombardie, Romaniola, Tuſcan, and throughout all Italie: and declaring thereby, That he had ſent before Conradus his Lieutenant, Biſhop of Spires, and Chancellor of the Empire, to take fealtie of them, and other rights belonging to him, without appeale to any other*: was ſo exceedingly offended thereat, the rather, for that *Conradus* in his proceedings tearmed himſelfe *Fredericks*
E Lieutenant generall throughout all Italie, that he ſought by all meanes hee could to croſſe *Fredericks* voyage into Italie. For they of Milan, by the perſuaſion of *Honorius*, ſhut the gates of the citie againſt him, and other cities by his procurement did the like: But he ſetting light by them, paſſeth on to Rome, commaunding the embaſſadours of the cities to follow him thither. Now becauſe it was not ſafe for *Honorius* to refuſe the coronation of *Frederick*, who was readie to take the accuſtomed oath, he wreſted another oath from him, That by a day limited he ſhould make a voyage to the Holie Land: deſiring nothing more than to keepe him farre from Italie. *Frederick* therefore making a ſtep into Sicilia, ſettles that

Apud Sigon. de regno Ital. l. 7. inter literas Frederici 2. quas apud Bononienſes ſeruantur.

that kingdome, and leauing *Conradus* in Italie, returnes into Germanie, where he A
ſpent two yeares, much to the Popes diſcontentment. But in this interim *Iohannes Bremenſis*, king of Ieruſalem, comes to Rome, deſiring aid and ſuccour from the Pope, to ſupport the declining ſtate of the Chriſtians in Syria. The Pope embracing this opportunitie, perſuades *Iohn* to tender *Yolanda* his daughter vnto *Frederick*, and to giue him with her in mariage the kingdome of Hieruſalem, vpon condition that he ſhould vndertake to recouer the ſame from the Infidels: which *Frederic* accepted of, requiring only two yeres reſpite for ſetling the ſtate of Lombardie. This was concluded on vpon paine of excommunication, which was preſently denounced by the Cardinals; and ſhould actually take effect vpon *Fredericks* breach of couenant. Now whileſt *Frederick* for the ſetling of the affaires of B
Lombardie, had aſſembled the Eſtates, and to that end had ſent for his ſonne *Henrie* out of Germanie, the confederat cities of Lombardie growing jealous hereof, and thereupon combining themſelues in a ſtraiter league againſt *Frederick*, ſtopt the paſſage of *Henrie*, and increaſt their forces. *Honorius* himſelfe did much miſlike hereof, foreſeeing that *Frederick* would hereby excuſe the delay of his voyage to the Holie Land: and at this time, in the yeare 1227, died *Honorius*, and Cardi-
An. 1227. nall *Hugoline*, called *Gregorie* the ninth, ſucceeded him; who without any reſpect doth ſo preſſe *Frederick*, as he commaunds all thoſe of the Croyſado to bee readie at Brunduſium on the day of the Aſſumption, where he preſently imbarkes his C
whole armie: but falling ſicke, after three dayes ſailing, returned backe againe, not without ſome loſſe of his fleet and forces. Whereupon *Gregorie* would admit no excuſe, but complained to all Princes, That *Frederick* was conuicted of periurie, by breach of his contract made with *Honorius*, & therefore ſtood *ipſo facto* excommunicated. On the other ſide, *Frederick* excuſed himſelfe by his letters, yet extant in Vrſperge, complaining much that the Pope refuſed to giue audience to the Cardinall of Brunduſium, whom he ſent of purpoſe to the Councell to make his de-
Collenutius ex Ricobald. l. 4. fence. It is not my purpoſe here to juſtifie *Frederick*, but *Ricobaldus* diſcouers the ground of this malice, That wheras *Gregorie* was deſirous to make *Frederick* more firme vnto him by an alliance of mariage, this offer was reiected by the Emperors D
children, and *Frederick* was afraid leaſt in his abſence hee ſhould inuade the king-
Abbas Vrſperg. dome of Sicilia. The Abbot of Vrſperge, being a man of note in that age, hath giuen this judgement of him: *This Gregorie*, ſaith he, *being a proud man, in the firſt yeare of his Popedome began to excommunicat Frederick the Emperour, vpon falſe and friuolous cauſes, and contrarie to all order of iudicious proceeding.* He vpbraided him, That the Church of Rome vnder the tuition of *Innocent* the third, had been a mother vnto him. *Frederick* anſwers, That ſhe was rather a ſtepmother, being the root and fountaine of all his troubles: And therefore hee ſets before the eyes of Princes her rapines, ſacrileges, ſimonies, and iniurious attempts againſt kings and kingdomes; alledging for inſtance how cruelly ſhee dealt with *Iohn* king of Eng- E
Math. Paris in Henrico 3. land, and others: concluding at the laſt, *That it was to be feared leaſt the Church, whoſe foundation was layed in powertie and ſimplicitie, ſhould by her wealth and aboundance be brought to ruine:* and that therefore it is high time for them that ſee their neighbours houſe on fire, to looke to their owne. Let vs note by the way, that the Popes earneſt ſoliciting of this voyage to the Holie Land, promiſing pardon of all their ſinnes to ſuch as ſhould goe thither, was ſuſpected by thoſe of beſt judgement, which did not onely foreſee the miſchiefe that would follow thereof, but
Abbas Vrſperg. felt the preſent euill which alreadie it had wrought. The ſame Abbot ſaith thus, Cardinall *Conradus* Biſhop of Portua, when he went Embaſſadour into Germanie,

A nie, to aduance the ſeruice of the Croyſado, as they call it, and did appoint Preachers for the publiſhing thereof: *Then a certaine frier predicant called Iohn, comming from Strasbourge, preached daily and earneſtly, laying mens ſinnes to their conſciences with great vehemencie, and for the intangling of their ſoules broached certaine doctrines before vnheard of, which albeit in ſome ſort they might be maintained, yet it was found by experience, that much euill enſued thereof, being miſconceiued by the hearers, who were thereby incouraged to commit many enormous crimes and offences: for at that time Engilbert Archbiſhop of Collen was ſlaine by his owne kinſmen, and many Prieſts murdered. For ſome damnable companions ſaid, I will commit villanies, for by the taking of the croſſe I ſhall be not onely abſolued from them, but ſhall alſo deliuer the ſoules of many wicked men.* Whereupon *Auentine* ſpeaking of the ſame *Iohn*, and ſuch like, ſaith, *Auent. l. 7.*
B *That to incourage men to vndergoe the hazard of this dangerous warre, they deliuered many ſtrange doctrines, That whatſoeuer ſin a man had committed, were it parricide, inceſt, or ſacriledge, as ſoone as he had ſowed a croſſe vpon his coat, he was preſently abſolued both from the fault and puniſhment:* And for proofe hereof he brought many examples. Let vs now returne to *Frederick*. *Gregorie* vpon that day which is commonly called *Cœna Domini*, excommunicats him. The Frangipanes, being an honourable familie in Rome, taking offence thereat, incite the people againſt him, and droue *Gregorie* out of Rome, who retired himſelfe to Perufia. Now *Frederick* hauing ſetled his affaires in Sicilia with as much ſpeed as he could, to the end hee might
C approue his actions to the whole world, vpon Chriſtmas eue he arriued with his whole armie in Paleſtina: and therefore *Gregorie* might well haue pacified his anger, had not ſomewhat elſe than the zeale of Chriſt inflamed him. But *Sigonius* himſelfe tells vs, That *Gregorie* was ſo much the more incenſed againſt him, that he durſt vndertake that voyage before he was reconciled to him: Wherefore taking opportunitie of his abſence, vnder the conduct of *Iohannes Bremenſis* he inuades Apulia, ſtirres vp the confederat cities of Lombardie againſt *Frederick*, diuides, or rather rents aſunder all Italie, into the factions of the Guelfes and Gibellines, the one holding for the Pope, the other for the Emperour, that ſcarce a-
D ny citie or towne was to be found, where the higher part againſt the lower, one quarter againſt another, the commons againſt the nobilitie, & the nobility againſt the commons, did not exerciſe hoſtilitie with all manner of crueltie; ſo that this fire could ſcarcely be quenched without the vtter ruine of Italie. *Frederick* for all this deſiſted not from his purpoſe, which he ſo effectually purſued, that he did not ſo much as thinke of Italie before he had recouered the citie of Hieruſalem. But ſo ſoone as he had taken the citie, and cauſed himſelfe to be crowned King of Hieruſalem, and had ſetled his affaires there, being informed that the Pope played rex in his dominions, for redreſſe thereof, in the yeare 1229, he returnes into
Matthæus Paris in Henric. 3. Italie. *Mathew Paris*, a writer of that age, though fauouring *Gregorie*, ſaith thus, *Hee taking it in euill part, that the Emperour of Rome, being excommunicated, and*
E *rebelling againſt him, went to the Holie Land, did not a little deſpaire of his repentance and ſatisfaction and returning againe to the vnitie of the Church, and therefore he determined to depoſe him from his Empire for his contumacie and rebellion, and to place in his roome ſome other that would bee a peaceable and obedient ſonne vnto him.* And yet a little before he had told vs that *Frederick* at his arriuall in the Holie land found them in ſuch a deſperat caſe, that *the Templers & Hoſpitallers, at his comming, adored him vpon their knees, & kiſſed his knees.* Moreouer, he produceth a letter of the Earle of Aterne, aduertiſing *Frederic*, that *Iohannes Bremenſis*, his father in law, by the inſtigation of *Gregory*, *had inuaded his dominions, & ſet on fire his townes*

and

and villages &c. And if any man made mention of the emperor vnto him, he said there was no other emperour but himselfe; Your friends, saith he, *wonder hereat most mightie emperour, especially those of the Clergie, vpon what ground, and with what conscience the Pope can doe thus, and warre against Christians.* The Abbot of Vrsperge and some other say further, that *Gregorie* to the end he might weaken the forces of *Frederic* in the holie land, forbad those of the Croysado in Apulia and Lombardie to goe thither, and caused the Lombardes in their journey thitherward to be ransackt and spoyled, and, that he might crosse the good successe of these warres, scattered letters in *Fredericks* campe admonishing his soldiers to take heed of him, & moreouer, that he did write to the *Souldan* to be of good courage, and not to restore any thing to *Frederic*; Whereupon this good Abbot breakes out into these speeches. *Who would not* (saith he) *both bewaile, and detest these dealings? which are manifest forerunners and prodigious signes of the Churches ruine.* He saith further, *that when it was written vnto him of the recouerie of Hierusalem, Nazareth, Ioppa, and other places, he cast away the letters in a rage.* Now, whileſt the poore afflicted Christians were so ouerjoyed, saith *Mathew Paris*, as *they thought themselues to be in heauen, Gregorie causeth the messengers that brought this newes to be surprised and slaine, and to blemish Fredericks reputation, giues it out that the emperour was dead. Whereupon the cities that were yet subiect to the emperour, resolued to yeeld themselues to the Pope, and most cruelly & wickedly to murder all the Germans that returned from the holie land, and remayned in Apulia, had not God of his mercie preuented it.* And hereby let euerie man judge whether *Frederic* had cause to hasten his returne, who notwithstanding with all *humility and obedience sent to the Pope for absolution.* The Souldan himselfe vsed *Frederic* more kindly than either the Pope or the Patriarch & Templers of Hierusalem, that were his followers: For *Mathew Paris* thus witnesseth: *The Templers and Hospitalers,* saith he, *enuying the emperors proceedings, took heart against him by reason of the difference betweene the Pope and him, and craftily and treacherously gaue notice to the Souldan of Babylon, that the emperour purposed to goe to the riuer where Christ was baptized by Iohn Baptist, where he might either take him prisoner, or kill him at his pleasure. Which when the Souldan vnderstood, and had receyued a letter to that effect, the seale whereof was familiarly knowne vnto him, he detested the falshood, malice, and treacherie of the Christians, especially of those that carried the habit of religion, and wore the crosse, and calling to him two of his most trustie and wisest counsellors, he deliuered the whole matter vnto them, shewing them both the letter and the seale, and sent the letter to the emperor &c. And this was the originall of the malice betweene the Emperour, the Templers and the Hospitalers.* Who (saith he) to couer their treason, procured *Giraldus* the Patriarch (one of their confederats) to write letters into the West tending to the disgrace of this poore Prince, the copie whereof he produceth. The Abbot of Vrsperge toucheth this in a word, saying, *That he endured much by the perfidious treacherie of the Templers.*

Now *Gregorie* seeing him returned, after hee had made truce with the Souldan for tenne yeares to his great aduauntage, and therefore the lesse obliged to returne thither againe, and perceiuing he was readie to reuenge the wrongs done vnto him in his absence, willingly made peace with him, and released the excommunication against him, in the citie of Anania, whether he was retired; neuertheleſſe on condition, that he should pay vnto the Pope 120000 ounces of gold for the damages done to the territories of the Church, and also should assist him with his forces to reduce the Romans to obedience; which he exactly fulfilled. But it is obserued by an Historian of these times, that of this enterview remained

Cuspinian in Frederico. Abbas Vrsperg. Collenutius l. 4. Neapol. Histor.

Cuspinianus in Caesarib. Hieronimus Marius in Eusebio.

Platina in Gregorio 9.

A mained to him a perpetuall rancour of mind, for that *when the Pope presented to him his foot to kisse (as the manner is) the Emperour had kissed but his knees, and scarsely with the top of the lip, which neglect was so deepely fixed in the Popes mind, that he could neuer forget it.* Therefore, when he saw *Frederick* resolued to appease the tumults of Lombardie, which he euer maintained against him, he sent his Legats thither, vnder pretence to persuade them to submit themselues vnto *Frederick*, whereas it was indeed to encourage them vnder-hand against him. And in this businesse he also imployed certain preaching Friers and Minorites, and among others one Frier *Iohn*, who after he had amidst the Caroches and standards of all the confederat Cities begun his Sermon in these words of our Sauiour, *Peace I giue vnto you, my* B *peace I leaue with you; Specifying* (saith the Authour) *the drift of his preaching, concludeth, that whosoeuer should in word or deed adhere, or take part with the Emperour, should be adiudged rebells to the Church, and so he ended*, namely, interpreting this peace to be a generall conspiracie, vnto which he inuited and induced all the Cities, and bound them by mutuall othes, to the vtter ruine of *Frederick* and his Posteritie. There remained, that he should trouble him in Germanie it selfe, which he also failed not to do. For after the example of his predecessors, by sending his Legats, he stirred vp against him a great conspiracie of his Princes, and induced his sonne *Henrie* to be head of the same against his Father, the Citizens of Milan offring vnto him the Crown of Italie, which they had denied his Father, if he would C come and succour them. But the most renowned Lords of Germanie, as well Ecclesiasticall as secular, went into Italy to reproue *Gregorie* hereof, *Bertald* Patriarch of Aquileia, *Otho* Lord of Dalmatia, and of Istria his brother, *Eberard* Archbishop of Saltzburge, *Sigifride* of Regensburge, who spake in the name of the rest, so that he was constrained for shame to reuoke his commandements. Meane time, *Frederick* hauing straitly besieged his rebellious sonne, brought him to that extreamitie, that prostrate at his feete he desired pardon, and, hauing conuicted him of going about to poison him, he gaue him his life, but sent him prisoner into Apulia. Thus are we come to the yeare 1235.

Continuator belli sacri. l. 3. c. 18.

Author Ital. Apud Vigner. p. 440.

Apud Sigon. l. 17. de regno Ital.

An. 1235.

In the yeare following 1236, *Frederick* being weary of the rebellions of Italy, *An. 1236.*
D and especially of Lombardie, requested Gregorie the like good turne he had done him; namely that as he had assisted him to bring the Romans to obedience, so he would not denie him his aide in compelling the Lombards and chiefly them of Milan, whom he could not but know to take part with the Albienses and Waldenses; and therefore it was a cause wherein himselfe and the Church of Rome was interessed. *Gregorie* answereth, that he should take heed he entred not Italy with armes, nor inuade the Lombards, but rather should prepare himselfe to passe againe into the holy Land, where the truce within two yeares would be expired: If, notwithstanding, he had ought to demand of them, that he should referre the matter to him as Iudge, and he would willingly take notice thereof. To which
E pride *Frederick* answered *both prudently* (saith the Historie) *and modestly, in this manner; Italy is mine inheritance, and that is known to all the world; to aspire to other mens, and to leaue a mans owne, were extreame ambition, especially seeing that the Italians, and chiefly them of Milan, haue prouoked me by their insolence, in nothing rendring me due reuerence.* Intimating, that it was no equity to put to compromise, as a thing in controuersie, that which euidently pertained to him as his own. *Gregorie* thereupon raised new tumults against him in Germanie, the Duke of Austria among others; but *Frederick* verie easily represt him. He also stirred & incited against him the rebellions of Lombardie; but these same also, in the yeare 1237, *Frederick* hauing ouer- *An. 1237.*

Matthaeus Paris in Henrico 3.

come in battel at Corte noua, brought them to that extremitie, that he cõſtrained A
almoſt al to yeeld themſelues to his diſcretion. *Gregory* til then could find no cauſe
to manifeſt himſelfe an open enemie againſt *Frederick*, who onely ſought but his
owne. But behold an occaſion offered, *Frederick* by force of armes recouered a
part of Sardinia, called Galura. *Gregorie* pretendeth, that all Sardinia belongeth
to the Church, therefore that this portion ought to be reſtored vnto him; and we
haue ſeene before vpon what friuolous title: Contrariwiſe *Frederick* went care-
fully about to retaine it, as being the auncient demaine of the Roman Empire;
and hereupon *Gregorie* being obſtinatly bent, he gaue the kinglie title thereof to
Hentius, his baſtard. Then was the Pope reſolued, on the day of *Cœna Domini* to
excommunicat him, heaping vp together many vaine and friuolous cauſes, which B
before he had not ſpoken of, to ſtrengthen the ſame. Which *Frederick* vnderſtan-
ding, being then at Padua ſitting on his throne of juſtice, declared and made his
Apologie by *Peter de Vineis*, his Chancellor, who forgat nothing of the abuſes and
corruptions of the Pope, and of the Court of Rome. To the ſame end wrot the
Emperour to the Romans, and to all the other Princes, cleering the equitie of his
cauſe againſt all the obiections of the Pope: and to ſhew how little account hee
made of his Anathemaes, he ſent vnto him theſe verſes:

Roma diu titubans longis erroribus acta
Corruet, & mundi deſinet eſſe caput. C

Rome in great errours long time toſt and ſhaken,
Head of the world no more, ſhall fall, forſaken.

But on the other part *Gregorie* openly profeſſed himſelfe head of the rebels of
Lombardie, ſtirred vp new commotions in Apulia, joyning to himſelfe in league
the Genowayes and Venetians: ſo that daily appeared ſome new treaſons againſt
Frederick, ſome new rebellions ſtill aroſe, notwithſtanding *Frederick*, who loſt no
time, paſſed into Tuſcane, and drew neere vnto Rome. Now was it time for *Gre-* D
gorie to haue recourſe to Preceſſions, in ſhew for to mollifie the hearts of the peo-
ple, but in effect to trie all extreame meanes to publiſh the ſame indulgences, par-
dons, and abſolutions from all enormities, to ſuch as ſhould croſſe themſelues a-
gainſt *Frederick*, as were woont to be granted to them that croſſed themſelues for
the Holie Land againſt the Saracens: So that an armie of Croyſadoes iſſued
forth of Rome, and met him in the field, but were by him in the firſt encounter o-
uerthrowne with a great ſlaughter. With like faith and deuotion *Gregorie* con-
uerted againſt him the money that he had exacted throughout all Chriſtendome,
namely in Germanie, France, and England, vnder colour for the Holie Land: and
the Friers Preachers and Minors had none other theame of their ſermons but this, E
That there was greater merit in ruinating *Frederick* and his, than in exterminating
the Saracens, than whom they were farre worſe. This rage paſſeth yet further:
Gregorie writeth to king S. *Lewis*, requeſting that his letters might be read *coram to-*
to Baronagio Francia, Before all the Barons of France, That he had depoſed *Frederic* and
ſet *Robert* his brother in his place, being reſolued to aſſiſt him to this effect with all
the forces of the Church. Whereunto anſwered, in full Councell, *Circumſpecta*
Francorum prudentia (ſaith the Author) *the circumſpect prudence of the Frenchmen*
(the words deſerue to be written at length) *By what ſpirit, or with what bold timeri-*
ty hath the Pope diſinherited and caſt downe from the top of the Empire ſo great a Prince,
than

A *than whom none greater, neither equall among Chriſtians, being not conuicted, neither*
confeſſing the crimes obiected againſt him? And if he were to be depoſed for his demerits,
yet he could not be iudged but by a generall Councell. Of his faults his enemies ought not
to be beleeued, of which number the Pope was knowne to be the chiefe. For our parts, hee
hath beene vnto vs hitherto innocent, yea rather a good neighbour, neither haue we ſeene
any hurtfull thing in him, in ſecular faithfulneſſe, nor in the Catholike faith. Wee know
that he hath faithfully made warre for our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, valiantly expoſed himſelfe
to the dangers of the ſea, and of battels. We haue not found ſo much religion in the Pope;
but contrariwiſe he which ought to haue aduanced and protected him, fighting the battels
of God, hath endeuoured wickedly in his abſence to ruinat and ſupplant him. The prodi-
B *gall effuſion of our bloud againſt him the Romans little regard, ſo they may ſatisfie their*
wrath. And when he ſhall haue by vs or others ouercome him, he will trample vnder feet
all the Princes of the world, and lift vp his hornes of boaſting and pride, becauſe he hath
oppreſſed Frederick a great Emperour. But leaſt wee ſhould ſeeme to haue receiued the
Popes meſſage in vayne, though it be apparent to vs, that the Church of Rome hath not
done it for loue of vs, but for hatred of the Emperour, we will ſend prudent embaſſadours
vnto him, which may diligently enquire of his faith, and certifie vs of it, and if they find
nothing but ſound and good, wherefore ſhould we moleſt him? But if he or any other, bee
it the Pope himſelfe, ſhould hold an euill opinion concerning God, we will perſecute him to
the death: which the Popes embaſſadours hearing, departed confounded. There went
C *then ſolemne French embaſſadours to the Emperour, who rehearſed to him from poynt to*
poynt that which they had heard from the Pope: which when the Emperour vnderſtood,
he was aſtoniſhed at ſo vnmeaſurable an hatred, and anſwered, I am a Catholike Chriſti-
an, rightly beleeuing all the articles of the Orthodoxall faith, my Lord Ieſus Chriſt forbid
that I ſhould euer depart from the faith of my noble fathers, and predeceſſors, for to fol-
low the ſteps of vile caſt-awayes. The Lord iudge betweene me and him, who hath ſo wic-
kedly defamed me through the world; and lifting vp his hands vnto heauen, with teares
and ſighes he cried out, The Lord God of reuenges render vnto him his reward. Thus
writeth the Monke *Mathew Paris*, an Engliſh Chronicler. And let the Reader
D judge what opinion France and S. *Lewis* had of this Pope. In the meane time the
affaires of Syria waxed daily worſe and worſe, and the Chriſtians that laſt paſſed
thither had ill ſucceſſe in Damaſcus, which gaue pretext to *Gregorie* to call a
Councell at Lateran, in the yeare 1240, in which *Frederick* conſented to be pre- *An.* 1240.
ſent, hauing made truce with him. But when he heard that he had ſent his Le-
gats, *Iames* Cardinall of Preneſt, and *Otho* of S. Nicholas, beyond the Alpes, vn-
der colour to exhort the Princes to ſend to the Councell, but indeed to make him
odious, to exact money of the Churches, and to abuſe the Councell againſt
him, hee intreated the Princes his confederats not to ſend thither, and decla-
red, that hee would giue no ſafe conduct to ſuch as ſhould vndertake that
journey, eſpecially for that he had vnderſtood, that the Pope hauing had aduer-
E tiſement that his Agents had collected great ſummes of money in England,
and in Fraunce, was reſolued to breake truce with him. Here it is good to
heare the ſame Author ſpeake: Cardinall *Iohn Columna* hauing beene author *Matth. Paris in*
of the truce, *Gregorie* receiueth letters from the Legat; *That in France alone* *Henrico 3.*
hee had gathered alreadie ſo much money, as whereby hee might bee vndoubtedly a-
ble to wage warre againſt the Emperour for a whole yeare: whereupon repenting,
and grieuing that hee had accepted the truce, called for the excellent Cardinals Iohn
de Columna, and Raymund, mediatours of the ſame: I am aſhamed in my ſelfe,
ſaith he to them, *that I granted truce to Frederic, the enemie of the Church: Goe then*

in haſt, then (ſpeaking to Columna) which waſt the ſpokeſman betwixt vs, and tell him A
boldly that I will not hold it, and that I will be his enemie, and doe defie him: God forbid,
anſwered Columna, that in the mouth of ſo great a man, ſuch light words ſhould be re-
ported to ſo great a prince, eſpecially by vs which are of no common ranke; for I cannot
conſent to this counſell of inſtabilitie and vnfaithfulneſſe, but doe conſtantly contradict
the ſame. To whom the Pope replied; And I hold thee not henceforth for Cardinall; Nor
I thee for Pope, ſayd Columna and ſo departed, and of a friend became his aduerſarie. But
it verie fitly fell out (addeth the author) that the French king *Lewis* hauing in-
telligence of it, made to be ſtayed in his kingdome, all that money which had bin
gleaned from the clergie by his permiſſion, *Mellitis ſermonibus, & fellitis commi-*
nationibus, By honied ſpeeches and bitter threatnings; That by this meanes the Pope, B
who is called Chriſts vicar on earth, might be found faithfull, though againſt his will.
Now it ſo fel out that *Frederic* was not vnarmed or vnprepared againſt him, for he
had at that verie time fiue armies a foot, the firſt before Fayenza, which he himſelfe
in perſon commaunded, the ſecond on the Tuſcane Sea vnder *Hencius* king
of Sardinia, againſt the Genowayes, the third vpon the frontiers of Germanie a-
gainſt the Tartarians vnder the conduct of *Conrade* king of Germanie, the fourth
in the Marca de Ancona and vallie of Spoletum, the fift in Paleſtina, vnder *Ro-*
dolph Marſhall of the Empire, for to defend the kingdome of Hieruſalem; which
he did notwithſtanding the trauerſes and hinderances of the Pope, for the ſpace of
fifteene yeares. The warre then continuing, the ſiege of Fayenza dured a long C
time; neither had he little cauſe to reuenge himſelfe of the inhabitants, who ſome
time before, *hauing ſhut the gates of their citie before and behind vpon him, violently*
aſſailed him, and wickedly ſlew another diſguiſed like vnto him in imperiall armour,
thinking it had been their Lord. Yet notwithſtanding, they imploring his mercie, he
gaue them their citie and the like libertie as to other cities of the empire: which
be ſpoken to them that accuſe him of being prone to reuenge. The Legats alſo
returned, accompanied with many Biſhops for the Councell; them he requeſted
to turne towards him, and promiſed them all ſafe-conduct, deſirous only to make
knowne the juſtice of his cauſe vnto them. Now they refuſing it, and chuſing
rather to commit themſelues to the ſafegard of the Genowayes his enemies, *Hen-* D
cius who watched to ſurpriſe them, tooke them at ſea, and led them priſoners to
Naples. At which ſucceſſe, and others proſperouſly performed in the Marca de
Cellenucius l. 4. Ancona, and in Romania, *Gregorie* the ninth conceiued ſo great diſcontent, being
withall verie auntient, that for griefe thereof he died.

It is not in the mean time to be forgotten, that the Popes to colour their affaires
the better, had euer ſounding in their mouthes the holie land, ſince when vnder
Honorius the third king *Iohn* of Brenna had taken the famous citie of Damieta,
Cardinall *Pelagius* the Popes Legat pretended that he was to haue the chief com-
maund ouer the armie; whereat the king incenſed, retired himſelfe through de- E
ſpite to *Ptolomais*, whereby were loſt the beſt opportunities to doe good, and in
the end after many bad ſucceſſes, Damieta was forſaken. Againe, when as vnder
Gregorie the ninth, *Richard* earle of Cornewall, the king of Englands brother, was
bent to the holie wars with an armie, at his inſtance, for recouerie of theſe loſſes,
and was come to S. Giles in Languedock, readie to embarke himſelfe; there came
a Legat to him from *Gregorie*, with the Archbiſhop of Arles, commanding in his
name that he ſhould not paſſe the Seas: All which was to deſpite *Frederic*, wher-
at this prince much offended, ſaid vnto them, *I thought there had beene firmeneſſe*
of truth in the Apoſtolike words, and in the preachers that he ſent vnto me, and now I am

A *I am readie to enter on ſhipboord, this Pope, whom they call the ſucceſſor and Vicar of Ieſus*
Chriſt (who neuer failed of his word) forbiddeth me to march forward in his ſeruice:
And neuertheleſſe reſolued, Deteſtans Romanæ Eccleſiæ duplicitatem, *Deteſting*
the double dealing of the Church of Rome, with great bitterneſſe of mind, to goe imbarke
himſelfe at Marſeille; giuing the Emperor to vnderſtand by Robert Tuing, Knight, and
other his embaſſadours, Papalem muſcipulationem, *The inglings of the Pope and his*
Legats. The ſame had he done a little before to the croſſed ſouldiers in France and
other nations, who being come to Lyons, that from thence they might take their
journey into the Holie Land, found there the Popes Legat, who made them the
like prohibition, and deliuered a commaundement in writing, That euerie man
B ſhould returne backe to his owne home. This gaue occaſion to exclaime, *Vnde*
hæc in Romana Curia, & in Papa multiplicitas? Whence commeth this varietie in the
Court of Rome, and in the Pope? Is not this here both the time and place prefixed and ap-
pointed by his Legats and preaching Friers: vpon their promiſes wee haue ſet forward
our iourney, haue ſold and engaged our houſes, bidden our friends farewell, ſent our mony
before, &c. And little wanted they from laying violent hands vpon the Legat, if the diſcre-
tion of ſome Prelats had not reſtrained the furie of the people.

To prouide for the election of a ſucceſſor to *Gregorie* there remained but tenne
Cardinals at Rome: they therefore intreated *Frederick* to permit them two whom
he kept priſoners, to come to them, and to be preſent at the election; which he gra-
C ciouſly granted vnto them, yet on condition they ſhould both returne, except one
of them were created Pope. Now there was nominated *Godfrey* Biſhop of the Sa-
bins, called *Celeſtine* the fourth, who died ſeuenteene dayes after, before he was
conſecrated. The Cardinals aſſembled againe, and as they were diuided ſome for
the Church, others for the Empire, that they could not agree, the two priſoners,
to performe their promiſe giuen, returned; till at length the Seat remaining va-
cant for the ſpace of one and twentie moneths, they not finding *any ſparke of cha-*
ritie at leaſt vnder the aſhes, were on the o[illegible]t vrged by the Emperour, who to
take away all excuſe from them, ſent them backe the ſaid Cardinals, hauing taken
their oath, *That they ſhould procure the peace of the Church and of the Empire*; and
D the more eagrely to ſtirre vp the Romans, he waſted and ſpoyled their countries:
On the other ſide, by the French men, *who boldly declared vnto them, That if they did*
not the ſooner prouide, they would elect a Pope for themſelues, according to the auntient
priuiledge granted by Pope Clement to S. Denis, who gaue vnto him the Apoſtleſhip of the
Weſterne people. So that in the yeare 1243 they choſe *Signibard* of Fliſque, a Geno- *An.* 1243.
way, named *Innocent* the fourth, whom ſtraight the Emperour ſent to congratulat
by *Peter de Vineis*, his Chancellor: but, as he was a prudent Prince, hee foreſaw
what would be, *I haue loſt*, ſaith he, *a Cardinall my friend, and haue gotten a Pope mine*
enemie; aſſuring himſelfe, that being come to the Popedome he would be no leſſe
his aduerſarie than the others had beene: As indeed he ſtraight renewed the ex-
E communication againſt him, and after ſome ſpeeches of peace enterchanged by
Frederick, on which they could not agree, becauſe the Pope would abſolutely be
beleeued, & *Frederick* would not ſubmit himſelfe thereto, but *Præcognitis cauſis &*
prauſa via, & omnibus conditionibus, But with knowledge of the cauſe, meanes, and con-
ditions, Innocent priuily departed Italie in the Genoway gallies, paſſed into France
and came to Lyons, there to hold a Counceli, which began in the yeare 1245, in
ſhew for the Holie Land, but indeed (as the effect proued) againſt *Frederick*. Thi-
ther notwithſtanding he went in perſon, & was alreadie at Thurin, when he heard
that *Innocent* had excommunicated him, and that he would not heare his embaſ-
ſadeurs

ſadour *Thaddeus* of Suiſſerland, a man of qualitie, requeſting he would ſtay a little, A neither would he condeſcend to the intreaties of S. *Lewis* king of France, and *Henrie* king of England, and the embaſſadours of other Princes. Which ſtayed *Frederick* from paſſing any further; neuertheleſſe he offered, that he might haue peace of the Church, to defend Europe from the Tartarians, to free the Holie Land at his owne charges from the Saraſens, to vnite the Greeke Church to the Roman. But the Pope anſwered, *Theſe are but words*, and demaunded of his embaſſadour, what ſecuritie he could giue: The two kings (ſaith he) of France and England: *We will not* (anſwered the Pope) *becauſe if he ſhould faile his conenants, neither can we otherwiſe beleeue, we muſt turne our ſelues to chaſtiſe them, & ſo for one enemie we ſhould haue three, than whom in the ſecular power are none greater, neither yet equal.* The Pope B therefore proceedeth to excommunicat him, to depoſe him from the Empire, to abſolue for euer his ſubiects from their oath of fidelitie, and to excommunicat all them that ſhould acknowledge him Emperour: The forme of which is read in moſt proud tearmes in the hiſtories of thoſe times, and in the Acts of the Synod of Lyons. *Mathew Paris* particularly noteth, That when king S. *Lewis* ſet before his eyes the danger of the Holy Land, which could not humanely be preſerued by any but by *Frederick*, and requeſted him to receiue this great Prince into ſauour, being readie to vndergoe ſo great a humilitie, in the name of Ieſus Chriſt, and according to the Lords example and precept, to open the boſome of mercie to a ſinner euen vntill ſeuen times ſeuentie times; he anſwered him abſolutely, That C he would not doe it. It is alſo worthie obſeruation, That when *Innocent* had ſent to publiſh this excommunication throughout all Europe, and particularly in France, the Princes in the end requeſted, That time might be granted *Frederick*, within which he might perſonally be preſent in the ſaid Councell. The Pope anſwered, *Farre be that from me, I feare the ſnares that I haue eſcaped, for if he ſhould come I would preſently depart: I wiſh not yet the ſhedding of my bloud, neither doe I feele my ſelfe diſpoſed to martyrdome or impriſonment.* And ſo in the end pronounced ſentence. A certaine Curat of Paris acquited himſelfe well towards his pariſhioners in theſe words: *Giue eare*, ſaith he, *I haue receiued commaundement to pronounce the ſolemne ſentence of Excommunication againſt the Emperour Frederick, candles put out,* D *and bells ringing. Now not knowing the cauſe deſeruing it, yet I am not ignorant of the great quarell and inexorable hatred betweene them; I know alſo that one of them doth iniure the other, but which it is I know not: So farre forth then as my power doth extend, I excommunicat and pronounce excommunicated one of the two, namely him that doth the iniurie to the other, and abſolue him that ſuffereth the iniurie, which is ſo hurtful vnto all Chriſtendome.* In like manner *Krantzius* telleth vs, that many Princes and Barons exclaimed againſt this ſentence: *It pertaineth not to the Pope to ordaine or degrade an Emperor, but only to crowne him that is elected by the Princes.* In a word, the Author aboue cited, ſaith, *That all men for the conſequence of the matter were wounded and grieued, iudging well, that in time the Pope would grow to that exceeding height* E *of pride, that he would for euery light cauſe, when it pleaſed him, depoſe Catholike Princes, innocent and iuſt. We haue, will they ſay, troden vnder feet that great Emperour Frederick, and who is he henceforth that can reſiſt vs? And ſo the mightieſt men beeing prouoked, will lift vp their heele againſt him, and God being the auenger, the authoritie of Rome may come to nought.* This was the judgement of all men concerning this Excommunication, which though it were grounded on pretence of Hereſie, yet could there none bee found, but in this, That he lightly regarded the Popes friuolous and vaine Excommunication. But *Innocent* paſſeth

A paſſeth further, for he will ordaine an Emperour after his owne fantaſie; and therefore ſendeth word to the Princes that they ſhould proceed to a new election, and alſo appointeth the Electors that ſhould haue to doe in it, namely the Dukes of Auſtria, of Bauaria, of Saxonie, and of Brabant, the Archbiſhops of Colonia, of Mentz, and of Saltzburg, the moſt part of them ſworn enemies to *Frederick*; who were to paſſe into an iſland of Rhine, no man following them, to determine of the matter: meane time, he recommendeth vnto them by the Biſhop of Ferrara his Legat, *Henrie* Lantgraue of Turing, whom alſo they for his ſake chooſe. But *Frederick* nothing aſtoniſhed for all that; *The Pope* (ſaith he) *in his Councell hath depriued me of my Crowne: Whence hath he ſo great preſumption? whence* B *ſuch raſh boldneſſe? But in this I am in better condition than afore, for I was bound in ſome things to obey him, at leaſt to reuerence him, but now I am abſolued from the bond of honour and of all kind of obedience towards him.* And yet he forgat not to purge himſelfe, towards all the Princes of Europe, of the crimes obiected vnto him, which was ſo much the more eaſie for him to doe, for that (as Hiſtorians affirme) all the Popes of that age, had made themſelues by their behauiour infamous towards all men. This new pretended Emperour in the yeare 1247 thought to be crowned at Aquiſgrane, hauing ouerthrown *Conrade* the ſonne of *Frederick*, forſaken of his owne people, whom the Pope had corrupted with money: but *Conrade* repaired his armie with great celeritie, and vpon the verie point of the ſolemnitie gaue him C battaile, ouercame him and ſlew all his armie; Whereat the Lantgraue himſelfe *propry vulnere doloris ſauciatus, wounded* (ſaith the Hiſtorian) *and ſuffocate with his owne griefe, breathed forth his feminine ſoule vnwept for of any.* And then began to be verified, that which *Hagabellus* the Emperours procurour had foretold *in the Councell of Lions, when the Pope thundred forth his ſentence againſt his Maſter*; Heu, heu, dies iſta, verè dies iræ, calamitatis & miſeriæ, *this day (alas) is a day of wrath, of calamitie and miſerie.* Neither yet for this doth *Innocent* yeeld, but diſpatcheth foure Cardinals into Germanie, Italie, [illegible], and Norway, ſo much the more grieuouſly to complain againſt *Frederick*, interpreting it (perhaps) an iniurie done vnto him, in that he defended himſelfe; And reſolued to cauſe *William* Earle of D Holland to be elected King of Germanie, which againe by abundance of monies he obtained: for, all that he was able on all hands to rapine and ſcrape together, was ſwallowed vp as it were in that gulfe. This Earle going to be Crowned at Aquiſgrane, was likewiſe met withall by *Conrade*, whom *Octauian* the Popes Legat laboured with faire words to diuert from his purpoſe: But he anſwered him, *I will neuer, for any of you traitors, be wanting to my father.* Yet it came to that paſſe, that by the ſubtill ſlights of the Preaching Friars, who corrupted the people, *William* was receiued and crowned at Aquiſgrane: But, not long time after, conſtrained to retire himſelfe from *Conrade*, who got againe the vpper hand; and *Frederick* in the end being readie to fall vpon him with an armie, he was forced to go E hide himſelfe againe in Holland. Then remained to haue recourſe to all ſorts of treaſon; and therefore by how much the more God bleſſed the iuſt cauſe of *Frederick* in Germanie, Lombardie and Tuſcanie it ſelfe, ſo much the more eagrely did *Innocent* bend his mind to all kind of fraud: Of his domeſticke ſeruants and familiars are corrupted *Theobald Franciſcus*, *Iames de Mora*, *Pandolfe de Faſanellis*, *William* of S. Seuerin, and others, to lie in waite for his life, of whom ſome came and reuealed to him the conſpiracie, the hiſtorie wherof we haue in *Mathew Paris*, in the letters of *Frederick* to the King of England; If you demand the Au- *In Epiſt. Petri de Vineis lib. 2. cap. 10.*
thour of the ſame, *his name* (ſaith he) *we would willingly conceale, did not the publick voice*

voice reueale him, and the euidence of the deeds accuſe him, though we by our ſilence would couer him, or by words excuſe him; For the executors of the ſaid fact, both the fugitiues and the beſieged, aſſiſted with the companie of the Friers Minorites, hauing receiued from them the ſigne of the Croſſe, pretend the Popes authoritie, by Apoſtolicke letters, againſt vs, and openly declare that herein they doe the affaire of the holy mother Church of Rome, affirming him to be the inſtigator of our death and diſinheriting. And this haue the ſaid captiues (whom the readie deuotion of our truſty ſeruants impriſoned, at the winning of Scales caſtle) confeſſed before all men, in their voluntarie and laſt confeſſion at the houre of death, when it is execrable to lie. The Biſhop of Bamberg alſo, returning from the court of Rome, after his purchaſed conſecration, before he was of our faithfull ſeruants taken in Germanie, ſaid it would infallibly come to paſſe, that within few daies we ſhould be ſhamefully murthered of our familiars and domeſtick ſeruants. Theſe things we ſpeake with ſhame, witneſſe the moſt high Iudge, as being neuer able to beleeue, that we ſhould ſee or heare in our daies any ſuch wickednesſe, that our owne nation and our Biſhops, would wickedly deliuer any man to ſo cruel a death.

Mathew Paris. p.892. in Hemico 3. Anno 1249.

Inſomuch, that *Frederick* was vpon point to haue ſent the ſix conſpirators *through out all the climats of the world, to all Kings and Princes, with the Popes Bull imprinted on the forehead*, found in the Caſtle of Scala, where they were taken, *that this treaſon might be publickly knowne vnto all.* The ſame Author noteth, that at Rome not long after, were taken two pretended murthers, ſent for to kill the Pope, *but there were ſome* (ſaith he) *that ſaid, that it was a fraudulent inuention, craftily deuiſed, to defame* [illegible]*rick with the ſame crime &c. Innocent* was not therefore wearie in preparing other ſnares, whilſt to bleare the eies of the world, he publiſhed thundring writings againſt *Frederick*, making him worſe then [illegible]*ero*, and other tyrans; and that ſo much the more vehemently, as he was glad to ſee his ſecret purpoſes diſcouered, and that he ſtunke thereof throughout all Europe. *This horrible writing* (ſaith the Author) *againſt Fr[illegible]ic would haue pierced into the marrow of Auditors, but that the couetouſneſſe, Simo[illegible]urie, and ſtaines of other vices, wherewith his aduerſaries were defiled, did take away the credit thereof: Who vnderpaine of excommunication, impudently moue the croſſed ſoldiers, one while to the Holy land, one while to ſubdue Romania, another while to ſet vpon Frederic. And, that which is moſt deteſtable, they extort by all means the monies appointed for the croſſed ſoldiers; and for this end make ſuos Telonarios their publicans and exactors, the Franciſcane and Dominic Friers.* Soon after another ſubtil practiſe cõmeth to light: *Frederic* being returned into Apulia, and finding himſelf ill at eaſe, would take phyſick by the counſel of his Phyſitians. *Peter de Vineis*, his moſt familiar Counſellour had neere about him a Phyſitian, who made the phyſicke and therein mixed a moſt ſpeedy and mortall poyſon; and leaſt this ſhould faile, he had alſo prepared a poyſoned bath to the ſame end. *Frederick* hauing by good hap had warning of it at the ſame inſtant, ſaid vnto them; *My friends, my confidence is in you, take heed (I pray you) ye giue me not poyſon inſtead of a medicine: Peter* anſwered, *My Lord, this my Phiſitian, hath often giuen you holeſome potions, why doe you now feare?* The Phyſitian amazed, fained as if his foot had ſlipped and ſo ſpilt the moſt part of it; but the reſt being giuen to condemned malefactors, they died of it within few houres after: the Phyſitian then was hanged, and *Peter de Vineis* had his eyes put out, whom *Frederick* cauſed to be led about through moſt of the Cities of Italie and Apulia, for to confeſſe this wicked fact before all men. And when he had deliuered him to the men of Piſa, that mortally hated him, through deſpaire he daſhed his head againſt the pillar to which he was tied, and killed himſelfe. Thus much reciteth the Monke *Paris*, and *Sigonius* after

after him, who addeth, *That the enemies of the Church ſayd, that the Pope had inclined the heart of this Peter, to this fact, by great gifts and promiſes*; And ſeeing the foregoing practiſes, who can doubt of it: Meane time, this vnhappie Prince, began to loath his life; *What woe* (ſaith he) *is fallen vpon me, that mine owne bowels arme themſelues againſt me, That this Peter, whom I eſteemed the one halfe of my ſoule, hath prepared my death; That the Pope, whom my predeceſſors haue created and inriched of nothing, laboureth both to ruinate the Empire, and by death to deſtroy me.* Et obſordu- it domini Papæ fama per hoc non mediocriter, *And the Popes reputation was thereby not a little defamed: Yet God the infallible ſearcher of ſecrets, knoweth the truth thereof.* Of which truth, we may yet giue iudgement, out of that which *Krantzius* writeth, in the ſame yeare 1249, That *Pope Innocent the fourth was tranſported with ſo great enuie againſt Frederic* eximperatorem, *depoſed from the Empire; That not only he oppoſed againſt him the Chriſtian Princes, but alſo ſent an Embaſſador to the Souldan of Egypt, to diuert him from his friendſhip.* And it is great pitie we haue not his letters; but at leaſt, he repreſenteth the Souldans letters to *Innocent*, tranſlated out of Greeke into Latine, and by the anſwer we may gather what the demaund was. The ſumme is this, after the accuſtomed complements, which deſerue to be read in the Author, *That God would make him of the number of them that affect and doe good, and that earneſtly ſeeke peace, and perſeuer in the cauſes thereof; and that God would aſſiſt him in things that are conuenient, both towards them of his owne Religion and towards others*, That he vnderſtood that which he had declared concerning Chriſt, to whom be praiſe: *And of Chriſt* (ſaith he) *we know more than yee know, and doe magnifie him more than yee doe:* But as touching the Emperour, that there was friendſhip betweene them, euen from the time of the Souldan his father; *And betweene you* (ſaith he) *and your Emperour, it is as your ſelfe doth know.* Therfore that it was not lawfull for him to treat with the Chriſtians, without the aduice and conſent of the Emperour. And ſurely it is a maruaile, that ſo many and ſo great troubles, eſpecially now in his old age, did not ouerwhelme him. Adde to theſe, that his baſe ſonne *Hencius* was taken priſoner by the men of Bononia, and himſelfe ſuddenly taken with a grieuous ſickneſſe, called *ignem ſacrum*. At length being toſt with ſo many aduerſities (ſaith the Author) hee reſolued by all meanes to ſeeke peace, *and offered to the Pope an honeſt forme of peace: but the Pope reioycing at his aduerſities, would not accept of it, whereby he incurred the indignation of many, and namely of the French Lords, who began to comfort Frederic and to adhere vnto him, and to deteſt the pride of the ſeruant of the ſeruants of God.* And thus the affaires of *Frederic* proſpered ſo well, that *Innocent* entreated the king of England, that he might make his abode at Burdeaux, vnder preteuce of making a generall peace: But in the meane ſeaſon died *the greateſt of Princes*, ſaith the Author, *Stupor quoque mundi, and the aſtoniſhment and wonder of the world*, hauing made a moſt noble teſtament recited by *Mathew* in his additions. *Collenucius* alſo telleth vs, out of the report of *Mainardine* biſhop of Imola, *That his penitencie was ſo great, in the confeſſion of his ſinnes, that thereby alone it might be conieclured, he had beene a ſingular veſſell of Gods election.* And as touching the courſe of his life, after he had exalted the great and rare vertues, as well naturall, as acquired, wherewith he was endued, the excellent and profitable lawes he had made both Eccleſiaſticall and ciuile, comming to ſpeake of the debate he continually had with the Popes, for which he had beene excommunicat by *Innocent* the 4, he doubteth much that it was without juſt cauſe: *All theſe actions conſidered* (ſaith he) *ſuch as diuerſe authors haue deſcribed vnto vs, weighing alſo his Epiſtles and writings, I know not verily, whether*

Collenucius l. 4. Hiſt. Neapol.

ther they declared him enemie of the Church, because he spake too truely de Pontificijs, *of the Papists, and found many things worthie reproofe in their manners, and in all that Apostolicall life; or because he ouer stoutly defended the rights of the Empire, or for that he was in Italie more powerfull than was to their liking, I leaue the iudgement hereof to the indifferent Reader of the gests of Frederick: but in the meane time, when I consider that Christ, whom Popes as his Vicars ought to imitate and obey, commaundeth vs to put vp the sword into his place, and to pardon a sinner seuentie times seuen times, & not seuen times onely; and that on the other side I see so many ambushes & treasons proiected against Frederick, so many Ecclesiasticall Legats, which are called Pastors, sent against him into the kingdome, into the Marca de Ancona, Lombardie, and Romania; so many cities and Prouinces for the same cause laid wast, so much Christian bloud shed, and Frederick neuertheless alwayes victorious, and the Popes side that ioyned themselues against him, euer to be vnfortunat and carrie away the worst, I cannot but approue that which Pope Pius writeth in his Australl historie, That nothing excellently euill is committed in the Catholike Church, the first originall whereof proceedeth not from Church-men, it may be by some secret counsell of God. I haue truely seene and read many Epistles of Frederick, which are extant, written to Popes and Cardinalls, and to other Christian Princes, and priuat persons; but I perceiued in them nothing against the rule of our faith, nothing hereticall, nothing that sauoureth of contumacie or oppression of the Church. There are indeed in the same many complaints, lamentations, and admonitions, of the couetousnesse and ambition of Priests, of the Popes obstinacie, who would not heare his excuses, & the defence of the Empire, and of snares and treasons wrought against him. He that would see the truth of these things, let him read, among others, an Epistle of his written to all Christian Princes, which beginneth, The chiefe Priests and the Pharisies gathered a Councell against the Prince, Gods annoynted; and another also which he wrot to the Colledge of Cardinals, That they should dissuade the Pope from maintaining discords between them and the Empire, which beginneth,* In exordio, *In the beginning of the birth of the world; and that also which beginneth,* Infallibilis veritatis testem, *We take to witnesse the infallible Iudge of truth and Iustice.* Out of one, among others, written to the Christian Princes, he produceth these words, *That which our embassadours haue reported vnto you, beleeue it as a thing most true, none otherwise than if S. Peter had by oath confirmed it. Doth it not seeme vnto you, that the sentence of deposition hurteth the Maiestie of the Empire? For our conscience asswageth vs of our integritie, we haue God with vs, whom we call to witnesse, that we haue neuer had any other end than to bring Church-men to perseuere in the true faith, such as it was in the Primitiue Church, when they imitated the humilitie of Christ and life of the Apostles: for then Clergie men were often woont to see the Angels, to shine in myracles, to heale the sicke, raise the dead, and subdue Princes, not with armes, but with holinesse: whereas they that liue in this age are giuen to the world, and drunken with delights,* Deum humeris induunt, *they counterfeit God, and choke our religion by the superfluitie of their riches. To withdraw from them then these superfluous riches that hurt them, and ouerwhelme them with so great damage, is it to doe against charitie? To the performance therefore of this worke together with vs, we inuite all Princes: for they which lay aside superfluous things, doe serue God the better, and yee ought to take order that God may be well serued.* And at length the Author (a famous Lawyer in his time) concludeth, *And these are (perhaps) the things for which in those times they thought Frederick to deserue the name of the enemie of the Church.* But yet Historians are not silent, that he was impoysoned; *Mathew Paris,* Potionatus, the Chronicle of Augsburg, *Veneno extinctus, Killed by poyson,* and *Sigonius* himselfe: others say, *stifled with a pillow cast on his mouth,* namely to hasten his time; whereof *Manfred* his

Petrus de Vineis lib. 1. Epist. 1.

Math. Paris in Henrico 3. An. 1249.

his bastard sonne was suspected, *whom notwithstanding,* saith *Sigonius, he left heyre with his other brethren*; for which cause many discharged him of it, without doubt for to burthen therewith Pope *Innocent*, which *Cuspinian* doth expresse in these tearmes, *Manfred,* saith he, *choked him with a pillow, hauing beene corrupted, whether by his enemie* (and who was a greater?) *or by the Pope.* And thus are we brought to the yeare 1250. *Compilatio Chronolg apud Pistorium.* *An. 1250.*

All this passed whilest S. *Lewis* made warre in the Holie Land, who there lost the battell, and fell prisoner into the hands of the Souldan: neither do Historians dissemble who was the author of this ouerthrow: *The brethren,* saith *Paris, of the king of France entreated the Pope in the behalfe of the said king and of themselues, that he would make peace with Frederick humbled, and humbly offering satisfaction to the Church, according to the honour he bare to the vniuersall Church: The said brethren also of the king, namely the Earles of Poitou and of Prouence, layd to his charge, That by his couetousnesse all this misfortune was happened; for the Pope* (saith he) *had hindered the crossed souldiers, corrupting them with money, from going to the kings succour, and had absolued from the vow of their peregrination, them which before he had crossed for the Holie Land by the preaching Friers and Minorites. Moreouer, he had sold the crossed souldiers to Earle Richard, and other great men, as in times past the Iewes were woont to sell sheepe and doues in the Temple, whom Christ in his wrath cast forth,* as it is in the Gospell. This is the testimonie that historie giueth to this *Innocent*: contrariwise of *Frederick*: *Auentine* saith, *That he was without doubt the most potent, and the most profitable Prince to the Commonweale of Christendome, that had beene since Charlemaine, and without contradiction, the most wise: Witnesse Nicholas Cusan Bishop of Brixen, Cardinall of Rome, a man euerie way most learned; and Egidius Romanus Archbishop of Bourges in Gaule, a famous Philosopher and Peripatetick, who in the bookes that he wrot of the institution of a king, to the Westerne Emperours of France, exhorteth them to follow him for example. The same Frederick caused all the bookes of Aristotle, and many others both sacred and prophane, all the treasure of Philosophie, to be by most learned interpreters translated out of the Greeke and Arabian tongues, in which he had taken pleasure from his youth: He gaue great priuiledges, yea the Burgesse of Rome, to all the people of Prussia and of Sarmatia, because they had forsaken the seruice of false gods, for to embrace Christian pietie. His power, his strength, his prudence, his high courage, his experience in militarie affaires, his neerenesse* (for he made his abode in Italie, contrarie to the *custome of the auncient Emperours, gouerned Germanie by his sonne, and onely twice went out of Italie into Germanie*) *was dreadfull and suspicious to the See of Rome: Which Gregorie the ninth denied not, but freely confessed. And because the Empire flourished more than was to the liking of the Roman Cardinals,* placuit, *it was their pleasure, not onely to bruise and breake it with discords, but also to bring it into ashes, and to cast downe Frederick from the highest step of humane things.* *Auent. l. 7.*

There remaineth summarily to quote what commodities these three Popes, persecutors of *Frederick*, haue brought vnto the Church, in counterchange of so many discommodities. *Innocent* the third, and *Honorius* the third, approued the rules of *Francis* and *Dominick*; *Gregorie* the ninth canonized them, and *Anthonie* of Padua besides; and *Innocent* the fourth, not to seeme inferiour vnto them, enregistreth in the same Calender *Edmund* of Canturburie, *Stanislaus* of Cracouia, and *Peter* of Verona. And we haue seene what myracles they did by these Friers, and from that time forth you shall hardly meet with any Pope that maketh not some Saints. Let the Reader iudge with what warrants these men can place others in the kingdome of heauen, which by so horrible

Chronic. Martini & Platina in Innocentio 4.

horribly wicked actions make themselues vnworthie to liue vpon earth. Al- A
so *Innocent* the third ordayned Transubstantiation, *Honorius* made the Hoste
to bee on the knees adored, and to bee carried to sicke persons with burning
torches; *Gregorie* the ninth, that hee might not remayne behind, ordayned
the little bell, which being rung, warneth all men to adore it, the *Salue Regina*
also, for to be sung in Churches, and the *Aue Maria* when the bell tolleth.
Alexander the third, *Innocent* the third, *Honorius* the third, & *Gregorie* the ninth,
made many Decrees, the most part to authorise the Church of Rome in her pre-
tended fulnesse of power; *Innocent* the third went so farre as he feared not say, *We*
can, according to the fulnesse of power, dispence of the law euen aboue the law, which
the Glosse expoundeth, *against the old Testament, the Apostles and Euangelists*. These B
Decrees *Innocent* the fourth made to be compiled into one volume by one *Ray-*
mund a Iacobin Frier, and wil haue them to be accounted authentical; and is that
which is named Decretals. The Councell of Lions promised a great reforma-
tion to the Church, and here it is; *That Cardinals from thenceforth should weare red*
hats and scarlet cloakes, and should ride, through the citie, on horses well caparisonned,
for the honour of their dignitie. Thinke that Christendome was hereby wonder-
fully well restored. And this is spoken to shew who haue beene inuentors of this
pompe, as also of the superstitious deuotions at this day held in so high accompt.

Johannes de Oppido. Extra. de Celebr. Missarum C. sane cum olim Durandus in Rationa l. 41. Nauclerus Gener. 42. vol. 1. Math. Paris in Henrico 3. Sigon. de regno Italie l. 18. Extr. C. Propos. de Concess. prebend. cause 25. q. 1. & 16 glossa Platina Innocentio 4.

C

Opposition.

Who will thinke it strange, if no man dare resist a pride so inueterat, a posses-
sion of so long time taken to rule the world at his pleasure, to condemne to hell
whosoeuer resisteth him? And yet euen in this most desperat wicked age, there
hath not wanted some, that haue opposed themselues against the exactions, vio-
lences and corruptions of the Church of Rome.

In England they thought all things lawfull for them, boasting themselues to be
Soueraigne Lords thereof, vnder colour of the Charter of king *John*, who had
submitted himselfe to their homage. There we shall see a piece of their gouerne-
ment, wherby we may judge into what ruine they wold haue brought the church D
if they had bin left to their owne will. The BB. of England were reuolted against
their king, at the Popes instigation; So that peace being made betweene king S.
Lewis, and *Henrie* the third, king of England, they see themselues excluded; they
therefore haue recourse to the Pope to be restored: Among these was *Henrie* Bi-
shop of Lincolne, of whom *Honorius* exacted a thousand markes of siluer, and so
of the rest according to that proportion. Such, saith the Author, was *the Spiri-*
tuall dropsie of the Court of Rome: He also calleth him, *Leonem feritate, sanguisugum*
auaritia, a Lion in fiercenesse, a bloud-sucker in couetousnesse. This Pope sendeth *Otho*
his Legat into England, who in full Councell produceth the Popes letters, in E
which he is not ashamed to alledge, *the scandale of the holie Church of Rome, and her*
most antient opprobrie, namely the staine of concupiscence, the root of all euils; and in this
chiefely, that none can dispatch any businesse in the Court of Rome, but with great expen-
ces of money, and giuing of gifts. And because, saith he, *that pouertie is the cause of*
this infamie, children of a good nature ought to helpe the necessitie of their mother. And
note the remedie that he bringeth for this; That of all the Cathedrall Churches,
two prebends should be giuen him, one of the Bishop, another of the Chapiter,
and in like manner of Abbayes and Monasteries; promising, if this be graunted,
to doe them iustice without rewards. The Clergie of England thereupon assemble,
and

A and vpon the reading of the Popes letters, *looke one vpon another admiring the cou-*
tousnesse of the Romans, who had not learned this morall distich:

Quòd virtus reddit, non copia sufficientem,
Et non paupertas, sed mentis hiatus egentem.

Vertue, not plentie, makes man rich indeed,
A greedie mind, though rich, is still in need.

But the king by the aduice of the Prelats and Nobles of the realme, answered,
B That this businesse concerned all Christendome, in the vtmost skirts whereof hee
was, that like *as he should see other Estates gouerne themselues*, erga tales exactiones,
towards such exactions, the Pope should find him readie to follow their example. And
indeed our Frenchmen being assembled in Councell vpon the same matter at
Bourges, the king being present, where sat *Romanus* the Popes Legat; to whom
they propounded so many reasons, partly in refutation, partly in derision of the
proposition he made in the Popes behalfe, and of the commoditie he promised
the world thereby, that he himselfe was euen ashamed therewith: the conclusion
was in these words, *So much wealth would make the Romans madde, and so betweene the*
diuers kindreds among them, would arise so many seditions (of which now already they are
C *not free) as the ruine of the whole citie might iustly be feared. This is not the meanes to*
drie vp the spring of couetousnesse; that which they now doe by themselues, they then
would doe by others, and would procure to giue more rewards to their partakers than now
they doe. After which the Archbishop of Lyons said, *My Lord, wee will euer haue*
friends in the Court of Rome, and therefore we haue need of aboundance of gifts. But, my
Lord, let the Zeale of the vniuersall Church moue you, and of the holie See of Rome, for if
there were an vniuersall oppression of all, there would be cause to feare, ne immineret ge-
neralis discessio, *least a generall reuolt* (or Apostasie) *were at hand, which God forbid*.
That reuolt is foretold by the Apostle speaking of Antichrist, 2. *Thessal.* 2. Hee
therefore protested, that he had neuer consented thereunto, and that hee had re-
D ceiued commaundement of the Pope, being now entred into France, whereat he
greatly grieued.

Gregorie is no sooner come to the Popedome, but, following the steps of his
predecessors, he sendeth into England his Nuntio and Chaplaine, who being
heard in the assemblie of Prelats, produceth the Popes letters, whereby he open-
ly demaunded the tenths of all the moueable goods as well of the Clergie as of
the Laitie, for *the extermination of Frederick*. The king, who had alreadie by his
solicitors engaged himselfe to Rome, held his peace, as being *become a staffe of a*
reed to them that trusted in him. But the Earles and Barons, and all other lay per-
sons, absolutely declared, That they would in no wise suffer that their Baronies
E and lay possessions should be in any sort obliged to the Church of Rome. In like
manner also the Prelats and whole Clergie, who yet three dayes after waxed cal-
mer, fearing a sentence of excommunication, which the Legat was found to haue
in commission from the Pope, and indeed hee imployed it against all them that
made difficultie to obey; and of these tenthes which he exacted with threats, for
feare of the excommunications, hee agreed and made part with one *Stephen Se-*
graue, a Counsellor of the king: in so much that he tooke the tenth of the fruits
of Autumne, *which was yet but in the blade*, and for to haue readie money he con-
strained the Churchmen to sell *Chalices, siluer pots, and other vessels of the Altar:*

the Land is filled with continuall but ſecret maledictions, all people curſe both the exa- A
ctions and the exactors, exactio ſuis nunquam exactoribus fiat fructuoſa, *yea the Pope himſelfe, that it might neuer proſper with him*. And after that time England was no more ſeene without forraine vſurers from beyond the Alpes, who vnder the name of Marchants made gainful vſe of the extorſions of the Court of Rome. Whereby in a ſhort time after, the ſubiects of the kingdom as well noble as ignoble, were brought to that deſperate extreamitie, that to ſeeke ſome remedie for theſe miſchiefes, they write letters to the Biſhops and Chapiters with this ſubſcription, *To ſuch a Biſhop or ſuch a Chapiter*, Vniuerſitas, *the whole bodie of them that had rather die than be confounded by the Romans, ſend greeting*. In theſe letters, they particularly complained, That the Pope had commaunded the Biſhops vn- B
der paine of ſuſpenſion, that they ſhould not giue a benefice to any home-borne of the kingdome, till firſt fiue Romans in euery Church were prouided of benifices throughout all Dioceſes, *to the value of a hundred pounds ſterling the yeare*. Neither did they deſigne them by their names, but the ſonne of *Rumfred*, *or of ſuch a one*, as if they would fulfill that propheſie, *They haue ſpoiled the Ægyptians for to enrich the Hebrews*. Wherefore ſeeing they had reſolued with themſelues, to deliuer the Church the King and the kingdome, from ſo great a tyrannie, vnleſſe they themſelues (the Biſhops) would feele and ſuffer in their goods, that which they prepared for the perſons of the Romans ere long to ſuffer, they ſhould not entermedle in their affaires. In like manner they wrote vnto them that had their lands C
at farme, That they ſhould not pay them their yearely reuenues; and their letters were ſealed with a ſeale wherein was grauen two ſwords with this inſcription, Ecce duo gladij hic, *heere are two ſwords*. And the matter came to that paſſe, that *Matthew Paris in Henrico 3.* their corne was taken away throughout all England, freely and without contradiction; *They diſtributed them in large almes to the poore, and ſometime caſt their monies about on the ground and exhorted the poore to gather it vp. The Romane Clergie-men hid themſelues in Abbaies, not daring once to mutter at the iniuries done them; chooſing rather to loſe their goods than incurre the Sentence of death*; Vntill at length *Gregorie* being aduertiſed of theſe things, wrote vnto the King, that vnder paine of excommunication and interdict, he ſhould proceed againſt the Authours thereof: ne- D
uertheleſſe he wrote letters of recommendations to the Pope, in the behalfe of *Robert de Tinghe* knight, their head, that he might more eaſily obtaine abſolution.

But *Gregorie* gaue not ouer for all that, but the next yeare after, ſent his Nuncio's with Legantine power into all parts, one while pretending the ruine of *Frederick*, another while for the recouerie of the holy Land, for to exact money on all ſides; *Matth. Paris in Henrico 3.* *Inuenting* (ſaith the Hiſtorie) *and multiplying* argumentoſas extorſiones, *extorſions, fortified with arguments: eſpecially in England, he appointed his Legats, in ſhew ſimple meſſengers, yet hauing power Legantine, who, as if it were for ſuccour of the holy* E
Land, exacted very much money, by preaching, entreating, commaunding, threatning, excommunicating, and exacting procurations; whereby infinite many in England were brought to forſake their countrey and to beg, and yet the Church had neuer any aduancement therby. And here he giueth vs a copie of his letters, *Excellent words* (ſaith he) *able to pierce the ſtonie hearts of men, had they not beene followed with deeds notoriouſly contrarie to humilitie and iuſtice*: he would haue ſaid, had it not been for that it was meere hypocriſie, of ſuch as repreſented in their Buls, as it were on a ſtage, the paſſion of Chriſt and deſolation of the Holy Land, not ſo much for to moue the people, as to pull out their bowells. He therfore addeth, *To theſe men was giuen power to preſſe croſſed ſoldiers, and for money alſo to releaſe them of that vow; wherefore many, without*

A *without number, croſſed themſelues: But the Friers Preachers & Minorites, who had choſen with humility a voluntary pouerty, were in a ſhort time aduanced to ſo great Nobilitie, that I ſay not arrogancie, that they made themſelues be receiued into Couents and Cities, with ſolemne proceſſion, with banners and lighted tapers, each man in his beſt apparell and due order, and they had power to grant pardon for many daies to their auditors; and ſuch as to day were croſſed for the warres, in giuing money, they abſolued the morrow after from that vow. And in a ſhort ſpace, ſo great an exchange is made, and exaction of money ſo manie waies; neither could it be knowne into what bottomleſſe guiſe ſo much money, as the Popes agents did gather, could be drowned; ſo that the buſines of the Holy Land went not forward, and the charitie of the faithfull, yea of all in generall, waxed*
B *cold*.

Cardinall *Otho* comming as a Legat into England, at his firſt arriuall refuſeth all gifts, *contrary to the cuſtome of the Romans* (ſaith the Authour) and with his geſture woon the good liking of the people: but ſcarcely hath he giuen this taſt of him, but he taketh all things with both the hands; from the Biſhop of Wincheſter alone, *fiftie fat oxen, an hundred meaſures of wheat, eight buts of the beſt wine*, and ſo from the other Biſhops. And when there was a Councell to be held, he commandeth there ſhould be ſet vp in the Church of S. *Paul*, *a ſeat*, nimis faſtigioſam & ſolemnem, *too ſolemne and too high raiſed vp, mounting with many ſteps*. There he propoundeth new inuentions to the preiudice of the Clergy and Nobility; from
C the Nobilitie he tooke away the right of patronage, & ſeiſed it for the Pope; and from the other he tooke away part of their benefices, and gaue it vnto ſtrangers. And hence aroſe new complaints of the States againſt the Court of Rome: But he taxed alſo all the Eccleſiaſticall liuings for the ſuccour of the Pope againſt the Emperour, and exacteth it vnder paine of moſt rigorous cenſures, and for monie abſolueth from the vow of the holy Land: and a certaine ſum was ſet by the Fryers Preachers & Minorites, according to the rate the ſame voiage ouer ſeas might coſt them. Thence (ſaith *Mathew Paris*) *a great ſcandall is made among the people, with a ſchiſme; euen the moſt ſimple obſerued the abſurditie*, quam diuerſis muſcipulis, *by how many mouſe-trappes the Court of Rome endeuoured to depriue the ſimple people*
D *of God of their ſubſtance, requiring nothing but gold and ſiluer*. He exacted moreouer of all the Clergie the fift part of their reuenues, to bee employed againſt *Frederick*, and wreſted it away perforce; the Lords of the kingdome in vaine crying out to the King; *Moſt renowned Prince, why ſuffereſt thou England, to be made a prey and deſolation of ſtrangers, as a Vineyard without encloſure common to all that paſſe by, and for the wild bores to root vp?* The King anſwering them; *I neither will nor dare gainſay the Pope in any thing: And thereupon a lamentable deſpaire grew among the people*. We muſt not omit, that at the ſame time was taken at Cambridge a certain Carthuſian Monke, bearing *the habit and geſture of an honeſt and auſteer life*, who would not enter into the Church: he is brought vnto the Legat to be com-
E mitted priſoner to the Tower of London, and being queſtioned by him (he ſaith) *Gregorie is not Pope, is not head of the Church: The Church is prophaned, diuine Myſteries ought not to be celebrated, vntill firſt it be againe dedicated: The Deuill is let looſſe, the Pope is an hereticke, polluteth the Church, yea the world, Gregorie that is called Pope*; All this in preſence of many Prelats, named expreſly by the Authour; *Againe the Legat asketh, Is there not giuen from aboue a power vnto the Pope our Lord, to bind and looſſe ſoules, and to execute the place of S. Peter on earth? And whileſt all men expected what he would anſwere, beleeuing that the iudgement thereof depended on his anſwere, he replied by way of queſtion, How can I beleeue, that to any perſon tainted with Symonie,*

and vſurie, and perhaps with greater crimes, any ſuch power is granted, as was to S. Peter, A
who being made immediatly his Apoſtle, followed the Lord, not ſo much by the ſteps of his
feet, as by brightneſſe of vertues? At which words the Legat bluſhed. Neuertheleſſe
he proceedeth for all that in his enterpriſe begun, in ſo much as the Abbots of
the kingdome are conſtrained to come to the king to make their complaint, with
their heads lowly bowed, and their faces full of teares: *We are beaten verie ſore, and*
yet we dare not crie out; our throats are cut, and yet we may not weepe or complaine. The
Pope impoſeth an impoſsibilitie vpon vs, an exaction deteſtable to the whole world. New
and vnexpected ſeruices are daily thus and thus reuiued and inuented of the Romans, ſo
that they ſuffer vs not to haue neuer ſo little time to fetch our breath. The Biſhops
then vniuerſally gather together, and fortifie themſelues with reaſons, which they B
oppoſe againſt it; but the Legat being borne out by the king, who would gratifie
the Pope, he made a ſchiſme amongſt them, that he might the more eaſily (ſayth
Mathew) ſeiſe vpon his prey, *Gregorie* (de pecuniæ congreganda vigil contempla-
tor) *a vigilant contemplator in gathering of money together, expecting his deſired prey*
from England, ſignified to the Legat, That he ſhould not, as before, aſſemble the whole
Clergie together, leaſt they ſhould encourage one another, and ſtrengthening themſelues
with their former reaſons and exceptions, ſhould flatly contradict him; but rather that he
ſhould endeuour to bow euery one of them by himſelfe, hauing firſt by all meanes weake-
ned the conſtancie of the king, to the end that he, who before ſtood for the Clergie, and had
giuen them hornes, being made effeminat, might be for their ruine. When the Legat had C
vnderſtood theſe things, de docto factus eſt doctior ad nocendum, *becomming more*
skilfull to hurt, called together afore him, by the Popes authoritie, the whole Clergie of
England, to London, on the feaſt day of all Saint, and in the end obtained his ful deſire:
For the poore ſheepe were deliuered vp as it were rictibus Luporum cruentatis, *to the*
bloudie throats of Wolues, by the ſeducings of the Legat, mellitis & ſuper oleum molli-
tis, *ſweeter than oyle and honie, which he afterward turned into darts.* The ſame alſo
did *Gregorie* in all the other Prouinces of Europe, in Scotland, Denmarke, and
France it ſelfe, in which notwithſtanding, according to the meaſure of his power,
the matter had diuers euents, finding eſtſoones many impediments: For, as wee D
haue ſeene before, hauing gathered money in France, when he would abuſe it a-
gainſt the quiet reſt of Chriſtendome, S. *Lewis* intercepted the money, and made
it be ſtayed: neuertheleſſe he continued in the ſame obſtinacie vntill his death, as
Mathew Paris witneſſeth; *Gregorie,* ſaith he, *being vnable to ſuſtaine the griefes hee*
had conceiued (and yet ſtirred vp and drawne vpon himſelfe) the eleuenth of the Calends
of September dyed, pro meritis à ſummo Iudice recepturus, *to receiue of the ſoueraigne*
Iudge according to his deſerts, &c. The greateſt griefe which more inwardly pricked the
heart of Gregorie at his death, was for that the Emperour anon after the feaſt of the Aſ-
ſumption had taken a certaine caſtle of the Popes nephewes & other his kinſmen, in Cam-
pania, neere Mountfort, &c. and in ſigne of the ſubuerſion thereof had left a tower halfe E
ruinat, that the memorie as well of the fault, as of the vengeance taken, might not dye.
And in this ſence it is that he may ſeeme juſtly to take to himſelfe that ſaying of
our Lord, *The zeale of thy houſe hath eaten me vp.*

Neither are we to expect better of *Innocent* the fourth: from new Popes pro-
ceed new exactions: No ſooner is he ſeated in his Pontificall chaire, but he pre-
ſently ſendeth euerie where new exactors, into England, as into his farme, he ſent
firſt one maſter *Martin,* with power to excommunicat and ſuſpend; which hee ſo
well fenced withall, that *he preſently obtained* whatſoeuer the Pope chalenged to
himſelfe in benefices, *Ad opus Clericorum & conſanguineorum ſuorum, For the vſe of*
his

A *his Clergie men and kinſmen; neither was he aſhamed,* ſaith he, *to exact and extort from*
the Prelats, and eſpecially of Monkes, in a commaunding manner, Paleſridos concupiſ-
cibiles, *choyce palfreyes, or ambling nags: by letters ſtraitly commaunding this Abbot,*
and that Prior, That he ſhould ſend vnto him ſuch horſes as became a ſpeciall Clerke of the
Pope to ride vpon; but ſuch as gaineſayd, and pretended excuſes and cauſes of deniall,
though reaſonable, as did the Abbot of Malmesburie, and Prior of Merton, he grieuouſly
puniſhed, by ſuſpending them vntill ſuch time as they made full ſatisfaction. At length
the king himſelfe was wearie of theſe and ſuch like extortions, who, after hee had
yeelded all ſorts of ſubiection to the Pope, ſo that he placed his Legat in his owne
throne, could not chuſe but be moued at the complaint made vnto him by the
B whole Church; and that ſo much the more confidently, as he knew that when the
Popes chamber at Lyons was by chance ſet on fire, that ſame Charter whereby
king *Iohn* had made England tributarie to the Pope, was withall burned to aſhes.
Therefore hauing aſſembled a Parliament, he began to ſet downe a moſt excellent
order for the well gouerning of the realme, and for the reforming of juſtice: But
the diuell (ſaith *Mathew Paris*) *enemie of mankind, diſturber of peace, and raiſer vp of*
ſchiſmes, vnhappily hindered all that, by the Popes couetouſneſſe: For the Pope beleeuing
that the flexible Engliſh had alreadie ſubmitted their neckes to the ſayd contribution, ac-
cording to their cuſtome, as well by reaſon of the kings deſire thereto, as for the inſtance of
his requeſt, ſent à Latere ſuo *one maſter Martin, his Clerke, whom many for his wicked*
C *rauening called maſter Maſtife, hauing a new and vnheard of power, greater than euer*
any Legat had before him. For he ſtretched forth his hands to exact contribution, made
prouiſions, after his owne fantaſie, voyd of reaſon, ad opus ignotorum, *for to ſupply the*
need of vnknowne perſons, and violently tooke away the reuenues for to giue them to the
Popes kindred, being cruelly armed with the Popes authoritie, whoſe Bulls he daily ſhew-
ed, new at his pleaſure, and according as the buſineſſe on euery ſudden occaſion fell out.
Whence it came, that ſome ſaid he had many papers vnwritten, yet ſealed, that he might
write in them what he pleaſed, which farre be it. But *Iſte Legatus ſophiſticus, That ſo-*
phiſticall Legat commeth to the king, beſeeching him, That he himſelfe would diligently
labour in the Popes behalfe, that the Prelats of England might generally giue conſent to
D *make contribution to the Pope, of at leaſt ten thouſand markes.* The king anſwereth,
That his Barons and Prelats are ſo often ſpoyled of their goods vnder diuers pre-
tences, that they neither would nor could thenceforth promiſe any thing, *They*
will not, neither are they able to contribute either to me their king, or to the Pope, who
yet haue promiſed to aid me. And at this maſter *Martin* being greatly troubled,
departed from the kings preſence. And when he preſented his letters to the Pre-
lats, they ſay vnto him, *The king our Lord and patron, and founder and repairer of ma-*
ny of our Churches, being deſtitute of treaſure, demaundeth ayd of vs for the ſtrength
and defence of the realme, that is, of the Commonwealth, the ſame alſo doth the Pope in-
ſtantly requeſt vs for the king. And there commeth moreouer another vnexpected de-
E *maund from the Pope; ſo that on this ſide we are aſſailed, on that ſide wee are diſtreſſed;*
on this ſide we are troden downe, on that ſide ſorely preſſed: we are bruiſed as it were be-
twixt the anuill and the hammer, and tormented as betweene two milſtones. Neuerthe-
leſſe maſter *Martin* vrgeth, *and is inſtant,* vigilantiſſimè & inceſſanter, *vigilantly*
and inceſſantly, for the gathering and beſtowing of reuenues in what faſhion they would,
for the vſe of the Pope and his kindred; and of his ſaucineſſe and iniurious extotion, I
thinke it honeſter and ſafer, for reuerence of the holie Church of Rome, to be ſilent, than to
offend the eares of the hearers, and trouble the minds of the faithfull in rehearſing ſuch
things. In the meane time the Ports of England are verie narrowly obſerued, that

 the

the Popes carriers might bring no more diſpatches from Rome; and there was one A
of them ſtayed a Douer, who brought many bulls, *Multas abominationes de diuerſis argumentis emungendi pecuniam continentes*, ſaith the Author, *containing many abominations for to wreſt away money*; ſo that the king, deteſting the inſatiable couetouſneſſe of the Court of Rome, reſolued to prouide a remedie, and to that end ſent certaine honourable perſons embaſſadours to the Councell of Lions, in the name of the whole kingdome; And to Maiſter *Martin*, in the meane time is ſignified by one *Fulke Warin*, that he ſhould forthwith depart out of England; he asketh from whom he hath that commaundement; he is aunſwered, from them which of late were aſſemble in armes at Luithon, and that, if he were wiſe, he ſhould not tarrie three yeares longer: then went he to the king and asked if that B
were done by his authoritie; the king anſwereth, no; but that hee could hardly withhold his Barons from riſing vp againſt him, for hauing endured ſuch robberies in his kingdome; *Martin*, trembling, requeſteth of him ſafe-conduct, for the honour of the Pope; the king anſwereth in anger, *The Diuell lead and carie thee into hell; yet he commaunded his Knight Marſhall to bring him ſafe to the Sea ſide.* So ſoone as he is come to Rome, he declareth this his ill ſucceſſe to the Pope; And behold with what repentance he is touched: *The king*, ſaith he, *of Fraunce, and the king of Aragon haue forbidden our Nuncios entrance into their kingdomes, we muſt therfore*, ſaith he in great anger, *make peace with prince Frederic, that we may breake in pieces theſe pettie kings*, vt hos regulos cõteramus, *which kick againſt vs; for the draggon* C
foiled or appeaſed, the little ſerpents will ſoone be trodden down, Voce ſurſurra, ſaith the Hiſtoriographer, oculos obliquando & nares corrugando (thus deſcribeth he his choler) which word being ſpread among the people, *beget a ſcandal of indignatiõ in the hearts of many*. But the embaſſadors of the realm of Englãd, being arriued at the Councel of Lions, partly by the words of *Willã* of Powerick, partly by a moſt large letter, declared *quantũ eſt extortum tributũ iniurieſq́*, how great is the tribute wrongfully extorted; And after ſome accuſtomed complements to the Pope, *Behold*, ſay they, *by you and your predeceſſours, not hauing any conſideration, beſides the ſubſidies aboueſayd, Italians now are enriched in England, of whom there is alreadie an infinit num-* D
ber, in Churches, the patronage whereof belongeth to the religious perſons themſelues, and are called rectors of Churches, leauing the foreſaid religious perſons, whom they ought to defend, altogether vndefended, hauing not any care of ſoules, but ſuffering moſt rauenous wolues to diſperce the flocke, and deuoure the ſheepe. Whence it may truely be ſaid, that they are not good Paſtors, for they know not their ſheepe, neither their ſheep them; they abide not in the Churches for to keepe good hoſpitalitie and to giue almes, as is appointed, yet they receiue yearely in England ſixtie thouſand markes and more, diuers other receipts excepted; they reape more profit of the mere reuennes of the Kingdome, than the king himſelfe, who is the defender of the Church and gouernour of the Realme. Now we firmely hoped, and yet doe hope, bearing that affiance of you, that we ſhall reioyce by meanes of the E
mercie of your fatherhood, that our ſayd Almes deeds ſhall, in your dayes, be reformed to the due and former eſtate it hath beene: But we cannot conceale our grieuance, wherewith we are not onely grieued, but alſo beyond meaſure oppreſſed; concluding with entreatie, that he would remedie the ſame ſo ſoone as might be, eſpecially *that violent oppreſſion, intollerable griefe, and impudent exaction, which is committed by that hatefull clauſe often inſerted in the Popes letters*, Non obſtante &c. But the Pope put them off to a long day, for their anſwer: neither could he diſſemble the paſſion of his mind, for that they complained to the Councell; threatning among his familiars, that if he had once repreſſed *Frederic, he would trample vnder his feet the Engliſh*

A *liſh men and their King*. The Engliſh Embaſſadors then are vrgent for an anſwer; to whom by a third he aunſwereth, that they could not obtayne what they demaunded: And thereupon, they proteſting, that they would neuer pay *that deteſtable tribute*: he priuily ſendeth ſecret meſſengers into England, who made euerie biſhop particularly to ſubſcribe to that *lamentable Charter of king Iohn*; namely (as it is likely) to ſupplie the want of the originall burnt at Lions with a copie thus made authenticall. But the king hearing of it, made an oath, that whatſoeuer the Biſhops did, he would neuer pay it, though it coſt him his life. And the au- *Math. Paris.*
thour addeth, that in the conference that *Innocent* had with the king S. *Lewis* at Clugni, he vſed all the art hee could to perſuade the king, to reuenge him of this
B iurie, and to make warre againſt *ipſum regulum Anglorum, the pettie king of the Engliſh*, either for to depriue him of his kingdome, or to make him, will he nill he, ſubmit himſelfe to the pleaſure of the Court of Rome; which if hee would doe, the Church, with the Papall authoritie, ſhould to the vttermoſt of his power aſſiſt him: But yet, that the king of Fraunce conſtantly refuſed him. In the yere following, are made new admoniſhments to the Pope and Cardinals, by the letters of the king, States and Prelats of the kingdome, whereby were repreſented vnto them innumerable grieuances, the articles of which are rehearſed by the ſame author. Theſe among others were new, that the Pope by his letters enjoyned the Prelats, that they ſhould euerie man at their owne proper charges, furniſh forth
C one man fiue, another tenne, and another fifteene &c. men of warre well horſed and armed, for to doe him ſeruice whereſoeuer he ſhould commaund; to whom they ſhould giue a yeares pay; which is a militarie ſeruice due to the king alone, and from which neuertheleſſe they might be diſpenſed for money. Alſo, that, to the end the king might not hinder it, the Popes Nuncios fraudulently had forbidden the Prelats, vnder paine of excommunication, that they ſhould not reueale this exaction to any in ſixe moneths. *Innocent* then was ſo farre off from reuoking them, that in deſpite of the king he made a new ſtatute in England, *That the goods of ſuch as died inteſtate ſhould be conuerted to his vſe, and appointed the Preaching Friers diligently to put the ſame in execution*. Which the king hauing intelli-
D gence of, expreſly forbiddeth, *deteſting*, Romanæ curiæ augmentoſam, multiplicem, ac multiformem auaritiam, *the augmenting, multiplying and euerie way manifold couetouſneſſe of the Court of Rome*: He alſo forbiddeth thenceforth to pay tribute to the Pope; whereat the Pope being greatly moued, reſolueth to excommunicat the king and kingdome. Hereupon Cardinall *Iohn* an Engliſhman, a Ciſtertian Monke, ſaith vnto him; *For Gods ſake, my Lord, refraine your anger, which is (if I may ſo ſpeake) vndiſcreet; and with temperance bridle the paſſions of your will, conſidering that the dayes are euill; The holie land lieth open to daunger, the Greeke church is departed from vs, Frederic is our aduerſarie, then whom none, among the Chriſtian Princes, is mightier, or yet like vnto him: You and we which are the higheſt of the church*
E *are baniſhed from the Papall ſeat, yea from the Citie it ſelfe, yea from Italie, Hungarie, and the adiacent prouinces, expect nothing but vtter ruin from the Tartarians; Germanie is ſhaken with ciuile warres; Spaine is growne to that crueltie as to cut off the tongues of Biſhops; Fraunce is by vs alreadie brought to pouertie, and hath conſpired againſt vs; and England ſo oftentimes hurt by our iniuries, as Balaams aſſe ſpurred and beaten with a ſtaffe, at laſt ſpeaketh and ſpeaketh againſt, and complaineth that ſhee is ouermuch and intollerably wearied, and vnreſtoreably damnified. After the manner of Iſmael, beeing hatefull to all, wee procure all men to hate vs; And when for all that, the Popes mind was not appeaſed, nor inclined to compaſſion or humilitie, but*

was

was inflamed to puniſhment and reuenge, there came meſſengers from England, who mitigated the Popes mind gaping after profit, aſſuring him, that by his moſt ſpeciall friends in England the kings heart was bowed, ſo that he remitted it to the Clergie to effect his wiſh, the ioy whereof wonderfully calmed his mind and countenance. Yet whilſt he waited and expected the ſame, taking boldneſſe of this hope, he commandeth the Prelats of England, *ſolito imperioſius, more imperiouſly than he was woont,* That they ſhould cauſe to be paid him from all beneficed perſons reſident, the third part of their reuenues, and by nonreſidents the one halfe, with this deteſtable clauſe, *Non obſtante, &c. which aboliſheth all iuſtice.* And for to vrge theſe exactions are ſent *Iohn* and *Alexander*, Friers Minorites, *who armed with Bulls from the Pope, and couering vnder ſheepes clothing their woluiſh rauening, preſented themſelues to the king, and with a ſimple looke, humble countenance, and fawning ſpeech, entreated leaue of the king to wander throughout the Realme,* ad opus Domini Papæ charitatem petituri, *to demaund a charitie for the need of the Pope, promiſing that they would doe nothing by conſtraint.* But a while after they became proud with the gifts of the Clergie, *mounted vpon noble horſes, with golden ſaddles, decked in moſt coſtly apparell, and with ſouldiers ſhooes, vulgarly called* Heuſees, *ſhod and ſpurred after a ſecular, or rather a prodigall manner; which turned to the hurt and opprobrie of their Order and profeſſion, exerciſing the office and tyrannie of Legats, and exacting and extorting procurations, and account twentie ſhillings for a procuration but a ſmall matter. Firſt then they goe to the chiefeſt Prelats of England, and ſhamefully exact money from them for the Popes vſe, vnder terrible paines, ſetting too ſhort a time for anſwer or payment, and ſhewing the Popes thundering letters, as ſo many threatning hornes put forth.* In ſo much that the Biſhop of Lincolne, who had euer protected the Order of the Minorites, and was minded to haue made himſelfe one of them, *ſeeing ſuch a monſtrous transformation,* was wholly aſtonied: and that ſo much the more, for that they demaunded of his only Biſhopricke ſix thouſand markes. Neither yet is the Pope moued at the complaint made vnto him thereof at Lyons, but although they appeale vnto him, yet are they conſtrained with all kind of rigour. But we muſt bring here the whole Author throughout, if we ſhould ſet downe all that he ſaith of theſe tyrannicall exactions: it ſufficeth vs here for concluſion, to ſhew the deſcription that he maketh of the miſerable ſtate of the Church of England vnder *Gregorie* and *Innocent*; vnder *Gregorie* in theſe words, *In thoſe times ſaith waxed cold, and ſcarcely ſeemed to ſparkle, being almoſt brought to aſhes: For ſimonie was practiſed without blaſhing, vſurers openly by diuers occaſions did ſhamelesly extort money from the meaner ſort of people: Charitie is dead, the libertie of the Church is withered away, Religion is become vile and baſe, and the daughter Sion is as a bold-faced harlot, hauing no ſhame.* And of the Court of Rome he properly ſpeaketh, plentifull ſetting forth the iniuries thereof, which he concludeth in this one word, *Armato ſupplicat enſe potens, He entreateth vs with a ſword ſet to our throats. It were better for vs to dye, than to ſee the euils of our nation, & of the Saints. But theſe are ſcourges to Engliſhmen, they hauing committed many offences, and God being angrie, maketh the hypocrite raigne, and the tyran rule for the ſinnes of the people.* But vnder *Innocent*, Heu, heu, *Alas, alas, now the naturall inhabitants of the kingdome are deſpiſed, men holy, learned, and religious; and ſtrangers are intruded, that are vnworthie of all honour, altogether ignorant of the letters and language of the countrey, wholly vnprofitable for confeſſions and preachings, not ſtayed neither in geſtures nor in manners, extorters of money and contemners of ſoules. In times paſt holie, religious, and learned, the holie Ghoſt working with them and inſpiring them, were vnwillingly drawne into the Chaires, which now are violently occupied,* per fas & nefas,

A nefas, *by courtyers, wranglers in law, and barbarous. All the houſes, of which the election pertaineth to the Pope, are thereby deſtroyed. Patronage is now a burden, not an honour, a damage, not a profit. O Pope, Father of fathers, why ſuffereſt thou the clymets of Chriſtians to be defiled with ſuch perſons? Worthily therefore, worthily being chaſed from thine owne citie and ſeat, as another vagabond Cain, thou art forced to baniſhment, thine enemies proſper, thou flieſt before the partakers of Frederick, and they which perſecute thee are ſwift and mightie. Euerie where thy Bulls do ſhine as lightening againſt them that obey thee, and is of no eſteeme with ſuch as rebell. Prelats are euery where ſuſpended, that others may be prouided of their benefices, which are vnworthie, barbarous, and vnknown, who ſeeke the milke of the ſheepe of the Lords fold, ſheere them, flea them, and plucke out*

B *their bowels. O Lord God of vengeances, when wilt thou ſharpen thy ſword as lightning, and make it drunke with the bloud of ſuch men?*

In France, vnder the raigne of S. *Lewis*, *Innocent* ſpared vs not the more, although he ſoiourned there: heare what the ſame Author ſaith, Hee is no ſooner come to Lyons, but without the conſent of the Chapiter he would giue away the vacant Prebends: the Canons reſiſt him to his face, & threaten thoſe to whom he giues them, That if they came thither the Archbiſhop ſhould not bee able to hinder them from caſting them headlong into the riuer Rhoſne. But as the matter paſſed further, others more enterme[illegible]ed in it; *For*, ſaith he, *all and euerie one ſaw and perceiued, that the Pope did inſatiably gape after money and ſpoyle, to the dammage*

C *and impoueriſhment of many. And many alreadie did not beleeue, that he had the ſame power of binding and looſing as was granted from heauen to S. Peter, being knowne to be altogether vnlike to S. Peter. In France many noblemen conſpired againſt the Pope and the Church, which we neuer remember to haue happened before, as may bee ſeene in this Charter written in the French tongue,* which is there at large expreſſed: the ſumme of it is this, All the confederats, whoſe ſeales did hang at that writing, vnite themſelues together for to defend their rights and prerogatiues againſt the Court of Rome; and there was named for heads of the league, the Duke of Bourgondie, the Earle *Perron* of Britaine, and the Earles of Angoleſme and of S. Paul, who, if any of the league haue need, are to helpe them with neceſſarie forces; and that,

D ſay they, becauſe the Clergie made them of worſe condition than the Heathens, of whom God ſaid, Giue vnto *Cæſar* the things that are *Cæſars*, and vnto God the things that are Gods: and by theſe new cuſtoms aboliſhed their ancient priuiledges, whereas indeed the kingdome had not beene gotten by the pride of the Clergie, but by the ſouldiers and men of warre. Which when the Pope vnderſtood, fearing leaſt that were done by intelligence with *Frederick*, he thought it his wiſeſt courſe to content them in their grieuances, and to appeaſe the chiefeſt by giuing them ſtore of benefices; yet neuertheleſſe he ſendeth the Friers Preachers and Minors to all the Prelats of France, who require of them to lend him money, pro-

E miſing to reſtore it them ſo ſoone as he ſhould be able to take his breath: *But king Lewis ſuſpecting the couetouſneſſe of the Court of Rome, forbad all the Prelats of his kingdome, vnder paine of looſing all their goods, that none ſhould in any ſuch ſort impouerish his land.* And ſo *theſe ſophiſticall Legats of the Pope* departed out of the kingdome, *hiſſed at and derided of all men.* Yet true it is (ſaith the Author) that after infinit extortions in France, *worthie of eternall ſilence*, the Pope conſented to king *Lewis*, in fauour of his voyage to the Holie land, that he might collect a tenth for three yeares, on condition that himſelfe might alſo for other three yeares following receiue the like; which was with ſuch rigour extorted, that the Churchman that had yearely but twenty ſhillings comming in, and was readie to periſh for hunger, was con-

conſtrained, without all pitie, to pay two of them: and of this crueltie he bringeth many examples. And for that king S. *Lewis* did permit or tollerate the Pope to make theſe extortions in his kingdome, it was vndoubtedly beleeued, that his voiage to the Holie Land tooke ſuch vnfortunat ſucceſſe. Now of all theſe, as wee haue aboueſaid, theſe new Friers Preachers and Minorites were the executors, being the Popes ordinarie Publicans or Toll-gatherers, who in the meane time alſo deuoured one another, *And which is terrible and of vnluckie preſage*, ſaith he, *no Monaſticke Order in the ſpace of three or foure hundred yeares or vpwards, hath growne ſo much, and ſo ſoone neere a downefall, as is their Order in twentie foure yeres, that their manſions were firſt founded in England. When any great and rich men lye at point of death, they come diligently about them, to draw profit and riches from them, not without the hurt and hinderance of the Ordinaries, and wreſt from them confeſſions and ſecret teſtaments, onely recommending vnto them their Order, and preferring it before all others: So that no faithfull man beleeues to be ſaued, vnleſſe he be gouerned by the counſels of the Preachers and Minorites, who are carefull of getting priuiledges, are Counſellors, Chamberlaines, and Treaſurers, in the Courts of Kings and Potentates, Paranymphes and mariage-makers, executors of the Popes extortions; in their preachings either flatterers or moſt biting reprouers; and in confeſſions either diſcloſers, or vndiſcreet reprehenders.* Who doth not here perceiue the true picture of the Ieſuites? And there he further ſetteth downe the great priuiledges giuen by the Pope, for to bee ſerued of them, which in this and other places may be read. *Mathew* noteth, That when they had diſcouered that the king of Norway was deuout, *with great induſtrie they prouided a certaine ſtone of white marble*, which they ſaid they had bought for a great price, wherein they fained was printed the ſole of the foot of our Lord aſcending vp into heauen: That others of them ſhewed ſome of the bloud of Chriſt, and milke of the Virgine *Marie*. In thoſe firſt ages of the Church (gentle Reader) when all things were freſher, how commeth it that there is no ſpeech of any ſuch things? And in the mean time this good Monk addeth, *In theſe dayes* multi generati per incubos, *many children were begotten by ſpirits*; which ſeeing it followeth together in the ſame place, there is none but may vnderſtand what is meant thereby.

Gregorie attempteth to ſtretch forth his hands vnto the Eaſt parts, and behold with what ſucceſſe. By reaſon of the conqueſt made of Conſtantinople by the Weſterne people, the Emperour *Baldwin* had ſubmitted the Church of Conſtantinople to that of Rome, in hope to be the better aided of the Pope, for the ſtrengthening of his new Empire, and there reſted onely, to agree the controuerſies of religion. Therefore *Germane* Patriarch of Conſtantinople writeth vnto *Gregorie*, That he deſired nothing more than to enter into conference about them, being readie (old as hee was) to reſort to any place where need ſhould be, to that effect: But (ſaith he) *becauſe no man euer can ſee the ſpots of his owne face, vnleſſe hee looke himſelfe in a glaſſe, or be certified by ſome other, whether his face be ſpotted or not; ſo we haue many great and ſhining myrrors, namely, the Goſpell of Chriſt, the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles, and the bookes of the Fathers; let vs looke into them, they will ſhew vs how euerie man beleeueth*, ſiue nothè ſiue legitimè, *falſely or truely*. The ſame alſo to the Cardinals, but that he paſſeth further: *There is a ſcruple of offence bred in our minds, that gaping onely after earthlie poſſeſſions yee gather together the gold and the ſiluer that yee can from any place extort, & yet ſay yee are the diſciples of him* (to wit *Peter*) *that ſaid, Siluer and gold haue I none: Yee make kingdomes tributarie vnto you: yee multiplie moneyes by negotiations: yee vnteach by your actions that which yee teach with your mouth. Let temperance moderat you, that yee may be to vs and to all the world an example and paterne,*

paterne, &c. But *Gregorie* anſwereth him with his *Tues Petrus*, thinking to put him downe with the onely name of Primacie: And indeed *Germane* ſaid vnto them, *The diuiſion of our vnitie proceeded from the tyrannie of your oppreſſion, and of the exactions of the Church of Rome, which of a mother is become a ſtepdame.* To this *Gregorie* anſwereth, That to him alone belongeth the deciſion of the queſtions of faith: moreouer, that to the Pope of Rome *belongeth both the ſwords, materiall and ſpirituall, by the teſtimonie of the Goſpell, where it is ſaid,* Ecce duo gladij, *behold two ſwords:* conſider, I pray you, what a goodly courſe he taketh to conuert the Greeks. *Theſe admonitions being heard, but not yeelded to, the Grecians ſubmitted not themſelues to the Church of Rome,* Fortè (ſaith the Author) tyrannidem & auaritiam ejus pertimeſcentes, *Fearing perhaps the tyrannie and couetouſneſſe thereof; the Pope and Cardinalls hauing a diligent treatie thereupon, they reſolue to turne the whole armie of croſſed ſouldiers againſt them: And a publication thereof being made, many are croſſed to goe againſt the Greekes, and chiefely them of Conſtantinople.* He addeth, *This was the ſeed of ſchiſme betweene the Roman and the Greeke Church. A certaine Archbiſhop canonically choſen to a noble Archbiſhoprickе in Greece, went to Rome to be confirmed, but could not obtaine it, vnleſſe he would promiſe* infinitum aurum, *abundance of money for the ſame. But hee, without doing any thing, returned, deteſting the ſimonie of the Court, and told it to all the Nobilitie of Greece: And others that had beene at Rome, witneſſed the like and worſe actions; and ſo all, in that Gregories time, departed from the ſubiection of the Church of Rome.* Hereupon the Authour giueth his judgement: *The Greeke Church hauing ſeene ſo much malice and oppreſſion, riſe vp againſt the Roman, and expelling their Emperour, obeyed onely their Archbiſhop Germane of Conſtantinople.* Not long after the Patriarch of Antioch alſo followed the ſame ſteps, and proceeded ſo farre as to excommunicat *Gregorie, Solemnely preaching, That he and his Church in time and dignitie was to be preferred before the Pope and the Church of Rome, and that it was more excellent than the Roman Church, becauſe the Apoſtle Peter had firſt gouerned with great honour the Church of Antioch the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres, and there was receiued with all due reuerence, and likewiſe eſtabliſhed in the Chaire; whereas at Rome he was manifoldly vexed with many iniuries and reproaches, and at length ſuffered vnder the Emperour Nero a cruell death, with his fellow Apoſtle S. Paul, the ſpeciall Doctor of the Gentiles. The power of binding and looſing he rather beſtowed on the Greeke than on the Roman Church, which is now manifeſtly defamed with the ſpots of ſimonie, vſurie, couetouſneſſe, and other enormities.* And theſe things paſſed in the Eaſt.

What ſhall we ſay then, if the Romans themſelues haue not been able to hold their peace? When *Gregorie* went about to excommunicat them, they ſpake againſt him, maintaining, That for no cauſe the citie ought to be ſubiect to his interdict: And the Pope replied, *That he was leſſe than God, but greater than any man whatſoeuer, therefore greater than any citizen, yea than any King or Emperour.* Secondly, the Magiſtrats and Senators exacted a yearely tribute of the Roman Church, which they of new and auncient right were euer in perpetuall poſſeſſion of, vntill *Gregories* time. He anſwered, That this was a free gift which the Church vnder perſecution was woont to giue for to redeeme their peace, which ought not grow into a cuſtome, ſeeing for ſo many ages there had beene no perſecution at Rome, but that which the Popes themſelues vſed againſt others. If this right had had none other foundation, who can doubt, but that many ages afore that, they would haue exclaimed againſt it, and aboliſhed it. Thirdly, the Romans extended their countie or bounds of their iuriſdiction, ſo that they included therin Viterbe, Montalto, and other towns & caſtles, whic hwere pretended to belong to the Church.

He

He anſwered, That this was to vſurpe another mans right, *and that Chriſt on the croſſe by his bloud had made the citie of Rome ſo free, that the gates of hell could nothing preuaile againſt it.* Note, gentle Reader, the pleaſant diuinitie of this Pope. For theſe cauſes therefore contentions being debated betweene the Pope and the Romans, he with his Cardinals depart the citie, and withdraw themſelues to Perouſa; thence he thundereth forth an excommunication againſt them: whence came (as the ſame Author ſaith) warres, and many conflicts, and great effuſion of Chriſtian bloud for many yeares. And for this cauſe *Innocent* his ſucceſſor ſet no firme footing at Rome, but aſſigned a Councell at Lyons; and alſo by his Embaſſadors requeſted *Henrie* the third, king of England, That he might with his good leaue ſoiourne at Bourdeaux, becauſe the brethren of king S. *Lewis* (being priſoner among the Infidels) did vehemently preſſe him to make peace with *Frederick*. But the wiſeſt men of England (ſaith *Mathew*) feared ſuch a gueſt, *Becauſe from thence he might ſoone paſſe by ſhip into England, and by his preſence make it worſe, and defile it.* And this is that which Cardinall *Iohn* the Ciſtertian Monke ſaid, in his admonition to *Innocent*, aboue recited, *We are in exile, chaſed from the Papall ſeat, from Rome it ſelfe, yea and from Italie.*

But as in Germanie their venome did chiefly ſpread it ſelfe, ſo it is worthie our obſeruation, to ſee what ſtrong reſiſtance the force of nature made againſt that ſtrange force. And *Gregorie* the ninth (as we haue ſeene) had taken vpon him to ruinate *Frederick*; not forbearing to ſay, that the Empire of Germanie flouriſhed more than was for his profit: But ſaith *Auentine*, that could not well be brought to paſſe by the meanes of the Biſhops of Germanie, and the reaſons are theſe, Becauſe *they were then yet vniuerſally giuen to the loue of artes, and of the common good, and not ſubiect to ſeruitude; not, as now, ſhunning labours, and giuen to ſloth, idleneſſe and pleaſures; they applied themſelues to wiſedome, in ſtudy on bookes, in louing Chriſt, and diligent feeding their ſheepe; they tooke care of the Common-wealth, and prouided for Chriſtian preaching. The Eccleſiaſticall dignities of theſe men, were firſt conferred vpon them by our Emperors and Princes: then, ſom the time of the Emperour Henry the fift, the Clergie and people being aſſembled, and ſuffrages by each man particularly giuen, they were choſen, with the ioint conſent of the people and all the Prieſts, the common Paſtours of ſoules; and at length, in the time of this Frederick the ſecond, by the Clergie alone, the people excluded. For which cauſes the Biſhops of thoſe times, in their titles, beginnings of Epiſtles, and Decrees, did not write* Apoſtolicæ ſedis gratia, *that is to ſay, By the fauour of man, as now they doe: but after the manner of S. Paul,* ſola miſeratione diuina, *By the only mercy of God, they acknowledged they had receiued that gift and office, &c. Wherefore Gregorie would take away and make voide this order, and ſubuert this authoritie of Biſhops, and reduce all things to the power of one man; neither could he otherwiſe oppreſſe Frederick, whom they openly proclaimed their moſt deare and moſt pious Prince, and ſeemed they would in no wiſe forſake him, matters remaining as they did.*

Auent. l. 7. Annal. Boiorum

The Emperour then (ſaith the Authour) after he had appeaſed the rebellion of Auſtria, came to winter at Turin, and *Gregorie* by the counſaile of one *Mathew* a preaching Friet (*for there is nothing that ſuch ſort of men will not vndertake*) entreth into a league with *Iames Tiepoli* Duke of Venice, hauing allured into the ſame confederacie the Biſhops of Milan, Bononia, Breſſe, and others of Lombardie, ouer whom was appointed Generall, *Gregorie de Montelongo*, that they might breake forth into open rebellion, vpon the firſt occaſion offered. And leaſt *Frederick* ſhould receiue aid from Germanie, he won the Germane Princes and Captaines, according as he vnderſtood they were led with couetouſneſſe or ambition, in diſtributing

A ſtributing vnto them the Tenthes and other Eccleſiaſticall goods, for to engage them againſt their Biſhops: and did ſo much by the cunning practiſes of himſelfe and of the Preaching Friars, that working vpon the paſſions and naughtie affections of men, he brought a good part of Germanie to ſheath their ſwords in their owne bowels. Wherefore, things thus ſet in order, he proceedeth to excommunicate *Frederick*, and vnder pretence of zeale, the conſpirators of Italy take armes; at the ſame time aſſemble the troupes of Germanie, aſſiſted with his Legats, men of chiefe authoritie, but particularly pricked forwards by one *Albert Behan*, a noble Churchman, factious and learned, to whom he had committed the care of the whole buſineſſe for foure yeares, hauing firſt by oth ſecretly bound him vnto him,
B and armed him to that end with three Bulls. The firſt was an inuectiue againſt *Frederick*, a Prince (as it ſaid) beleeuing amiſſe concerning Chriſt, hauing none other drift than to ouerthrow Chriſtian Religion, which that he may more eaſily effect, he laboureth to bring the Pope and Cardinalls into extreame pouertie. The ſecond conteined an interdiction of Diuine ſeruice to all the followers of *Frederick*, and pronounced all his officers, vaſſalls and ſubiects, abſolued from their oth of fidelitie. The third, a prohibition, that no man of what qualitie or condition ſoeuer, ſhould aſſiſt him in deed, word, or will, vnder paine of eternall damnation. And he fortified theſe Bulls with gifts, benefices, and dignities, for to corrupt and win more eaſily the Counſellors & Secretaries of Princes, according as he knew
C each man more or leſſe capable of this ſeruice. And here *Auentine* declareth particularly all the circumſtances. Thus at length this mightie rebellion in Germany brake forth; and at the ſame time were theſe Buls carried about by the Preaching Friers. But on the other part *Conrade* ſonne of *Frederick* calleth to him all the good men, and inuiteth the faithfull Princes and cities of the Empire to their duetie, and ſetleth himſelfe to a defence. Of all the Biſhops to whom thoſe Buls came, not any one obeyed the Pope, and of all the Abbots as few: they all were aſtonied at this noueltie, all are inflamed with anger, all proteſt publikely, *That the Pope hath in Germanie no right, without the conſent of the Biſhops of Germanie. Let the Biſhop of Rome* (ſay they) *feed his Italians: We being ordained of God dogs of the flocke, will keepe*
D *away the Wolues that come couered in ſheepes ſkinnes. Learne hence what this counterfeit Vicar would doe to others, when he beareth himſelfe thus towards his brethren and collegues.* And in like manner ſaid *Sigefride* Biſhop of Ratisbone, and others, in a ſolemne ſermon before *Otho* Duke of Bauaria, promiſing at their owne charges *euerie yeare to maintaine ſix hundred horſemen for the excellent, moſt Chriſtian, and moſt pious Emperour Frederick.* So *Conrade* Biſhop of Friſingen, ſo *Eberard* of Saltzburg, and *Radiger* Biſhop of Bathaw or Paſſaw, in ſo much that he gaue a boxe on the eare to him that deliuered him thoſe Bulls in the temple, and caſt him into priſon; *Wherefore they all declared that Albert* (and in him the Pope himſelfe) *to be an enemie of the Chriſtian Commonwealth, a diſturber of peace, a moſt dangerous hypocrite, and*
E *a falſe Prophet.* Neither yet is *Eberard* content with this, he reconcileth *Frederick* of Auſtria with the Emperour; and the Pope excommunicateth this Prince of Auſtria, but *Eberard* preſently abſolueth him, and moreouer, writeth to *Otho* Duke of Bauaria, That he could doe nothing more acceptable to God, than to expell that *Albert*, *a ſerpent in his boſome*, out of his dominions. Alſo the Biſhop of Bamberge taketh the meſſengers of *Albert* and ſtrippeth them: the Biſhop of Brixen ſtoppeth the paſſages of the Alps, to the end that none might go to Rome: the ſame did alſo the Biſhop of Alteich, whom he had excommunicat for praying to God for *Frederick*. In a word, *All the Biſhops not onely called his commaunde-*

ments into doubt, but as a hater of Christian concord, and as a most pernitious arch here- A
tike throughout the religions of all Priests and Monkes, excommunicat him, and declare
him worse than the Turkes, Iewes, Saracens, or Tartarians, published with a lowd voyce,
That such things were done by the Pope among Christians, against diuine and humane
right, against the lawes, against the Commaundements, against the law of nations, and
the doctrine of Christ, as would not be committed among the most cruell Tartarians. It
came so farre, that the Bishops of Ratisbone and of Bathaw led troupes of crossed soul-
diers against Albert. Wherefore the Duke of Bauaria himselfe, with whom he
was retired, began to faint, especially vpon the receit of the Emperour Frede-
ricks letters out of Italie, by which he was commaunded to chase him away as
guiltie of high treason. All which the Pope was aduertised of by a deuout old B
woman named Katherine Begute, and a certaine young stripling called Henrie, of-
tentimes sent from Albert into Italie. In this extremitie they haue recourse to su-
perstition: Agnes the Dukes wife was religious (he might haue said more truely su-
perstitious:) Albert deceiueth her by Henrie the Dukes Secretarie; Prouost of
Munster, and Theodoric Otholim her houshold Chaplaine, they affirming vnto her,
That on the feast eue of Saint Philip and Iacob, whilest they were in their quiet sleepe, they
saw twice a sword let downe from heauen to Albert, the Virgine mother of God and the
Apostles of Tuoric, with inscription in letters of gold, That they approued and confirmed
all the actions of Albert, and made themselues authors of all that he should take in hand.
Whereupon he boldly commaunded the Bishops of Ausbourg and of Eichstat, C
That they should depriue from the communion of the Church, all the cities of
their dioceses that had sent men of warre to Frederick: but none obeyeth him.
Then he calleth them together to Landshut, yet no man also appeareth. At last
the Pope in his fauour sendeth to the Canons and religious persons, that they
should chuse themselues other Prelats: neither are yet these any thing moued.
He citeth to Rome out of euerie dioceese, them that Albert designed vnto him:
but no man prepareth himselfe to goe thither. In the meane time Eberard Archbi-
shop of Saltzbourg, and Radiger Bishop of Bathaw, goe to Otho Duke of Baua-
ria, admonish him of his duetie, promise him the Emperours fauour, and intreat D
him to be present in their assemblie at Ratisbone, there with a great number of
Bishops to treat of the affaires of the Commonwealth; which he granted them.
Then Eberard Archbishop of Saltzbourg opened his bosome in an Oration, which
we haue at length set downe in Auentine, where after he hath said vnto them for
Preface, That Christ had left vnto vs for his badge, whereby we may be discerned
from others, the duetie of loue and peace; He earnestly also, saith he, admonisheth
vs, that we should auoid false Christs and false Prophets, who couered with sheepes skins,
that is, vnder the name of a Christian, and title of Pope, seeke to haue dominion ouer vs,
and delude vs. Whom he teacheth vs to know by their thornes and workes, namely, coue-
tousnesse, excesse, contention, hatred, enuie, warres, discord, desire of domination, ambiti- E
on. With what words could the Emperour of heauen more plainely haue demonstrated vn-
to vs the Scribes and Pharisies of Babylon? If we be not blind we may discerne vnder the
title of Soueraigne Bishop, in Pastors clothing, a most cruell Wolfe. The Bishops of Rome
take armes against all Christians, make themselues great by presuming, deceiuing, and
sowing warre out of warre: They kill the sheepe, destroy peace, driue concord out of the
land, draw out of hell ciuile warres and domestick seditions, &c. They prouide not for their
flocke after the manner of a Bishop, but rather after the manner of tyrans they licentious-
ly rage in crueltie. Iustice goeth to nothing; but impietie, couetousnesse, desire of honours,
loue of money, and lust, grow apace, &c. And here he amplifieth his discourse vpon this

A this confusion of things: Hildebrand about an hundred and seuentie yeares agoe, vnder
shew of religion, first laid the foundation of the Empire of Antichrist, first began the hor-
rible warre which his successors haue continued euer since till now. At first they exclu-
ded the Emperour from the election of Popes, and transported it to the people and Clergie:
And afterwards hauing had both these in mockerie and scorne, they now also labour to
constraine vs to subiection and seruitude, that they may raigne alone; and being now de-
lighted with the custome of commaund, and hauing often weighed their owne and their
aduersaries forces, they vse the specious colour of Ecclesiasticall libertie, for an occasion of
violently taking to them domination, and of oppressing Christian libertie. Beleeue him
that hath experience of it, They will not cease till they haue brought the Emperour vn-
B der, dissipated the honour of the Roman Empire, oppressed the true Pastors which feed, ta-
ken away the dogs that can barke, that after this manner they may extinguish and destroy
all things. They would therefore confound all things together in vprores, yet euen in de-
spight they contend for dominion. Paul the storehouse of Philosophie commaundeth, Be yee
subiect one to another in the feare of Christ, &c. That supreme Maiestie tooke vpon him
the forme of a seruant, that he might serue his Disciples, and wash their feet. The Bishops
of Babylon couet to raigne alone, they cannot endure any equall: They will not giue ouer
till they haue troden all things vnder their feet, and sit in the Temple of God, and be exal-
ted aboue all that is worshipped: Their hungring after riches, and thirsting after honors,
cannot be filled; the more is giuen them, the more they desire; reach to them a finger and
C they will couet the whole hand. This seruant of seruants coueteth, like as if hee were a
God, to be Lord of Lords: He despiseth the sacred assemblies and Councels of his brethren,
yea of his Lords: He feareth least he should be constrained to render an account of those
things that he doth, daily more and more, against lawes and commaundements, ingentia
loquitur, he speaketh great things, as if he were a God; meditateth new counsels in his
breast, that he might get an Empire to himselfe: He changeth the lawes, establisheth his
owne: He polluteth, seareth asunder, spoyleth, defraudeth, killeth. This is that sonne of
perdition (whom we call Antichrist) in whose forehead is written this name of contume-
lie, I am God, I cannot erre. He sitteth in the Temple of God, and hath dominion farre
and wide: but as it is in the mysterie of holie Scriptures, Let him that readeth vnder-
D stand, The learned shall vnderstand, but all the wicked shall doe wickedly, and shal not vn-
derstand. And here he briefely noteth vnto them, what of these things is said in
the Reuelation, which he applieth to the present state of the world, and chiefely to
the corruption of Rome: then by and by after hee saith, The Emperour is but a
vaine name, and onely a shadow. There are ten kings likewise which haue diuided the
whole earth (sometime the Roman Empire) not for to gouerne, but to consume it. The
tenne hornes (which seemed incredible to Saint Augustine) to wit, the Turkes, Grecians,
Ægyptians, Africans, Spaniards, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Germans, Sicilians, and Ita-
lians, possesse the Roman Prouinces, and in these failed the Roman Colonies: And the lit-
tle horne (alluding to the place of Daniel) hauing growne vp vnder these, which hath
E eyes, and a mouth speaking great things, holdeth vnder, and constraineth to serue him the
three kingdomes especially of Sicilie, Italie, and Germanie, vexeth the people of
Christ and Saints of God with an intollerable domination, confoundeth together di-
uine and humane things, and enterpriseth most wicked and execrable things. What is
more clearely manifest than this Propheste? All the signes and prodigies which that our
heauenly Master hath aduertised vs of, are alreadie come to passe, &c. If this fire bee not
quenched it will burne the whole world. It becommeth him that first kindled it to quench
it, by the ruine of that monster which hitherto hath laine hid at Landelshut in the towne
of Boior, to the great danger of Christians. And at length concludeth, That this Al-
bert

bert the Popes incendiarie, *as a peſtilent fellow and a Serpent*, ſhould be baniſhed by the Duke. And hereupon, by the joynt conſent of the whole aſſemblie, without doubt approuing thoſe ſpeeches, ſentence of proſcription was giuen againſt him and his; and about this time *Gregorie* died.

Innocent the fourth ſucceedeth, who (as aboue is ſhewed) left nothing vnattempted againſt *Frederic*, and oppoſed againſt him two Emperours one after another created at his pleaſure. *Albert* alſo continueth conſtant in his ſeruice, till he was taken by *Otho* Duke of Bauaria in the towne of Pathaw, which with many others he had moued to rebellion againſt him, and being preſently conuicted of periurie, ſacriledge, treacherie and impietie, by his commaundement is ſtead aliue. About the ſame time died *Sigefride* Biſhop of Ratisbone, and *Eberard* of Saltzbourg. *Innocent* ordained for ſucceſſour of *Sigefride*, one *Burchard de Zighenhaghen*, and of *Eberard* one *Albert Pitoegius*. And when they of Saltzbourg refuſed *Burchard*, he accepteth of *Philip* the Dukes ſonne of Carinthia, whom they had choſen, but on this condition, that they ſhould excommunicat *Otho*, vnleſſe he renounced *Fredericks* part; a part that ſeemed to be weakened by ſo many rebellions he had ſtirred vp in diuers parts in Germanie. *Otho* on the contrarie, declareth vnto the biſhops and Prelats of the prouince, aſſembled in Synod at Myldorff; *Yee haue preached vnto me* (ſaith he) *that the Biſhop of Rome is Antichriſt, and I haue left the ſect of the chiefe Prieſt to take part with the Emperour, yee haue perſuaded me to it, I concluded peace with you, and now againe warre better pleaſeth you, yee are more variable and mutable than an ordinarie man. Why doe yee ſo fondly delude the Chriſtian people with your childiſh ſentence, &c. I appeale vnto Chriſt our ſauiour, who had foretold vs, that we muſt keepe our ſelues from ſuch Phariſes, and promiſeth to bleſſe your curſings: So that whileſt of you we are condemned, of Chriſt our Lord and God we are abſolued. Whom will the wicked and impious hands of this ſacrilegeous kind of men abſtaine from, which haue not ſpared Chriſt our Sauiour? And who is he that burned ſuch like Prieſts aliue, with their wiues and children, and by that famous act made ſo pleaſing a ſacrifice to God, that he obtayned the kingdome of Paleſtina for himſelfe and his poſteritie?* Alluding hereby to *Iehu* king of Iſraell. This being ſayd, *Otho* departed, and hauing joyned his forces with *Conrade*, the Emperours ſonne, goeth to beſiege Dornberg. The Prelats aſſembled at Myldorff, concluding his words to be true, determine to win his fauour, and giue him abſolution of the Popes excommunication. And this then was the judgement they made of the Pope in Germanie.

Hither might be referred many things out of the Epiſtles of *Peter de Vineis*, Chauncellour of *Frederic*, but which may be thought to proceed from paſſion in the heat of contention betweene the Popedome and the Empire. There doth *Frederic* reproue the Pope, how vnlike or rather contrarie he is, by the teſtimonie of all men, to S. *Peter*; That the Phariſes ſat in *Moyſes* chaire; That hee was excommunicated of the Pope, by a key manifeſtly erring, without hauing heard him; That the Pope, contrarie to Saint *Peter*, adoreth his bellie and his money, gapeth onely after richneſſe, and continually ſeeketh whom hee may deuoure; That, contrarie to Chriſt, he preacheth nothing but warre, and thinketh he is in the world for none other end; Then he exclaimeth, *And when this gluttonous bellie and ſtomacke is full gorged with wine, then thou thinkeſt that thou ſitteſt on the wings of the wind; Then the Empire of the Romans pertaineth vnto thee, then the kings of the earth bring thee gifts, then the wine maketh thee admirable armies, then all the Nations of the earth ſerue thee. Let the Church our mother weepe, for that the Paſtour of the Lords flocke is become a rauenous Wolfe, eating vp the fatteſt of the flocke, not bin-*

Petrus de Vineis l.1. Epiſt. ca.1.

binding vp that which is broken, nor ſetting in ioynt that which is looſed; but as a louer of Schiſme, a principall authour of ſcandall, and father of fraud againſt the Laws and honor of the Roman Emperour, he defendeth heretikes; The Lombards and men of Milan, who then in great number profeſſed the doctrine of the Waldenſes; which that zealous man little regarded, ſo that he might bring his owne purpoſes to paſſe; and in the meane time he leaueth *Hieruſalem* to deſtruction, *and the land of God ſubiect to dogs, and tributarie to Saracens*, whileſt he troubleth that great Emperour, and maketh the wayes of Sea and land cumberſome and daungerous; *the impious enemie Herod, the ſtone of offence.* In the letters alſo of *Frederic* to the Chriſtian Princes, he feareth not to call the Pope, *hipocrite, Apoſtata, the old ſerpent, which conuerteth the fruit of iuſtice into bitterneſſe, a Phariſie annointed with the oyle of wickedneſſe aboue his fellowes, the beaſt ariſing out of the Sea, full of names of blaſphemie, and like vnto a Leopard, the beaſt of which in the Apocalyps, there went out another horſe, red, and he that ſat thereon tooke peace from the earth that the liuing might kill one another; The Angell comming forth of the bottomeleſſe pit, which filleth Sea and land with bitterneſſe, the great Dragon that ſeduceth the whole world, the Antichriſt foretold ſhould come, another Balaam led with reward to curſe vs, a Prince by the Princes of darkeneſſe, which hath abuſed the propheſies, whoſe Cardinals are called ſonnes of Belial; Sathan is in the middeſt of them, for to ſerue them.* Yet no man can impute to *Frederic* the opinions of the Albigenſes, ſeeing that in many places he inueigheth againſt them, and ſtirreth vp the Popes to deſtroy them; yet he giueth them a teſtimonie much contrarie to the looſſe wantonneſſe by their aduerſaries objected vnto them, when he deſcribeth them to be, prodigall of their life, and conſtantly vndergoing martyrdome, *et quod eſt*, ſaith he, *ipſo dicto duriſſimum, ſuperſtites etiam non terrentur exemplo, and which is euen hard to be ſpoken, they which ſuruiue them are nothing terrified with their example.* Now there was giuen vnto them diuers names according to their teachers, for to make thē the more odious. Among theſe Epiſtles alſo we read one of *Philip* king of Fraunce, ſonne of S. *Lewis*, writen *to the Cardinals of the Church of Rome*, the Sea vacant, who, by reaſon of the ambition of parts in chuſing the Pope, could not agree, out of which may eaſily be gathered, what judgemēt the French church had then of the Roman; though otherwiſe not verie fauourable to the Emperor *Frederic* or his cauſe: *Behold*, ſaith he, *the noble Citie of Rome liueth without an head, which hath him the head of others. But what hath prouoked them to diſcord? the couetouſnes of gold, and ambition of dignities. For they conſider not what is expedient, but what is their owne will. They prefer their own particular profit before the general, & vnduely prefer prowit before honeſtie. How then will they gouerne others, that cannot gouerne themſelues? who doe good to their enemies and hurt themſelues, and doe nothing profitable for themſelues? The Court of Rome was wont in times paſt to ſhine in honeſtie, knowledge, good manners and vertue; and was not moued with the treats of fortune, becauſe they placed their refuge more ſurely in vertue, than in chaunce. But now they are beaten downe in aduerſitie, and exalted in proſperitie; and it may be called* non curia, ſed cura, marcam deſiderans, plus quam Marcum, *more deſirous of a marke* (of ſiluer) *than of Saint Marke* (of the Goſpell) *or of taking a Salmon, than of reading Salomon.* Then declaring vnto them, how great wiſedome was neceſſarie in this election; *But*, ſaith he, *we may not forget, that wiſedome is for euill, when they which deſire honour, doe ſhun the burthen of it; deſire to be chiefe rulers, and neglect the profit of their ſubiects; flie care and labour, and giue themſelues to ſleepe and luſt, and are delighted with playes and bankets. Such Paſtors truely, are not Paſtours, but may be called moſt impious Wolues, by whoſe perfidious dealing, our holie mother Church is trodden vnder foot, faith conſumed, hope taken away, and*

Petrus de Vineis l.1. Epiſt. 13. 14 15. 16. 17. 18. 20. 21. 31. 34.

Epiſt. 26. & 27. lib. 1.

Epiſt. 35. l. 1.

and charitie rooted out. Wherefore he concludeth, *Keepe the truth, feare God, reſiſting* A
naughtineſſe manfully, whereunto yee ouer much ſubmit your necks, & vltra, *and more yet,*
but we will not ſay it, leaſt perhaps we arrogantly ſeeme to ſet our mouth againſt heauen,
&c. Thus ſpake our *Philip.* In the ſame Authour is alſo read an Epiſtle, in which
the Sacerdotal Order complaineth of the Friers Preachers, who were in that time
crept in: *We are conſtrained to lay open by a lamentable complaint, the diſordered Order,*
which hath beene brought in in contempt of vs, and to the ſcandall of all; whereby in ma-
king beleeue that the force of faith groweth, errour periſheth, and matter of diſſention is
propagated. Then he declareth, *How the Predicant Friers and Minorites hauing con-*
ceiued a hatred and rancour againſt them, haue depraued their life and wicked conuerſati-
on by preaching, and haue diminiſhed their rights, in ſo much that they are alreadie B
brought to nothing; and they which in times paſt haue gouerned kings in regard of their
office, are now in opprobrie and deriſion, and their moſt famous praiſe is turned into a fa-
ble to all fleſh. Then by what meanes the ſaid Friers, thruſting their hands by little and
little into other mens harueſt, haue ſupplanted the Clergie in euerie dignitie, and haue ty-
ed to themſelues all the force and authoritie of Clericall miniſterie; ſo that theſe cannot
liue being depriued of their due tythes and offerings, vnleſſe they betake themſelues to
ſome worke, or to mechanick arts, or elſe to vnlawfull gaines. What remaineth, but that
their Churches, builded to the honour of God and the Saints, vtterly go to ruine, in which
reſteth nothing for ſeruice or ornament, but ſome little bell and old Image ſoiled ouer with
duſt? But theſe Preachers and Minorites, ſaith he, *yea rather our Prelats and Letters,* C
began with cottages, but ſince haue erected Princelie Palaces of curious workemanſhip, the
expences whereof ſhould haue beene imployed for the poore. And they which in their firſt
riſing, and beginning of their religion, hauing laid aſide pride, ſeemed to tread vnder feet
the glorie of the world, now take againe Pride, and embrace the glorie they had formerly
troden on: Theſe men, whiles they haue nothing, poſſeſſe all things, and wanting riches,
are richer than the rich; and we which are ſaid to haue ſomething, are beggers. And
they conclude with this ſupplication to the Emperour, That hee would reuedge
the ſame the ſooneſt that might be, *leaſt* (ſay they) *the ſtreame of hatred increaſing*
betweene vs and the ſaid Friers, faith ſuffer thereby ſhipwracke, whence it is thought to
take growth. D

Neither wanted there of all nations diuers excellent perſons, which obſerued
the ſame things: *William* Biſhop of Paris in his booke of the Collation of benefi-
ces, ſpeaking of the Clergie of his time, *In them* (ſaith he) *appeareth neither pietie nor*
learning, but rather diuelliſh vnciuanneſſe, monſtrouſneſſe of all filthineſſe & vices: their
ſinnes are not ſimply ſinnes, but moſt horrible monſters of ſins: They are not the Church,
but Babylon, Ægypt, and Sodome; Prelats that build not the Church, but deſtroy it, and
mocke God, and with other Prieſts they prophane and pollute the bodie of Chriſt: Prelats,
that honour with Eccleſiaſticall dignities the members of the diuell, and enemies of God;
they reſtore Lucifer into the heauen of the Church of Chriſt. He often particularly E
noteth, That among the Papiſts (that is, the Popes paraſites) are ſome ſuch in-
ſtrious fowlers of benefices, that one man hath caught to himſelfe to the number
of an hundred, either Prebends or Canonries; and there was found one that had
Caſarius in Dialogr diſtinct. 10. ſeuen hundred. *Caſarius* alſo telleth vs of another *William* ſurnamed *Goldſmith,*
who in that ſame time made a treatiſe, wherein he proued the Pope to bee Anti-
chriſt, the Prelats to be his members, and Rome to be Babylon. And in England
Robert Biſhop of Lincolne is commended for a man of great pietie and learning,
Matth. Paris in Compend. Hiſtorie Angl. An. 1250. famous alſo for his knowledge of the tongues: Hee went to Rome for to bring
the Monkes of his dioceſſe to a better diſcipline: *To that Court* (ſaith *Mathew*)
which

A *which as a gulfe hath power and cuſtome to ſwallow vp the reuenues, and almoſt all things*
whatſoeuer the Biſhops and Abbots poſſeſſe (for they obtaine of the Pope whatſoe-
uer they will for money:) This Biſhop therefore complaineth to the Pope of it,
I thought, my Lord (ſaith he) *by your counſell and helpe to chaſtiſe all them that I haue*
complained of, and to bring them backe from their errour; but they, proh dolor, *for ma-*
ney haue redeemed themſelues. The Pope anſwereth, *Brother, thou haſt deliuered thy*
ſoule, what is my grace to thee? We haue giuen them grace. And ſo being returned in-
to England, he oppoſeth himſelfe againſt the Popes extortions in England; for
which he is excommunicated, and dyeth in excommunication, diſputing euen to
his laſt gaſpe, That the Pope ſtraying from iuſtice and truth, *is worſe than Lucifer*
B *and Antichriſt,* and appealeth from the Popes excommunication to the iudge-
ment of Chriſt. There is read a certaine ſermon of his, *de Pace,* of Peace, which
he made before the Pope; where after he hath deſcribed and bewayled the wic-
ked Paſtors, that haue no care of their ſheepe, authors of ſchiſmes, hereſies, and
infidelities, he ſtoutly maintaineth, That *ſeeing the principall worke of Chriſt, for*
which he came into the world, is the quickening of ſoules; and Sathans proper worke in-
uented by him, as being a murderer from the beginning, is the killing and mortification
of ſoules, thoſe Paſtors which put on the perſon of Chriſt, and preach not the word of God,
although they adde thereto none other wickednеſſe, are Antichriſts and Sathans tranſfor-
med into Angels of light, theeues and robbers, killers and deſtroyers of the ſheepe, ma-
C *king the houſe of prayers a deune of theeues. But they alſo adde all kind of preuarication.*
Their pride doth euer moſt manifeſtly ſhow it ſelfe, and their greedie couetouſneſſe, ſo
that now is fulfilled the voyce of the Prophet, which ſaith, Euerie man declineth after
his couetouſneſſe, following the gaine of auarice, and cannot be ſatisfied, &c. And here
he largely diſcourſeth of them: *But* (ſaith he) *what is the firſt cauſe and originall of this*
great euil? I moſt vehemently tremble and feare to ſay it, yet I dare not hold my peace, leaſt
I ſhould fall into that Væ of the Prophet, Woe to me becauſe I haue held my peace, becauſe I
am a man of polluted lips: The cauſe, ſpring and originall hereof is this Court, not onely
becauſe it purgeth not theſe abominations forth of it, when it alone may and is bound to
doe it; but further in that by prouiſions, diſpenſations, and collations, it ordaineth to paſto-
D *rall charge, ſuch Paſtors as wee haue before touched, which are rather betrayers of the*
world, and that in ſight of this Sunne. But of this we are to ſpeake more hereafter, in
following the hiſtorie of *Innocent* the fourth.

There is read an Epiſtle publiſhed in England about the ſame time, bearing
this title, *De extrema expilatione Anglia per Papam effecta, Of the extreame pillage*
made by the Pope in England; wherein the Authour hauing particularly reckoned
vp all his extortions, at length burſteth forth into theſe words, *Shall wee compare*
him to king Nabuchadnezzar, who deſtroyed the Temple of the Lord, and carried away
the gold and ſiluer veſſells? For what he had done this man doth alſo: and hee ſpoyled
the miniſters of the houſe of God, and made it deſtitute of due ayd, the ſame doth this man
E *alſo. Surely better is the condition of them that dye by the ſword, than of them which are*
killed with hunger; becauſe the firſt dye preſently, but theſe are conſumed by the barren-
neſſe of the earth. And euer and anon he vſeth this verſicle, *Let all that paſſe by,*
daughter, haue pitie on thee, for there is no ſorrow like vnto thine: For alreadie through
too much ſorrow, and ouer much ſhedding of teares, thy face is made blacker than coles, ſo
that thou art no more knowne in the ſtreets. Thy foreſaid ſuperiour (meaning the Pope)
hath ſet thee in darkeneſſe, he hath made thee drunke with gall and wormewood. Heare O
Lord, the affliction of thy people, and their grones, behold and come downe, for the heart
of this man is hardened more than the heart of Pharoah, he will not let thy people goe free,
but

but by the ſtrength of thy arme: For he doth not onely exact miſerably aboue the earth, but A
after death; becauſe what Chriſtians ſoeuer dye inteſtat, he deuoureth their goods after
their departure, &c. Leaſt therefore thy daughter be brought to longer miſerie, it is expe-
dient that the mightie men of the kingdome reſiſt the imaginations, conſpiracies, pride,
and arrogancie of this man, who not for the contemplation of God, but for the foreſaid re-
ſpects, and for to enrich his kinſmen, and feather his owne neaſt, extorteth by a kind of
new principalitie all the money of England. And thou (ſpeaking to the Pope) *take*
heed to the words of the Lord, and propheſie of Ieremie (to beat downe ſuch proceedings)
which ſay, Thou Paſtor, which haſt diſperſed my people, and caſt them forth of their habi-
tations, behold I will viſit vpon thee the malice of thy deſignes, neither ſhall there be a man
of thy ſeed to ſit vpon the throne of Dauid, or haue further power in Iuda: let thy neaſt be B
made deſart and ouerthrowne as Sodome and Gomorra. And if terrified with theſe ſay-
ings he giue not ouer his enterpriſes, and make not reſtitution, then, his heart being wic-
kedly hardened, let them ſing for him the hundred and eighth Pſalme. This is that Pſalme of *Dauid* full of all ſorts of imprecations againſt a moſt deſperat and reprobat enemie of God and Chriſt, and is interpreted by S. *Peter* to be a figure of *Iudas*. This is with the Hebrewes the hundred and ninth. Neither is it needfull we ſhould adde any thing here of *Mathew Paris*, a Monke of S. Albans, a notable Engliſh Hiſtoriographer, ſeeing it is ynough manifeſt out of diuers places aboue cited, what was his iudgement of the Church of Rome; it is ordinarie with him to ſay, *That the couetouſneſſe thereof is growne ſo infatiable, confounding diuine* C
and humane things, that hauing laid aſide all ſhame, as a common and ſhameleſſe ſtrumpet
ſet to ſale to all men, ſhe deemeth vſurie a ſmall fault, and ſimonie none at all.

All this time the Waldenſes, or Albigenſes, continued in Dauphinie, Languedoc, and Guienne, and in all thoſe mountaines which reach from the Alpes to the Pyrenean. Theſe had ſome releaſe and reſpite of breathing vnder S. *Lewis*, who moleſted them not, but in as much as they were ſubiects of *Raymund* Earle of Thoulouſe, who had warre with the Earle of Prouence his father in law, whom he was bound to ſuccour: but the warre being ended, they maintained their religion principally in thoſe mountaines. But they had ſpred themſelues verie much in other places, for in Germanie were a great number of their Preachers, D
who *at the ſound of a bell, hauing called the Barons, preached* in publica ſtatione, *in a*
publike place, That the Pope was an heretike, his Prelats tainted with ſimonie, and ſeducers: That they had no power to bind and looſſe, neither yet to interdict the diuine ſeruice, or the vſe of the Sacraments: That thoſe their Friers Preachers and Minorites, by their falſe ſermons peruerted the Church: That the truth was held and preached onely among them: And that although they had not come, God would haue raiſed vp others euen of the verie ſtones, for to enlighten the Church by their preaching, rather than he would haue ſuffered faith vtterly to periſh: *Our*
Krantzius l. 8. c. 18. in Metropol. & Saxon. l. 8. c. 16. *Preachers* (ſay they) *haue till this time preached, and haue buried the trueth and publi-* E
ſhed falſhood: We on the contrarie preach the trueth, and burie falſhood, and to the end
giue vnto you not a fained or inuented remiſſion from the Pope or Biſhops, but from God a-
lone, and according to our calling. In which words *Krantzius* expreſſeth their doctrine, though verie contrarie vnto them. *Mathew Paris* ſaith further, That they ſpread themſelues ſo farre as into Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, and there tooke ſuch ſuch root, that they drew vnto them many Biſhops: And thither came one *Bartholomew* from Carcaſſonne in the countrey of Narbon in Fraunce, vnto whom they all flocked, who in his letters wrot himſelfe *Bartholomew ſeruant of the ſeruants of the holie faith*: and he created Biſhops, and ordained Churches. Theſe words

A words are taken out of the letter that the Cardinall of Port, the Popes Legat, wrot to the Archbiſhop of Rouan, full of abaſhment; and he calleth him Anti-Pope, without imputing vnto him any other crime or doctrine; namely becauſe this *Bartholomew* reeſtabliſhed the order of the Church a new in thoſe Countries, and laboured to ſet true Paſtors in the places of the falſe. And the Cardinall commanded the Archbiſhop to be preſent in a Synod holden in the Citie of Sens, to giue counſell in a buſineſſe of that importance, otherwiſe he threatned he would ſignifie his diſobedience to the Pope. This was about the yeare 1220 vnder *Honorius* the third; and it muſt needs be, that they haue largely multiplied ſince, for the ſame Author telleth vs, that in a certaine part of Germanie, vnder *Gregorie* the
B the ninth, a great number of them were encloſed in a place, with mariſh on the one ſide and the Sea on the other, where they were all ſlaine. At the ſame time alſo in Spaine they ordayned Biſhops, which preached the ſame doctrine, though the aduerſaries faine lies of the ſame at their owne pleaſure, for to make them the more odious. But we cannot be ignorant what manner of doctrine it was, partly by their confeſſion, and partly by the acts of iudgement paſſed againſt them. We read of one *Robert Bulgarus*, who was fallen away from them, and become a Iacobin Frier, & wholly gaue himſelf to perſecute them, & in Flanders eſpecially deliuered vp many to the fire. But he being found to abuſe his power, and that he imputed crimes vnto them, of which they were clearely innocent, hee is preſently
C diſcharged of his office, and beeing found guiltie of many crimes, which (ſaith the Auhour) it is *better to conceale than to ſpeake of*, is condemned to perpetuall priſon. Let the Reader iudge, conſidering the furious rage wherewith they were tranſported againſt theſe men, whether as well their innocencie, as that manſ filthineſſe be not hence manifeſtly and ſufficiently proued. In Lombardie at laſt they were very greatly multiplied, when in the yeare 1229, at the inſtance of the *An. 1229.* Popes Legat it is ordayned, that they ſhould be baniſhed both out of Cities and *Sigon. l. 17. de regno Italiæ.* Countries, their houſes raſed, their goods confiſcat, & they which receiued them put to a great fine; and in the Citie of Milan is appointed in euery quarter two Friers Preachers and Minorites, who in the authoritie of the Archbiſhop ſhould
D make enquirie after them, and take care that hauing taken them and deliuered them to the Gouernour, they ſhould be, at the charges of the Commonwealth, carried whether the Archbiſhop ſhould appoint; when alſo the Emperour *Frederick*, in the yeare 1225 in the letters he wrote to *Gregorie*, complaineth that they *An. 1225.* encreaſed, *imo ſilueſcant, yea grew vp to a forreſt*; In Italie and in the Cities began *Idem l. 18.* alreadie to choke the good corne (ſo ſpake he according to the ſtile of the time;) And to conclude, when, the truce being made betweene *Gregorie* and *Frederick*, from which them of Milan were excluded, that they might iuſtifie themſelues to each other, and gratifie one the other, they tooke a great number of theſe poore men, whom they offered vp in ſacrifice by putting them to death. Wherunto may
E be added alſo that which an ancient writer of thoſe times wrot of the Waldenſes, that in *the only valley Camonica they had tenne ſchooles*; as alſo that of *Petrus de Vineis* in his Epiſtles, *that their little riuers ſtreamed ſo farre as to the kingdome of Sicilie*; who in the meane time alledgeth none other cauſe for which they ſhould be perſecuted, but for that *they with-drew the ſheepe from the keeping of S. Peter, to whom they had beene committed of that good Sheepheard to be fed, and departed from the Romane Church which is the head of all Churches*: But were in this their profeſſion, aboue all beliefe, conſtant, *prodigall of their life, and careleſſe of death*, and *which is more hard than can be ſpoken* (ſaith he) *the ſurriuours are nothing terrified by example,*

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affecting to be burned alaue in the preſence of men. This vertue in the minds of men, whence can it flow but from the ſpirit of God?

52. Progression.

Innocent to diſturbe Conrades proceedings, returnes into Italie, but after many contrarieties of fortunes his hopes were fruſtrated, and he dyed at Naples.

THe death of *Frederick* thus occurring, affoorded opportunitie to *Innocent* not onely of renewing his owne deſignes in Italie, but alſo of diſturbing other mens affaires in Germanie. He intending therefore theſe moleſtations to *Conrade*, *Fredericks* ſonne, he thought good to returne into Italie. But it is not altogether vnworthie of obſeruation, how ceremoniouſly he tooke his leaue of thoſe of Lyons, after the Councell was diſmiſſed: For aſſembling together the Lords and Nobles therein aſſiſting, as alſo the whole people, Cardinall *Hugo* made a farewell ſermon in behalfe of the Pope and the whole Court of Rome, and ſo at laſt began to ſpeake in theſe words, *Louing friends, ſince our arriuall in this citie we haue performed much good, and done great almes; for at our firſt comming hither wee found three or foure ſtewes, but now at our departure we leaue but one, marrie this extends it ſelfe from the Eaſt to the Weſt gate of the citie. And theſe were verie ſcandalous words in the eares of all the women, who were preſent at the ſermon in great numbers, for the inhabitants of the citie were cited by publike proclamation, in name of the Pope readie to depart.* He therefore went downe to Genoa, and from thence he went to Mylan, where being receiued in triumphant ſort, he obliged the cities by new oathes againſt the Emperour, many he drew againe into a new league, and they which perſeuered in fidelitie towards *Conrade*, he excommunicated, and moſt ſeuerely perſecuted; to conclude, he omitted no meanes whereby he might preuent *Fredericks* ſucceſſors entrie into Italie. When he came to Ferrara he preached to the people out of a window, and he vſed prevalent perſuaſions to intimate, that this citie was his: His text was, *Happie is the nation that hath the Lord for their God, and the people whom he hath choſen for his inheritance:* inferring by this, that the city and people was happie which were particularly ſubiect to the Pope; and ſo he made but a mocke of the holie Scripture. But Hiſtoriographers wonderfully extoll this ſermon, becauſe it was no ſmall wonder that the Pope then preached. Going from thence he confirmed all the cities of Romania and Tuſcan, leauing Cardinall *Octauiano* behind in Lombardie with an armie: but yet being verie doubtful in mind he delayed his entrie into Rome; for the Romans through his abſence augmented in reputation, & the Popes leauing Rome had now for many yeres held their ſeat in diuers other places, as at Viterbe, Oruietto, Perugia, Anagnia, Aſſiſia, that there they might rule and gouerne ouer other Prouinces, being vncertaine what authoritie or power they ſhould retaine within the citie. And at this verie inſtant the Romans called *Brancalone* from Bologna (a man very famous for his iuſtice and equitie) to be a Senator of Rome, who doubting the petulancie and inſolencie of their Youth, would not accept of it, without being confirmed therein for three yeares, and pledges giuen him of thirtie of the chiefe citizens ſonnes, as alſo they themſelues bound by ſolemne oath to doe their vttermoſt endeuours that they might faithfully obey him; whom he preſently ſent to Bologna, there to be kept vnder ſafe cuſtodie. And queſtionleſſe he bare himſelfe ſo ſtrictly in this charge, as he ſtroke terrour into the beſt of them: but the more authoritie was aſcribed to him,

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A him, the more the ſame was extenuated towards the Pope. In the meane while the Romans began to grieue, that the mightie gaine which daily accrued by the wonderfull concourſe to the Roman Court, did now through the Popes abſence both ceaſe, & was otherwhere diuerted; and ſo at length they ſuppoſed, that without ſingular imputation they could not for ſo long time haue their Biſhop wanting. Wherefore they ſent embaſſadours to *Innocent*, being at Perugia, to intreat him that he would returne to Rome, *That ſo he might helpe his flocke, like a good Paſtor, and that Rome might enioy her Biſhop, as other cities enioyed their Prelats: For they thought it a great abuſe and errour, that onely Rome which was inſtiled the Empreſſe of other cities, ſhould among ſo many other cities, for ſo long time be depriued of her Prelat and Biſhop.* For (ſaith *Mathew Paris*) while he liued beyond the Alpes, *gaping after the profit of concurrents, and opening his boſome to gifts, he was vagrant and altogether vnſetled, by being reſident amongſt the Ciſalpines.* But he framing delayes, they once againe vrged him after a preualent maner, *Intimating to him, how they greatly wondered that he would run vp and downe here and there like a wandering and inſtable perſon, & leauing Rome his Pontifical ſeat, together with his ſheep, wherof he was to yeeld a ſtrict account to the ſupreme Iudge, he left them to be rent & torne by the incurſions of wolues, himſelf only gaping and thirſting after coyne;* as alſo with this peremptorie clauſe annexed, *That he ſhould either come then or neuer.* But when he ſaw that the Romans threatned the Perugians & Aſſiſians, both with ſiege & ruine, if they longer detained him, departing from Perugia he went towards Rome, *yet trembling & fearefull* he made his entrie, becauſe it was reported, that the Romans would preſently redemaund of him that money which at his inſtigation they had diſburſed in the attempts againſt *Frederick*. And in effect, not long after, the people required at his hands the damages which they had ſuſtained through his abſence; For (ſay they) *the world knew well enough, that he was neither Biſhop of Lyons, Perugia, nor Angiers, where hee did often reſide, but of Rome.* In which verie words wee may ſee they did not acknowledge him for vniuerſall Biſhop; and out of doubt had not the Senator pacified the people, he would haue vndergone ſome great troubles.

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Now on the other ſide *Conrade*, *Fredericks* ſonne, paſſed ouer into Italie, the

D more to encourage his adherents, and diuers times conflicts and ſlaughter fel out in the cities, while the Guelphes roſe againſt the Gibellines, and the Church raged againſt the Empire, both of them cruelly proſecuting and ſubuerting one another: and the more horrible this warre was, in that it fell out within the ſelfe-ſame walls, and vnder one rooſe and building, that the like plots and examples of reuenge were neuer read of throughout all Antiquitie.

Afterwards marching further vp into his kingdome, he tooke in Naples, which had formerly yeelded it ſelfe to the Pope, ouerthrowing his armie, ouer which his kinſman *William* was Generall, and putting to the ſword foure thouſand foot, which were euen the flower of the Italian Youth, he recouered all his cities, redu-

E ced his ſubiects vnder due obedience, and thus brought the Pope to a verie hard poynt. But amidſt theſe anxieties the Pope thought good to excite an oppoſit againſt *Conrade*, which was *Richard* Earle of Cornwall, brother to the king of England, being a Prince (according as the ſame ran of him) of indomptable courage. Wherefore to this end and ſcope he offered vnto him the kingdomes of Naples and Sicily, to be held in homage of him; *Vſing herein* (as the Hiſtoriographer ſaith) *his diabolicall ſophiſtication, who ſaid, All this will I giue thee, if falling downe thou wilt worſhip me.* Beſides, his Bulls ſhould not be ſpared againſt *Conrade*, wherein hee ſhould be anathematized, and his ſubiects abſolued of their oath of obedience,

with

with other like interdictions: for he had formerly denounced him an heretike, and the heresie was, in that he obeyed not his interdict, and left not the kingdome to his disposition. *Richard*, though he was earnestly sollicited by Legat *Albertus*, who was sent to this end and purpose, not remaining satisfied in words, required pledges to be giuen him of the most eminent persons of his familie, as also sufficient summes of money to defray the charges of the warre: certaine holds also which lay on the frontiers of his kingdome, he demaunded to bee deliuered into his hands, whereinto, being vrged, he might at any time retire, *Otherwise* (said he, speaking to the Legat) *it is as much as one should say, I sell, or giue vnto thee the Moon, ascend and lay hold on her*. When therefore they could no wayes agree vpon the matter, hee had recourse to the king of England himselfe, *Richards* brother, a Prince (saith *Mathew*) *verie credulous, and apt to embrace his owne preiudice*; to whom he made offer of all the Croisado forces, destined for Palestina, and they should serue in this expedition. Hereupon grew a wonderfull discontent and murmure of the Patriarch of Ierusalem, and all the Prelats of Palestina, together with the Templers and Hospitalers, *who fell into a great detestation of the Popes delusions*, that hauing long time beene fed with such large hopes, hee went now about, not to forsake, but rather to betray them. Yet the king of England proceeded on, and accepted of the kingdome of Sicile offered, in his son *Edmonds* name: whatsoeuer money he was able to raise, either of the Christians or Iewes, he sent to the Pope, and gaue him authority to raise what treasure soeuer he could, or at what rates soeuer any where in his name, *and hereunto he obliged himselfe vpon paine of deposition from his Crowne and State*, with which summes of money the Pope being backed, he leuied an armie. *Conrade* on the other side was no whit hereat dismayed, but intended to resist the Pope, and therefore he the more encouraged his nobles and subiects: And here our Historiographer, a Monke, bursts out into these words, *Whether the Pope did well herein or no, let the Iudge of all Iudges decide*. But for an abridgement of this warre, this miserable Prince had poyson presented him, who wasting away by little and little, when he drew neere to his last breath, in complaining manner he vttered these words, *The Church which should bee a mother, to my father and me is rather a stepmother*: and so he left behind him a sonne, who was but two yeares old. Some impute this poyson to a brother of his, others, to the Popes ministers, which, of the two, were most likely, as may be presumed by the state and condition of the present affaires. *Mathew* saith, That hauing heard this newes, *with great ioy of heart, cheerefulnesse of countenance, and eleuation of voice, he vttered these words, I reioyce certainely, and so let all the vpholders of the Roman Church exult together with me, because two of our greatest enemies are now dead, one Ecclesiasticall, the other of the Laitie, Robert Bishop of Lincolne, and Conrade king of Sicile*. He therefore embracing this opportunitie, found it an easie matter to recouer into his hands, Naples, Capua, and a part of the kingdome. But *Manfred*, being assisted by the nobles of the kingdome, he both crossed him in this prosperous course of his proceedings, and daring to wage battell, vanquished and ouerthrew him in the same, *and so his last errour was worse than the first*. Whereupon *Innocent* tooke such sorrow to heart, that within a few dayes after he dyed at Naples, suruiuing *Conrade* but a few moneths, and being molested by the Bishop of Lincolns meanes euen to his last gaspe, as in proper place shall plainely appeare. These things occurred in the yeare 1254, in the moneth of December. And so both the king of Englands treasure and ambitious designes perished together with him.

An. 1254.

The

A The volume of the Decretals is ascribed to this *Innocent*, wherein his drift and maine scope was, That whatsoeuer had beene by his predecessors out of wonderfull pride digested and decreed against the temporall Monarchie, by them it might be ratified, and made authenticke; as also whatsoeuer profane or sacrilegious act they had performed against the Spirituall, it might be in them as it were hallowed and consecrated. To him also the Canonists haue reference, ouer whom hee was head and principall, hauing promoted them to some of the highest dignities of the Church, and many of them also he raised to the Cardinalls hat: out of which fountaine sprung that hideous gulph of forensiall contentions, and first of all that *detestable* clause of *Non obstante*, of which *Mathew* so often
B makes mention: after the induction whereof all the auncient Canons of the Councells, and Decrees of the old Popes, as also the verie liberties and priuiledges of the Churches, began at length to bee put downe: So that this abuse breaking afterwards into the ciuile Courts, it wrought wonderfull subuersions of equitie and iustice. From hence proceeded that common complaint, *Out alas, alas, why looked we after these dayes: Behold the Courts ciuile are now corrupted, according to the example of the Ecclesiasticall; and the riuers are poysoned by a sulpherous fountaine*. Now the manner was, that the money ordayned for warre in the Holie Land, and the Indulgences of the Croysadoes were then, in their vse,
C by the Popes diuerted against the Emperours, and other Princes. This man, that he might exceed all others, diulged out of the Pulpit, That whosoeuer tooke vp armes against *Conrade*, he should obtaine more ample remission of sinnes than if hee fought against the Souldan: *So that if any man were crossed against Conrade, both he, his father, and mother, should gaine full pardon of all their sinnes*. He maried also his neeces verie highly, and amongst the rest, one he maried to *Henrie, Fredericks* sonne, and nephew to the king of England, that thus hee might be adopted a sonne of the Church: Which seemed a thing maruellous strange to all the Nobles of the Empire, That a Pope (said they) would presume so to disparage *a noble & royall gentleman*. In conclusion, he so pilled and polled the Christian Commonwealth, *as vpon due computation made, it was found* (saith our
D Author) *and that most truely and exactly, that this present Pope, Innocent the fourth, had more impouerished the Church vniuersall, than all his other predecessours, from the time of the primitiue Papacie: and the reuenues of the Clergie by him alienated in England, which had auncientlie beene endowed therewith by the Church of Rome, amounted to more than seuentie thousand markes, whereas the kings meere reuenue could not be valued at a third part so much*.

OPPOSITION.

E And for that same *Robert* Bishop of Lincolne, whom we formerly spake of, it should seeme *Innocent* had commaunded him to performe some wicked office, *Which* (saith *Mathew*) *he did both to him and diuers other Prelats of England*: Wherefore he made answer by an Epistle, which he produceth whole and entire in this tenor: *Health: Your discretion shall vnderstand, that deuoutly and reuerently I obey with filiall affection, the Apostolicall iniunctions, and so affecting reuerent honour, I oppugne and resist such as are opposit to commaunds Apostolicall; for to both these courses I am obliged by commaundement diuine. The Apostolicall commaunds neither can be nor are any other than the doctrine of the Apostles, and of our Lord Iesus Christ, Master and head of the Apostles, whose figure and person our Lord the Pope specially representeth in the Hie-*

Matth. Paris in Henrico 3.

rarchie of the Church, being consonant and conformable. And there he enters into a detestation of that clause, *Non obstante, From whence springeth vp* (saith he) *the head and fountaine of inconstancie, boldnesse, and obstinacie, of shamefull lying, deceiuing, distrustfully beleeuing, or giuing credit to another; and so from these a number of other subsequent vices, which doe but disturbe and coinquinat the puritie of Christian religion, and the peace and quiet of ciuile conuersation. Furthermore* (saith he) *next to the sinne of Lucifer (which shall be the same of Antichrist the sonne of perdition, in the end of times, whom God shall destroy with the breath of his mouth) there neither is nor can be any kind of sinne so opposit and contrarie to the doctrine Euangelicall, and of the Apostles, and to the same our Lord Iesus Christ, so odious, detestable, and abhominable, as to kill and destroy soules, by defrauding them of Pastorall offices and ministeries, &c. The introductors of such manquellers and butcheries amongst the sheepe in the Church of God, are worse than the murderers themselues, neerer both to Lucifer and Antichrist; and particularly, they are worse in this degree, in that being supereminent of place, out of a greater and more diuine power granted vnto them from aboue, for further edification, and not for destruction, they were the deepelier engaged to exclude and extirpate such bloudsuckers out of the Church of God.* And so inferring, that his commaundements were of this nature, and therefore not Apostolicall: *For this* (saith he) *would be but either a manifest defect, corruption, or abuse of his sacred and absolute power, or an absolute recession from the glorious throne of our Lord Iesus Christ, and a present accession to the pestilentiall chaire of infernall torments, intimated in the two forementioned Princes of darkenesse. Neither can any subiect or faithfull one vnto that seat (in immaculat and incontaminat obedience and no wayes by schisme dissouered nor rent from the same bodie of Christ, and the same holie seat) obey the same precepts, commaundements, or iniunctions, from whence soeuer they come, yea though it were from the highest order of Angels, but of necessitie he must needs with his whole power contradict & oppose them: For the sanctitie of the See Apostolicall can enioyne nothing but that which tends to edification, and not destruction; for herein consists the fulnesse of power, That all things may be done to edification: and these things which are tearmed Prouisions, tend no way to edification, but to manifest destruction. Wherefore the blessed seat Apostolicall may no wayes entertaine them, because flesh and bloud, which shall not inherit the kingdome of heauen, hath reuealed these things, and not the father of our Lord Iesus Christ, who is in heauen.* Vpon the receit of these letters *Innocent* so stormed, as *he vowed by Peter and Paul, That if a certaine naturall clemencie did not dissuade me, I would bring him to such a confusion, that he should be an example, terrour, prodigie, and a verie fable to all the world: Is not the king of England our vassall, nay and to say more, our bondchild, who at a becke of our finger can imprison and impose vpon him any reproach or shame?* And the Cardinals could hardly assuage his furie, by saying, *How it was not conuenient to denounce any hard Decree against the Bishop; for, to confesse but truth, said they, these things are most true which he inferreth: Condemne him we cannot, he is a Catholike, nay and a most holie one, more holy, more religious, and more excellent than our selues, and of a farre better life, so as it may hardly be beleeued, that amongst all the Prelats there is any one better, or equall to him. This the whole French and English Clergie know, and therefore our contradictions would but little auaile; and so the truth of this Epistle, which peraduenture is well knowne to many, may excite and stirre vp many against vs: For he is reputed a great Philosopher, absolutely learned in the Greeke and Latine tongues, a louer of iustice, a publike Reader in Diuinitie Scholes, a Preacher to the people, a louer of chastitie, and a persecutor of Symoniacks. This was vttered by the Lord Ægidius a Spanish Cardinall, and others, who seemed to be touched euen in their owne consciences. And so they aduised our Lord the Pope*

Pope continuently with dissimulation to passe ouer all these matters, not raising any stirre or tumult thereupon. But obserue the reason which he annexed to all the former allegations, *Especially* (saith he) *because it is knowne that a departure must one day happen.* That departure foretold by the Apostle in the second to the Thessalonians, cap. 2. Antichrist himselfe being to be the author hereof, whom they expected and looked for; not as they would haue it beleeued, from Babylon, but euen out of the heart of the Church, from Rome it selfe. And hereupon grew *Innocents* mortall hatred to Lincolne. But this verie yeare he fell sicke in his house at Buckdon, where speaking to Frier *Iohn* of S. Giles, one of the Predicant Order, he both sharply reprehended him & others of his institution, vowing pouertie, That they did not reprehend the sinnes of great men, with whom they were familiar, yea though it were of the Pope himselfe; who committed the care of soules to his owne vnworthie kinsmen, that were both ignorant and greene in yeares: this being a true heresie, contrarie to sacred Scripture, which commaunds vs to ordaine fit and conuenient Pastors: and therefore the Pope was an heretike in doing so, and they in conniuing thereat, being both worthie of eternall punishment. Then calling about him his Clergie, and mourning for those soules which perished through the auarice of the Court of Rome: *Christ* (said he) *came into the world that he might gaine soules; and therefore whosoeuer feares not to loose soules, he may not worthily be tearmed an Antichrist? God in six dayes created the whole world, but for mans redemption he trauelled and suffered therein more than thirtie yeares: may not therefore a destroyer of soules be thought to be the enemie of God, and Antichrist? The Pope impudently annihilates the priuiledges of the holie Roman Bishops his predecessors, with this Prouiso, Non obstante, &c. Grant that any of those Popes were saued, and God forbid the contrarie: doth not our Sauiour say, He that is least in the kingdome of heauen is greater than Iohn Baptist, a greater than whom there was neuer any amongst the sonnes of women. Is not then such a Pope who was a giuer and confirmer of priuiledges, greater than this man liuing? Wherefore doe they then that follow, root vp the foundations laid by their predecessors? Many Apostolicall persons confirmed diuers priuiledges, which had formerly in pietie beene granted. Are not many alreadie saued through diuine grace, of farre greater authoritie than one who yet hangs in danger? From whence then proceeds this iurious temeritie, to frustrat the priuiledges of so many auncient Saints?* And here hee spake liberally against the rapines and simonies of the Roman Church, which enioyned the Friers Mendicants to be alwayes neere at hand to those who were departing the world, to the end to persuade them to bequeath a part of their goods by Will and Testament for the aid of the Holie Land, or if they recouered health to vow a journey thither. *They sold the Croisado to lay persons, euen as they were woont to sell oxen and sheepe in the Temple: they sold many things, and these, peraduenture, to be appropriated to their owne vses. And we also viewed the Popes letter, wherein we found written, That they which made such Testaments, tooke vpon them the crosse, or afforded any aid or succour to the Holie Land, the more money they bestowed, the more plenarie Indulgence they should receiue.* In briefe:

Eius auaricia, totus non sufficit orbis,
Eius luxuria, meretrix non sufficit omnis.

The whole world not suffic'd his auarice to content,
Nor harlots all, his lust: so ill his mind was bent.

And it was in this, that he did manifeſt by what meanes the Roman Court, like A
as *Behemoth* (in *Iob*) *promiſed to ſwallow vp all Iordan in his throat, might vſurpe vnto her ſelfe the goods of all inteſtates, and diſtinct legacies, and for the more licentious performance hereof, how ſhe might draw the king to be a partaker and conſort with her, in her rapines: For* (ſaid he) *the Church ſhall neuer be freed from her Ægyptian ſeruitude, till ſhe embrue her ſword in bloud:* But towards the end of this propheſie, being much preſſed with ſobs and teares, *this ſame holie Biſhop of Lincolne, Robert the ſecond, left the baniſhment of this world, which he neuer loued, who was a ſeuere reprehender of our lord the Pope and the king, a reformer of Prelats, a corrector of Monkes, the director of Prieſts, an inſtructer of Clerks, a ſupporter of ſchollers, a preacher to the people,*
a perſecutor of incontinent men, a carefull ſearcher of diuers Scriptures, and the verie B
mallet, and beater downe of the Romans.

Innocent notwithſtanding, out of an obſtinat will, againſt all his Cardinals conſent, cauſed his bones to be throwne out of the Church, and that hee ſhould be proclaymed ouer all the world, *for an Ethnick, diſobedient, and rebellious; and ſuch a letter he cauſed to be written, and ſent ouer to the king of England, in that he knew the king would willingly aſſume any occaſion of rigour towards him, and to prey vpon the Church. But the night following the Biſhop of Lincolne appeared to him, in his Pontificall roabes, and ſo with a ſeuere countenaunce, and ghaſtly aſpect, he approached and ſpake to the Pope in a lamentable and mournefull voyce, as he lay in his bed, taking no reſt, and giuing him a forcible puſh on the ſide with the point of the Paſtorall ſtaffe he carried* C
on his ſhoulder, ſaying vnto him: Senebald, thou miſerable Pope, from whence proceeds it, that thou determineſt to caſt my bones out of the Church, both to mine and the reproch of my Church of Lincolne: It were more fit that thy ſelfe being exalted and honoured by God, thou ſhouldeſt likewiſe reſpect, and eſteeme Gods louers, though dead and buried: God will ſuffer thee in no wiſe, to haue any power ouer me: I writ vnto thee, in the ſpirit of humilitie, and loue, that thou wouldeſt correct and amend thy frequent errors; but thou, with an obdurat heart, and proud looke, didſt contemne my healthfull admoniſhions: Woe be to thee that contemneſt, ſhalt not thou alſo be diſpiſed? And ſo Biſhop Robert, going backe, he left the Pope, who when he was puſhed (as I told you) lamented wonderfully, as D
one pearced through with a lance halfe dead, ſighing and ſobbing with a ſubmiſſe, and deploring voice, ſo as they of his Chamber hearing the ſame and being aſtoniſhed, they demaunded the reaſon thereof; the Pope with ſobs and ſighes, made anſwere, and ſayd; I haue beene mightily vexed with viſions of the night, and there is no meanes for me to be abſolutely reſtored to my former ſtate, out alas, alas, how my ſide torments me, which was goared through with the launce of a Ghoſt: So as he neither eat nor drunke all that day, but fained himſelfe to be grieued with the feauer aſmaticall, and againe, that he was ſicke of an incurable pluriſie: neither did the Pope euer after this, liue one good or proſperous day, while the night, or one night, while the day, but altogether without reſt,
and much diſturbed and moleſted, till his whole armie was diſcomfited, and then E
his ſadneſſe conuerting into deepe and growen melancholie, he ended his life at Naples; when perceiuing his kinſmen to lament and houle, renting their garments, and tearing their haire for griefe, *lifting vp his eyes, which were almoſt drowned in death, he ſayd, Poore miſerable ſoules, why doe you lament? doe not I leaue you all rich? What would you haue more? and inſtantly vpon the words he gaue vp the Ghoſt,*
Auent. l. 7. *his ſoule being to vndergoe the ſtrict and ſeuere ſentence of the euerliuing God.* *Auentinus* obſerues thus much in few words: that *Innocent* entending to deuoure, and ſwallow vp the kingdome, from *Conrades* ſon of 2 yeres old was ſuddenly taken away, in a day *diuinely* preſcribed vnto him (*as we find in the Annales*) *by the ſupreame*
and

A *and higheſt Iudge.* *Ceſtrenſis* ſaies that the ſame night he died a voyce was heard *Ceſtr. l. 7.*
in the Popes Palace, *Veni miſer ad Iudicium*: and a pale deadly wound was found in his ſide: But the viſion of a certain Cardinal which happened the ſame week, is worthie of ſpeciall note, and *Matheus* conceales his name for ſome purpoſe: *He though the was in heauen, before the Maieſtie of the euerliuing Lord, ſitting on the Tribunal; & on his right hand ſtood the bleſſed Virgin, and on his left, a certain noble Matron verie venerable both in bodie and in habit, who ſtretching out her right arme ouer her left hand, ſhe ſupported as it were a Temple, on the Frontiſpice of which Temple, was*
written in golden letters, Eccleſia; *and Innocent the fourth proſtituted before his di-*
uine Maieſtie, with hands ioyned and erected, and bended knees, requiring pardon and not
B *iudgement. But this noble Matron contrariwiſe ſaid, Moſt iuſt Iudge giue a iuſt iudge-*
ment, for I accuſe him in three points: firſt, when thou laidſt the foundation of thy Church on earth thou diddeſt endow it with liberties, which proceeded from thy ſelfe; but this man hath made her a moſt contemptible bondmaid: ſecondly, thou diddeſt found thy Church for the ſaluation of ſinners, that ſo ſhe might gaine the ſoules of miſerable caitiues & offenders; but this man hath made it a table of money changers: thirdly, the Church was founded in conſtancie of faith, iuſtice, & truth; but this man hath made both faith & good to maners wauer and fleet, he hath remoued iuſtice, & ouerſhadowed veri-
tie: yeeld me therefore iuſt ſentence. Then the Lord ſayd: well, depart and receiue the re-
ward of thine owne demerits: and ſo he was taken away. But when the Cardinall, out of
C *the terrour of the ſentence, awaked, he was almoſt out of his ſences, and all his men ſup-*
poſed him to be mad. At laſt his diſtraction being mitigated, he began more at large to ex-
plaine his viſion, & ſo it came to be publiſhed ouer all thoſe parts. Of the ſame kind was that of *Alexander* his ſucceſſor, who ſaw him in this ſtate, and a beautifull woman expoſtulating with him before God on his throane in theſe words: *Diſſipaſti Eccleſiã Dei, dũ viueres, & carnalis penitus factus &c.* And he heard God denouncing the ſame ſentence formerly related; whereupon (ſaith the author) being vehemently terrified, for the ſpace of certaine daies, he could not well come to himſelfe again: & therfore one preſenting him a gift, to obtain frõ him a grant of a certain church, he made anſwer: *No brother, the Church ſeller is dead: but it is thought, that if out of*
D *the aſtoniſhment of this viſion, he doe not amend, he will be more ſeuerely taken vp before*
God. All which things haue ſome reference to *Robert* of Lincolnes Hiſtorie, whom he, of all Eccleſiaſticall perſons, tooke to be his greateſt enemie, although he is celebrated by writers of thoſe time, to haue beene a man moſt renowned, both for ſanctimonie and miracle. *Matheus* auers, that diuers excellent men were alſo of this opinion, whom he had both ſeene and heard in Fraunce, as the Abbot of Flaie, of the Ciſtertian order, *Iames de Vitry*, *Robert Curkham* and others. The ſame Author alſo makes mention of an Epiſtle written by *Innocent* from Lyons, to the biſhop of S. Albones in England, wherein he intreated him, nay, and by authoritie Apoſtolicall commaunded him, to inueſt one *John de Caneca-*
E *uã*, his nephew and chaplaine, in the Church of Wengrade, ouer which hee was Patron, but ſo, that he might change the ſame for another, whenſoeuer the ſame *John*, or any procuror of his ſhould deſire it; that of Wengrade being perpetually notwithſtanding reſerued to his donation, *non obſtante* the priuiledge & indulgence graunted to the Engliſh, That no benefices ſhould be immediatly conferred vpon *Italian* Prieſts: *And this we thought good* (ſaith he) *to inſert into this booke, that the Readers may diſcerne, with how many iniuries and oppreſſions the Court of Rome ſurchargeth vs miſerable Engliſh: but this was, that the threatning ſaying of the Apoſtle might be fulfilled; Except firſt a departure come, the ſonne of iniquitie ſhall*

not be reuealed. Behold here the cauſe, behold here the matter, why hearts, though not bodies, fall away from our father the Pope, who growes auſtere and rigorous like a ſtepfather; and from our mother the Roman Church, who perſecuteth and vexeth like a ſtepmother. And on this all men fix their eyes.

Let vs now come to France. We ſee how *Innocent* excited and ſtirred vp the Croiſado againſt *Conrade*, the Emperour *Fredericks* ſonne, promiſing larger indulgences to them that would ſerue againſt him, than to thoſe that ſhould goe into Paleſtina; for remiſſion of ſinnes was not granted onely to euery one of the Croiſado, but further, to their *parents and kinſfolkes alſo*; yea and that euen at the ſame time (ſaith *Mathew*) when S. *Lewis* lay diſtreſſed for all neceſſarie things at Cæſarea, the which he intimated to his mother, brethren, and faithfull ſubiects, in a lamentable Epiſtle: *But when Madam Blanch heard of this, who ſwayed the French gouernment beyond feminine force or abilitie, ſhe conuocated all the nobles of the kingdome, to aduiſe ſeriouſly on this affaire; and in this treatie much murmuring and anger occurred, they alledging how our Lord the Pope excited a new and inteſtine warre, which within the confines of Chriſtendome raiſed Chriſtians againſt Chriſtians; and preaching to this end to men ordained for Gods ſeruice, for the augmentation of his dominion, hee ſhewed himſelfe careleſſe and forgetfull of our Lord the King, who ſuſtained for the Chriſtian faith ſo many diſcommodities and aduerſities. For now his foreſaid ſermon was diuulged ouer all the French confines. Blanch being therefore herewith much moued, becauſe this murmure grew not without iuſt cauſe, ſhe tooke into her hands the lands and poſſeſsions of all them of the Croiſado; ſhe alledging, They that ſerue the Pope let them liue on the Popes meanes, and ſo be gone, without returning any more. All the Potentates in like manner bordering on France, in whoſe countries this ſermon had ſigned all to this warre, did the like. And thus the ſermon grew inualidious, and the ſigned were reuoked: as alſo the Predicants and Minorites, who had ſo highly aduanced this affaire, were verie ſeuerely reprehended by the nobles, they obiecting, We build you churches, and houſes, we educat, entertaine, apparell, and feed you, what benefit reape you from the Pope? He diſturbeth and exacteth of you, he makes you his toll-takers; and ſo you become odious euen to your owne benefactors. To whom they replyed, Meere obedience moues vs hereunto. From that time forward the Pope, bluſhing for ſhame, liſtened to treaties of peace.* In the meane while, vnder pretext of ſuch great obedience to this warre, S. *Lewis* his ſuccours were cut off, his armie defeated, all Paleſtina expoſed to ſpoyle and prey, and himſelfe was taken by the enemie: whereupon he conceiued ſuch an irradicable griefe and ſorrow, that for a certaine time after his libertie procured, he would not be comforted.

The Friers Mendicants, as hath formerly beene ſaid, were either chiefe miniſters, or in a great part authors of theſe calamities, whereupon they grew ſo powerfull, that the reſt of the Clergie began to be afraid, while by their confeſſions they diued into the peoples hearts, beat the Popes eares with continuall flatteries, and at length depriued all ordinarie miniſters of place and function: whom *they tearmed Blind, and leaders of the blind, which neuer ſtudied in the Decretals, nor had learned ſo much as to reſolue one doubt: not ſhaming to demaund of many, Are you confeſt? to whom if they anſwered, Yea; they would aske, Of whom? Why by my pariſh Prieſt: And who is that ideot? I thinke he neuer heard of Diuinitie: Confeſſe hardily vnto vs, to whom you both ſee and heare ſuch authoritie is granted. Wherefore many of the Nobles and their wiues, contemning their proper Prieſts and Prelats, were confeſſed by theſe Predicants.* And here againe (courteous Reader) obſerue the forme and expreſſe Idea of theſe times. The matter grew to ſuch an head, as the Pope himſelfe perceiuing them

Matthew Paris in Henrico 3.

them tranſported ſo headlong to ambition, was forced to ſuppreſſe it: *What means this, brethren* (ſaid he) *where is your humilitie, your vow of pouertie?* And hereupon the Vniuerſitie of Paris began firſt to ſtirre & oppoſe, but eſpecially, becauſe with their ſubtilties and ſophiſtries, they had adulterated the true Chriſtian doctrine; teaching firſt, That the diuine eſſence was neither beheld by angell nor glorified man. Secondly, That though the liuelie diuine eſſence be one and the ſelfeſame in the Father, the Sonne, and the holie Ghoſt, yet as it comes within the reaſon and compaſſe of Forme, it is one in the Father and the Sonne, and not alike vnto theſe in the holie Ghoſt; and yet Forme is the ſame thing with diuine Eſſence. Thirdly, That the holie Ghoſt as he is Loue, and connexed, doth not proceed from the Sonne, but onely from the Father. Fourthly, That neither the glorified ſoule nor purified bodie, ſhall be in the Imperiall heauen with the angels, but in the watrie or Cryſtaline heauen, which is aboue the firmament: the which they alſo affirmed by the bleſſed Virgine *Marie*. Fiftly, That the euill angell was euill at the verie inſtant of his creation, and how he neuer had been good. Sixtly, That there were many verities from eternitie, which were not God. Seuenthly, That an angell at the ſame inſtant could be in diuers places, and that euerie where, if it ſo pleaſed. Eightly, That beginning, preſent time, creation, and paſſion, is neither Creator, nor creature. Ninthly, That the euill angell neuer had the meanes to ſtand, no nor yet *Adam*, in his ſtate of innocencie. Tenthly, That he who hath the beſt naturall gifts muſt of neceſſitie receiue moſt grace and glorie. All which poſitions, the Eccleſiaſticall Prelats, together with the Vniuerſitie of Paris, being aſſembled, expreſly condemned in theſe words, *We ſeuerely prohibit this error, and excommunicat the maintainers and defenders thereof, as men* (ſaith our Author) *that dare touch the holie hill, to be oppreſſed with Gods glorie, and that raſhly endeuour to ſearch out the inſcrutable ſecrets of God, and are preſumptuouſly inquiſitiue into the iudgements of God, which are like bottomeleſſe depthes.* Afterwards the Author alſo noteth in diuers places, how they laboured as much as in them lay to ouerthrow the Pariſian Academie, to whoſe lawes and ſtatutes they would in no wiſe be ſubiect, ſince they were made Confeſſors and Counſellors to kings. The ſtudents therfore were conſtrained *to contribute and make a collection, euerie one according to his meanes, to ſend to Rome; and euerie ones weekes allowance was cut ſhorter.* But they found the Pope aduerſe to their proiects, as alſo the Cardinals of the ſame ſtampe, who in the behalfe of the Mendicants augmented the number of Diuinitie Doctors, that ſo they might be brought in: by meanes of which ſchiſme the Vniuerſitie was in great danger of a diſſipation. What was the effect and iſſue of all theſe turbulencies, will afterwards more manifeſtly appeare.

Matth. Paris in Henrico 3.

Concerning the Waldenſes, they did ſo ſpread abroad both in France and Germanie, that throughout the courſe of all hiſtories, we may as it were diſcerne their prints and footſteps. And alſo in Lombardie, where *Petrus Veronenſis*, a Dominican, vſed all rigour of Inquiſition againſt thoſe who were called *Credentes*, Beleeuers, inflicting vpon them all kind of ſeuere puniſhment; when feiſing on ſome of the principall, he was found ſlaine in the territories of Mylan. One *Carinus* was apprehended for this ſlaughter, who notwithſtanding the tenth day after was diſmiſſed by the Pretor, as guiltleſſe, and *Petrus Veronenſis*, leaſt others ſhould bee diſcouraged, canonized by the Pope for a Saint. But we muſt not omit to mention, how *Innocent*, though he imployed much labour and ſtudie to this end, and in authorizing his Decretals (nor any of his ſucceſſors) could euer effect that the French Churches would be ſubiect to them. As concerning the Canons, they reſted

rested in the auncient collection of them which commonly is called *Corpus Canonum*; and for the Epistles of the Popes, they approued of none, but til *Gregorie* the seconds time, that is to say, before *Boniface* Archbishop of Maguncе infringed the libertie of the French Synods, about the yeare 742: which was so found and good law, that *John Andreas*, a famous Ciuillian, testifies in his Prologue vpon the Decretals; That whosoeuer cited any thing not conceiued within this bodie of the Canons, he was to be esteemed a criminall of false testimonie: The which is farre from that opinion which Pope *Nicholas* the first held in the nineteenth distinction, aboue by vs mentioned.

Johannes Andreas in Prologo l. 1. Nichol. 1. ad Epist. in Gallia constitutes in Epist. Bonifacij 1, 3. Epist. 42.

53. Progression.

Alexander the fourth succeeds Innocent. He treats with Richard Earle of Cornwall, and with the king of England, for his sonne Edmonds inuestiture in the kingdomes of Apulia and Sicilie. Conradinus pretended Emperour, and Frederick Duke of Austria, not much differing in yeares, are both beheaded in the market place of Naples. A duell appointed betweene Peter king of Arragon, and Charles of Anjou. Diuers succession of Popes.

POpe *Innocent* dying at Naples, the Gouernour shut the gates, and enioyned the Cardinals to chuse a successor. This was *Renaldus* of Anagnia, Cardinall of Hostia, who was called *Alexander* the fourth. This man, whether out of the late vision mouing him, or his owne naturall instinct thereto enclining, gaue greater hopes of better regiment; which principally was conceiued from this, because after his arriuall he solicited in generall by letters, to make prayers in his behalfe vnto God, That he might proue fit and sufficient for the gouernement of the Church; *For his other successors* (saith *Mathew*) *neuer vsed any such custome*: as also for that in his letters, especially in those to the Bishops of Germany, a copie whereof is to be seene in *Auentine*, he sharply rebuked their abuses and vices: *But* (saith *Mathew*) *giuing too much eare to the imposterous whisperings of flatterers, and to the wicked suggestions of men auaricious* (that is, to his Cardinalls) *his simplicitie was suddenly diuerted and misled: And his Bulls, which is as it were the earnest and testimonie of Papall integritie, came to be tearmed vnexpected fraud; although in these poynts also I cannot excuse him, that relying on the aduice of some in whom hee was most confident, and by the persuasion of Pope Innocent the fourth, his predecessor (who on his death bed animated the Cardinalls thereunto) in that he powerfully determined to continue the warre begun against Fredericks partakers, especially against Manfred, Fredericks naturall sonne.* The which resolution was pretended with deuotion and pietie, because Nocera, a citie of Calabria, was then held by the Saracens. And in that it was not fit the king of England should so soone discouer the fraud intended to him, a Legat was sent, which by a ring inuested *Edmond* his sonne king of Apulia and Sicilia: and this incircumspect Prince thought that hee both possessed the cities and the harts of the subiects too. Wherfore he presently set forward on his journy, taking care for nothing, but how he might conuey his treasure through France. Presently after, another Legat called *Rustand* was sent to demand a Tenth in England, Scotland, and Ireland, as also he had authoritie to absolue the king of his vow

Auent. l. 7. Matth. Paris in Henrico 3.

A vow of going to the Holie Land, so he would commence a warre against *Manfred*. Thus this credulous Prince suffered himselfe to be deluded with these artes; nay, and *Rustand* moreouer both in London and other cities, preached the Crosse against *Manfred* in expresse words: *And Christians wondered* (saith the Author) *when they heard him promise as largely vnto them for the effusion of Christian bloud, as sometimes he did for killing of Infidels: And the Preachers instabilitie moued mockerie and laughter*: As also on a certaine day, at the end of a sermon, not doubting to adde, *Be sonnes of obedience*: And wherein should this consist, I pray you? *Why, be bound to such or such a Merchant in such or such a summe of money.* But now obserue the Catastrophe: *Manfred* defeated the Popes forces in Apulia, and the
B subiects of the kingdome vnderstanding that the Pope had constituted them a foraine king, vnknowne to their Nobilitie; as also that the Croisadoes were diuerted from their first ends, and imployed against them as Infidels, they all repayred to *Manfred*, yea euen they who before were of the Popes partialitie, raising against him a mightie armie: *Wherefore* (saith our Author) *the vsuall respect and deuotion borne by the Prelats and people towards our mother the Roman Church, and our Lord, our Father and Shepheard, the Pope, was almost expired. For though that Court had many times with great bitternesse of spirit terrified Christs faithfull ones, yet it neuer so mortally wounded, both in generall and particular, the seruants of Christ, as both in this and the yeare following; for innocents were enforced to idolatries, and as Apostates to renounce truth, which is God himselfe.* And here the Author stayes a little
C in declaring some circumstances, which were these, *Prelats were sold like Oxen and Asses: Behold the vttermost condition of seruitude: behold the sellers which should haue beene cast out of the Temple and beene whipped. But because it is a more vnworthie thing to commit an iniurie violently, than to suffer innocently, it may be thought that the complaining crie of this will ascend vp vnto the Lord God of reuenge.* But at length he concludes, *The Pope hath power in all those things which tend to edification, not in those which lead to ruine*, according to *Robert* Bishop of Lincolne.

Neither did matters succeed any better with him in other places; for (saith he) when they perceiued his actions so different from those prayers which at his first
D comming to the chaire he had caused to be made in his behalfe, *Manies deuotion grew coole towards him, and diuers construed it to be meere hypocrisie, and masking of his secular power*; therefore their former hopes conceiued of his sanctimonie fell to the ground. And first at Rome Senator *Brancalone*, of whom former mention was made, executing iustice at Rome without any exception of persons, and the Nobilitie hardly digesting this seueritie, after apprehension they put him in prison, but his wife escaped out of the tumult, and got to Bologna, and there caused the hostages to be closely kept. The Romans moued the Pope, that out of his Pontificall prerogatiue he would commaund the Bolognians to deliuer them: who to gratifie the Romans, omitted neither threats nor intreats herein; yet hee had the
E deniall. Then the people rose against the Nobilitie, and in despight both of them and the Pope restored and set at libertie *Brancalone*. The Pope, being hereunto solicited by the Nobilitie, excommunicated both the Senator and all his followers, that is to say, the people of Rome, *omnes cachi nantes*, all of them with scorne and laughter condemned and mocked at his threatnings. The Senator suppressed all the seditious, not sparing the Popes friends and neere kinsfolkes; and at length he vrged himselfe to forsake the citie, and threatned to demolish his natural town and countrey Anagnia. The matter came to this passe, that, will he nill he, in verie submisse and humble words, he was enforst by Legats to intreat them to forbeare the

the ruine of his naturall Citie: *leaſt he ſhould become an opprobrie to the whole world.* A
In the meane while, *Brancalone* makes euen with the ground the Palaces of the Roman Nobilitie, part of them he caſts into priſon, and other ſome he hanged, & maimed, many of which were kinſmen and nere allies to the Cardinals, being as great a friend to *Manfred* as he was an enemie to *Alexander*. Yea, and after his death, his memorie was ſo venerable amongſt the people, that in hatred and deteſtation of the Pope, they choſe his vncle Senator in his place, and cloſing his head within a rich vrne, they ſet it vpon a marble pillar, for a monument of his integritie and juſtice. Theſe things turne the rather to the skorne and contempt of the Roman Court, becauſe the Pope vnderſtanding of his death, admoniſhed the people, *That they ſhould chuſe no man Senator without his conſent: but they laughing* B
thereat, and diſpiſing the Popes iniunction, choſe forthwith Brancalone his vncle, ſolemnely electing and conſtituting him Senator in his nephewes place. Theſe things *Matthew* relates, whereby he proues as much as he had formerly ſpoken, in what great contempt and skorne the Pope was held of all men, for his euill proceedings and gouernement.

An.1259. In Germanie, about the yeare 1257, *William* Count of Holland retayned the Title of Emperour, beeing conferred, and continued in him by the Popes; who retiring out of an hot battaile, beeing ſhot through the bodie with an arrow, died. *Conrades* ſonne was yet too young to be choſen Emperour; *Alexander* notwithſtanding, commaunded the Archbiſhop of Magunza, and the other German C
Prelats, threatning them with all in verie grieuous penalties, if they did elect this boy, ſonne to the excommunicated Emperour, ſeeing they could not be ignorant how oppoſit his grandfather *Frederick* was to the Popes: but ſo he highly commended vnto them *Richard* Earle of Cornwall, of whom, part of the Princes accepted, eſpecially for this reſpect, becauſe he was reputed to be rich in treaſure and coyne: whereupon grew this verſe,

Nummus ait pro me, nubit Cornubia Rome.

The money plainely ſaies it ſelfe: Rome marries Cornewall for vile pelfe. D

Part of the Electors, made choice of *Alphonſus* king of Caſtile, but the moſt voices concurred, at laſt, with *Richard*, who being ſent for out of England, he was conducted into Germanie. *Alphonſus* began to moue warre, for the holding of his place, and ſollicited the Pope by Embaſſadours, that no other might be crowned but himſelfe. Anſwer was returned from him, that the cuſtome was, that none could receiue the imperiall crowne, except he had formerly beene inſtald in the Germaine and Italian kingdomes. The Empire therefore hanging in doubt, Ger-
Summe conſtitut. Firma profecto conſtitit. many was diuided, while *Octauius* (his Legat) abuſing the inſtitution of the croſſe, E
proceeded with all kind of crueltie againſt the imperiall adherents; and during
An.1262. theſe ambiguities, *Alexander* died in the yeare 1261, to whom, three moneths after, *Vrban* the fourth ſucceeded, borne of obſcure parents in Troie, a towne of
Sigon. l.19. de regno Italie. Campania Celtica.

Men obſerued one notable conſtitution of his (our author cals it moſt cruell) which was, That euerie Biſhop or Abbot elect, was bound perſonally to trauell
Math. Paris in Henrico 3. beyond the Alpes, that is, *to enrich to his owne hurt, nay, and vtter ruine, the Romans purſes. Vrban* called a Councell at Rome, not about matters of faith, which now grew obſolete, but about the expelling of *Manfred*. He thought good there-
fore

A fore to produce againſt him the Croyſadoes, and augmented for this end their indulgences. *Charles* Earle of Anjou, brother to S. *Lewis*, he alſo called into Italie, out of hope to be inſtalled in the kingdomes of Apulia and Sicilie. And thus all the treaſure which *Henrie* king of England had ſo vnaduiſedly diſburſed, was ſunk and ſwallowed vp in this ambitious gulph: And *Charls* took counſel of king *Lewis* about this affaire. But *Vrbans* death preuented his comming, whom *Clement* the fourth (proſecuting the ſame deſigne) ſucceeded, borne at Narbone, & elected at Perugia, he preſently ſent Legats to *Charls*: who commaunding his armie to follow him by land, went by ſea to Rome, where he was louingly entertained by the Romans, being created perpetuall Senator, which then was the ſupremeſt digni-
B tie of that citie: And *Clement* in the meane while held his reſidence at Viterbe, by reaſon of ſome controuerſies that occurred betwixt him and the Romans. Wherefore by foure Cardinals the inueſtiture of the kingdome was conferred vpon *Charles*, on this condition, That he ſhould pay 40000 crownes yearely, in token of homage, which he reſerued to himſelfe; as alſo further, that he ſhould not accept of the Roman Empire, though it were impoſed vpon him. *Charles* there- *Collen. l.4.*
fore went forward into Apulia, the Biſhop of Conſtance, who was *Clements* Legat, accompanying him, *Giuing plenarie remiſſion of ſinnes to thoſe that ſhould take vp armes for Charles.* Neere to Beneuento he diſcomfited *Manfred* in battell, who
C was there ſlaine; by meanes of which victorie he preſently after ſecured to himſelfe the kingdome, and did no little reuiue the factions of the Guelphes and Popes, which before were proſtrat and troden vnder feet ouer all Italie. But the Gibellines on the other ſide rouſing themſelues vp, called *Conrade, Frtdericks* nephew (commonly named *Conradinus*) out of Germanie, to oppoſe *Charles*. He in the later end of the yeare 1267 comming to Verona, about the beginning of the Spring he went forward into Apulia, and ſo being proclaimed Emperour by all the Gibelline faction, not farre from Arezzo, he by the way defeated part of *Charls* his forces, and then going to Rome, ouerſlipping the Pope that lay at Viterbe, he was with general voyce and acclamation receiued by all the people: But not long after joyning battell with *Charles* in the confines of the kingdome, vpon the firſt
D charge he put his armie to flight; but while his men were attentiue on bootie and ſpoyle, *Charles* reenforcing the fight, obtained victorie, and himſelfe with the chiefeſt of his nobles being driuen to flie, he fell into his enemies hands. And here *Clements* paſtorall mercie and commiſeration plainely appeared. *Sigonius* glaun-
cingly vſeth theſe words, *Conradine, by Charles commaund and definitiue ſentence,* *Collen. l.4.*
was put to death like an ordinarie theefe, becauſe by armes he made claime to his fathers and grandfathers kingdome. The Princes are at great variance amongſt themſelues, vpon ambiguous title. But the Neapolitan Hiſtoriographer, and ſome others, write freely, That after *Charls* had kept him a whole yeare in priſon, he conſulted with the Pope what ſhould be done with him; who briefly made
E this anſwer, *Conradines life is Charles his death, and Conradines death is Charles his life,* *Collen. l.4. Hiſt. Neapolitano.*
vnderſtanding by this, that he was to be put to death. The Hiſtoriographer obſerues, That diuers of the French Nobilitie could not be brought to condeſcend vnto this ſentence, but eſpecially the Earle of Flanders, *Charles* his ſonne in law, who thought it fitter to ſet him at libertie, and haue him obliged by ſome matrimoniall affinitie, whoſe opinion the nobler ſort were of, eſpecially thoſe who were free from preiudicat paſſions: but (ſaith he) *the more cruell ſentence tooke place.* Neither certainly hapned this (to omit the law of Nations) without ſome ſuperhumane inſtinct; for beſides the Veſpers or Sicilian Euen-ſong, which tooke pub-
like

like reuenge hereof; *Charles* Prince of Salerno, ſonne to the aboue mentioned *Charles*, hauing thirtie gallies ouerthrowne, himſelfe with a number of other Nobles was taken, and with nine other kept cloſe priſoners, and two hundred other gentlemen had their heads cut off at Meſſina: others alſo that were in durance, in a popular tumult, who ſet fire on euerie part of the priſon (in contempt of the Popes excommunication) were burned togeither in the ſame flame. And the Ciuilians of the kingdome, aſſuming a preſident, from the proceeding againſt *Conradine*, ſat in triall vpon *Charles*; & the like ſentence & execution he had vndergone but onely for Queene *Conſtantia*, wife to *Peter* king of Aragon, a Ladie of ſingular prudence and pietie, who vnder pretext of conueying him into Catalogna to the king, preuented this intended juſt reuenge; for which ſhe purchaſed amongſt all men immortall praiſe and commendations. To returne to our former ſubject, *Charles* cauſed *Conradine*, being ſcarce eighteene yeares of age, to be beheaded in the publique market place of Naples; who called God to witneſſe of the injurie and injuſtice done vnto him herein; and ſo throwing his gloues vp into the ayre, he denounced *Frederick* of Caſtile, his aunts ſonne, heire and ſucceſſour to his kingdomes. In his view and ſight *Frederick*, Duke of Auſtria, his inward familiar, and equall in yeres, had his head cut off, that by his death he might the more be daunted and terrified; which he tooke vp and kiſſed: then after him, eleauen other noble men, Italians, and Suevians. The Hiſtoriographer adds, that *Charles* would needs haue the executioners head chopt off in the place by another appointed to performe this office, becauſe he might not hereafter boaſt of the cutting off his head, who was diſcended from ſo illuſtrious a familie: as alſo, that the Count of Flaunders in a rage ſlew him with his owne hand that had pronounced the ſentence. All Chriſtendome held this wicked deed in moſt odious deteſtation, eſpecially all the Princes, in that they remembred how king S. *Lewis*, and this *Charles* his brother, being taken priſoners, not long before, by the Souldan in Paleſtina, were curteouſly and friendly entertayned. And from hence it proceeds, that *Peter* of Aragon exprobrateth to *Charles* in ſome letters of his: *Tu Nerone Neronior, & Saracenis crudelior, thou art more bloudie than Nero, and more cruell than the Sarracens.* There was not any one which aſcribed not this crueltie in the greateſt part to *Clement*; and the verie ſentence it ſelfe denounced againſt *Conradinus* may teſtifie as much: which was, *For diſturbing the peace of the Church and falſly vſurping to himſelf the Royal title.* But I pray you was not his right good enough for the clayming of this title? Furthermore, we haue the ſame *Clements* owne letters, that is to ſay, the letters of this *Charles* king of Sicilie, to *Peter* of Aragon, *ordained and deuiſed*, ſaith the Author, *by Pope Clement the fourth*, wherein he proudly threatens *Peter* of Aragon, being backt by this Pope, that ſought to obtaine the kingdome of Naples by armes: *Thou moſt wicked man*, ſaith he, *didſt thou not conſider the inexplicable excellencie of the mother the Church, who is to commaund ouer all Nations, and whom the whole earth and all the people in the ſame doe obey? Shee it is, whom land, Sea, and skies obey, worſhip and reſound; to whom, all that liue vnder her Sun are bound with ſtooping heads to pay due duties and tribute.* So as he exprobrated & caſt him in the teeth with *Conradines* death for a terror to himſelf, of whom notwithſtanding he ſhamed not to ſay, that he had wel deſerued: who being taken in fight like a theef, & by the juſt ſentence of death had deſerued the gibet, yet he permitted him to vndergoe the ſtroak of cruel death, by the ſword of a bloudy heads-man, preſaging vnto him alſo the ſame ruin: which ſounded not like the ſtile of a king or prince deſcended of the French royal race, but of the Popes of theſe

Henricus Guldelfingenſis in Hiſtoria Auſtriaca.

Apud Pertam de Vineis.

A theſe preſent times, of the ſame vnclement *Clement*. And thus much the Author himſelfe intimates. *Peter* of Aragon returning an anſwer to the ſame, ſet before his eyes the juſt judgement of God, in that he lately put his hand to ſuch a brutiſh immanitie, as was deteſtable & execrable to all men. And long time they ſlept not in this flagition, for as *Collenucius* notes, *Charls* from that time forward was continually afflicted and tormented with the anguiſh & terror of his daily misfortunes and ouerthrows; & *Clement* ſuruiued them but one moneth, when, as the fruit and triumph of victorie, he thought to haue gotten all Italie into his hands. The Papacie was then vacant for two yeares and nine moneths, though his predeceſſors had euerie way ſtudied and endeuoured to preuent ſuch an inconueniencie: For

B thoſe Cardinals which were reſident at Viterbe, ſuppoſing no one was inferiour to another, could reſolue vpon nothing certaine; amongſt whom one of the number, laughing at the others curioſitie, ſaid, *Sir, we had need open the top of this Conclaue, for the holie Ghoſt cannot deſcend through ſo many roofes downe vpon vs.* At laſt *Philip* king of France, and *Charles* king of Sicilie, were faine to come thither, to their rebuke and ſhame, and for the further encouragement of the Gibelline faction; who after long and many conteſtations, at laſt brought it to paſſe, that they conſented to chuſe *Theobald* Vicont of Placentia, and Archdeacon of Liege, who was then in Syria: he returning into Italy obtained the place, and was named *Gregorie* the tenth; and hereupon grew theſe verſes of the Cardinall *de Porto*.

Onuphrius in Pontificibus.

C

Papatus munus, tulit Archidiaconus vnus,
Quem Patrem Patrum, fecit diſcordia fratrum.

An Archdeacon obtained the Papall dignitie,
Father of fathers made by brothers enmitie.

Theſe things occurred in the yeare 1272. In the meane while *Richard* Earle of Cornewall dyed, being another competitor for the Empire, for ſupplie of whoſe place the Princes aſſembled togeither to take ſome order. Part of them, after *Richards* death, thought good to retaine *Alphonſus* of Caſtile: others alledged, That a king of Germanie was to be brought from no other part but Germanie, when *Gregorie* put in his ſpoke, and told them plainely, That if they preſently reſolued not vpon ſome bodie, he, out of his Pontificall authoritie, would conſtitute them an Emperour. All things therefore being maturely debated and conſidered, at laſt they concluded vpon *Radulph*, ſonne to *Albert* Count of Hasburg, a Prince of no great State, but renowmed for his militarie experience and judgement, whom they declared Emperour. All gaue their conſent, except onely *Otocarus* king of Bohemia, whoſe ſteward this *Radulph* had beene, and he was herewith highly moued, ſo as they came to a ſharpe war amongſt themſelues. He was

D E chiefe of the houſe of Auſtria, in which familie the Empire at this day continues. *Alphonſus* was much diſcontented becauſe *Gregorie* gaue his conſent thereunto, complaining wonderfully againſt *Gregorie*, in that, vnknowne to him, he had condeſcended to this election, aduiſing him to deſiſt from this enterpriſe, proceeding no further in it.

An. 1272.

During Pope *Gregories* raigne a Councell was celebrated at Lyons, whereat *Philip* king of France, the Emperour of Greece, and many other Princes were, and for the better ſucceſſe and iſſue hereof, certaine Prelats out of euerie Prouince, well affected to him, were cited to be there preſent. Their propoſition was

out of the example of the Machabees, to ſhew, That the Biſhop of Rome, as he was high Prieſt, had power ouer both ſwords, and therefore that it concerned him to ordaine warre, eſpecially when it was for ſacred ends: for deluding them with this ſauce he made them ſwallow and digeſt many vnſauroy cates. Consequently he decreed, That a tenth of all benefices ſhould be paid for ſix yeares to this purpoſe. All Penitentiaries and Confeſſors were enioyned to vrge vehemently all ſinners and offendors, to aſſiſt him with their riches and wealth; he impoſing on all Chriſtians in generall, without exception of ſex, age, or qualitie, a yearely penie, vnder paine of excommunication. *Rodulphus*, without the priuitie of the States of the Empire, did firſt yeeld vnto him Romania, which before was wont to pay to the Empire yearely ſeuentie thouſand dragmes of gold. The Emperour of Greece complained, who was at this Councell, That he being daily threamed and menaced by the Turke, who lay hard by him, yet *Charles* of Anjou diſturbed him with other attempts; and after his returne into Greece hee promiſed *Gregorie* by embaſſadors, That if he would but croſſe *Charles* his deſignes, he would joyne a new to an old Rome, which was Conſtantinople. The which embaſſage *Gregorie* readily gaue eare vnto, returning vnto him againe by his Nuntioes, who were to accord with him of three conditions; *Firſt, That in their ſacred adminiſtrations and offices*, ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ὑμνῳδίαις, *with the foure Patriarches he might be firſt nominated. Secondly*, τὸ ἐκκλητὸν, *That any might be permitted to appeale to Rome, as to the higher and moſt ſoueraigne tribunall. Thirdly*, τὸ πρωτεύειν ἐν ἅπασιν, *That in all things he might be allowed ſupremacie and higheſt place.* About any other points of diuinitie (ſaith *Gregoras*) there paſt not a word, *No not of the addition made to the Creed*, ἀλλὰ μακρὰ τῆς ὑρεμίας καὶ ἀνέσεως, *but all things were quiet and pacified.* In theſe things there was a long addormentation and ſilence, onely hee regarded that which belonged to his own peculiar intereſt. But it fell not out well with him, that the Greeke Church diſauowed the Emperour, eſpecially in this Councell, where a certaine forme of electing the Pope was ſet downe, which at this day is obſerued in the Conclaue, as we may read in the chapter, *Vbi periculum de electione in ſexto.* And there he doth not onely exhort the Cardinalls, *That they would chuſe the Vicar of Chriſt, Peters ſucceſſor, gouernour of the whole Church, and guider of the Lords flocke*, but further is not aſhamed to adde, *For a neceſſarie proui ſion of the whole world, & as a fit ſpouſe for the ſame Church.* That which *Innocent* the third, in truth, did formerly produce, in the third ſermon of his conſecration, he brings it out more audaciouſly from a Decretall, which they eſteeme of higheſt authoritie, being the order and forme according to which the Popes are choſen and inueſted, with their proper attributes and titles. What can be done more to Chriſt our Lord, the onely true Bridegroom of the Church? Or beſides him who could ſay, *In mercie and pitie I haue eſpouſed thee*? Who beſides him doth ſanctifie her? *He yeelded vp himſelfe for her, that ſo ſhe might be ſanctified and cleanſed, by the waſhing of water in the word:* and therefore who is that *fit Bridegroome* for the Church but he? and who will arrogate to himſelfe theſe titles, but Antichriſt? not by way of compariſon, or in any proportion (which yet had beene too much) but ſimply, properly, abſolutely. But if *Bellarmine* here ſay, That *Gregorie* did this but as he was Chriſts Vicar; I aske him, Whether he euer ſo much as heard, that if a Princes embaſſadour contract any matrimonie in his Maſters name, he calls himſelfe the Bridegroome, or if he could doe this without committing an hainous offence? Or how can hee in thus doing auoid S. *Bernards* reprehenſion, who forbids Pope *Eugenius* this tytle, but rather that he ſhould take heed of S. *Johns* Propheſie, in aſſuming to himſelfe ſuch

Nicephor. Gregoras l. 5.

Vbi periculd. de elect. & elect. poteſtate in ſexto.

Innocent. 3. in ſerm. 3. de Conſecratione Summi Pontificis.

Oſee 3.

Epheſ. 5. v. 25. & 26.

Bellarm. de Romano Pontific. l. 2. c. 31. Bern. Epiſt. 237. ad Eugenium.

ſuch blaſphemous titles. Queſtionleſſe *Thomas de Corſellis* ſpeakes not ſo in the Councell of *Baſil*, *We ſaid* (ſaith hee) *that the Church was Chriſts ſpouſe, and the Pope wee know is his Vicar: but no bodie ſubſtitutes a Vicar in ſuch a ſort as that hee will ſubmit his ſpouſe vnto him, nay the ſpouſe in matters very important may be thought to haue more authoritie than the Vicar, whereas ſhe and her husband haue but one bodie; but ſo it ſtands not betweene the Vicar and his Lord.* This *Gregorie* died about the beginning of the yeare 1276, whom *Peter* of Tarento ſucceeded, that was Biſhop of Oſtia, of the Order of Predicants, being nominated *Innocent* the fift; and about fiue moneths after *Otho Fliſcus*, a Genoway, came to the Papacie, after this man alſo, who was called *Adrian* the fift, he being choſen at Rome in king *Charles* his preſence, who was created and choſen Senator of that citie.

Thomas de Corſellis apud Æneam Syluium, Comentar. de Concil. Baſilienſ.

This manner of election was no wayes pleaſing to the Cardinals, becauſe their authoritie herein ſeemed to be ſomewhat impaired. Preſently after his comming to the Papacie he departed to Viterbe, the better to abate *Charles* his power and greatneſſe, for extenuation whereof he ſent for the Emperour *Rodulphus* into Italie, to oppugne and make head againſt *Charles*; who being formerly ſolicited by *Gregorie*, had promiſed to come. And here the Reader may eaſily judge, whether he was not wonderfully tranſported with this affaire, that hauing occupied the chaire Pontificall but eleuen dayes onely, and not yet being fully conſecrated, he ſtudied and deuiſed how to ſupplant *Charles*. Neither were the Cardinals ſatisfied with that forme of Conclaue inſtituted by *Gregorie*, the which was not obſerued in the election of his ſucceſſor, nor likewiſe of this preſent Pope, but contrariwiſe it was reuoked by *Adrian*, in the ſmall time he liued, by an expreſſe Bull publiſhed to that end, that ſo by this means all ambition and practiſe might be cut off, and all means of attaining to the place by bribes & gifts, that ſo they might rather chuſe to create the Pope by bandie, and partialitie. When therefore this Bull could not ſtand in force and vigor, by reaſon it was made before his conſecration, *Iohn* the 22, who ſucceeded him, preſently confirmed the ſame. And hereupon *Nicholas* the third, *Martine* the fourth, *Honorius* the fourth, *Nicholas* the fourth, and *Celeſtinus* the fift, were elected without Conclaue. Whereby you may plainly diſcerne how inconſtant the ſpirit is that leads and directs them. *Iohn* treads his predeceſſors foot-ſteps, though he was but a fooliſh and vnworthie man, *Bringing* (as they ſay) *more detriment than either honor or profit to the Papacie:* and therefore hee importuned *Rodulphus* to come into Italie. But hee excuſed himſelfe through the warre he had in hand with the king of Bohemia: and *Iohn* in the ſecond yere of his Papacie died at Viterbe, being by the fal of a vault cruſhed to death. Vpon this occaſion the Cardinals returned to Rome, and now likewiſe *Charles* diſcharging the Senators place of the citie, carried greateſt ſway in the election, who labouring (but in vaine) that ſome French man might be nominated, after much altercation, the ſixt month after, *Iohn Vrſinus* was choſen, being afterwards called *Nicholas* the third, *who was a man full of ambition and inſolencie*; for ſo he is deciphered by *Machiauel*, and he impatiently ſupporting *Charles* his ſo great power, he inſtantly propounded to him how behouetull it was that *Rodulph* ſhould come into Italie, and ſo from thence to paſſe by ſea into Paleſtina, which otherwiſe could by no meanes be ſuccoured and releeued: alſo, That Tuſcan was vnder the iuriſdiction of the Empire, and except it were reſtored againe to *Rodulphus*, he would make this ſeruе for him as a juſt excuſe. Vnder this pretext therefore he took away from him Tuſcan, which his predeceſſors had conferred vpon him, by way of Vicariate, as alſo at Rome, in that he could not endure to ſee him a Senator of ſuch ſoueraigne autho-

Platina in Adriano 5.

Platina in Iohan. 22.

Platina & Stella in Nichol. 3. Machiauel. hiſt. Flor. l. 3.

ritie, he excited his fauouries against him, laboring to be chosen Senator himselfe. A
And thus deposing *Charles*, he alone discharged both the Pontificall and Senato-
Blondus Decad. 2. l. 8. rian dignities. He furthermore ordained, That no King, Prince, or any other bome
of royall stocke, or otherwise of any high & eminent dignitie, should be preferred
to the Senatorship, and that the citie, vnder no title or office whatsoeuer, might
not be gouerned by any one for aboue the terme of a yere, without his speciall fa-
uour and permission. And thus the Sueuian familie being wholly extinct, in that
he could the more easily forbeare his amitie, he now began to tread *Charles* vnder
foot: For *Rodulph*, he heard that he had businesse ynough in Germany, without at-
tempting any thing in Italie; in whose mouth the saying was verie frequent, *Vesti-*
gia Italiam adeuntium videre se, non cernere redeuntiu, He saw the steps of those that B
entred into Italie, but not of such as came well out againe. Wherfore out of this
confidence he so much the more vrged him, seeming to be verie angrie with his
delayes, but especially in that he prepared not himselfe for a voyage to Ierusalem,
the which was wont to be a common pretext for excommunicating of the Empe-
rors. *Rodulph* therefore not minding to loose a certaine substance for a greater sha-
Martinus Polonus in Chron. ad an. 1277. Platina in Nicbol. 3. Blondus Decad. 2. l. 8. Stella ibid. dow, that he might be freed from this burden, he peaceably surrendred and confir-
med vnto *Nicholas* the possession of all Romania, vpon this condition, That taking
Tuscan out of *Charles* his hands he should restore it vnto him. Which being done
Nicholas created *Bertold Vrsine*, his brother, Count of Romania, furnishing him C
with an armie wherwith to recouer those towns that were held by the Gibellines.
He also allotted another armie to *Franciscus Latinus*, his sisters sonne, being Bishop
of Ostia, with the same to scoure ouer all Tuscan, the Marquisat, and Lombardie.
And thus he disposed of the greater part of Italie. *Martinus* and *Platina* say, That
if death had not preuented him, hee was minded to haue made two kings of his
name, one of Tuscan, and the other of Lombardie, that the one with his power
might euer be readie to suppresse the Germans beyond the Alpes, and the other
to ouer awe the French within the kingdome of Naples: but against these princi-
pally he stirred vp *Peter* king of Arragon, whom he persuaded, that enioying his fa-
uour and assistance, he would set afoot againe his title, that grew from his mariage D
with *Constantia*, *Manfreds* daughter, although formerly, both by verie many Buls
of his predecessors, as also by the Decree of two Councels at Lyons, all *Fredericks*
posterity was excluded. And doubtlesse some two yeres after this *Peter* by him in-
cited, plotted the Sicilian Vespers, or Euensong (so by writers tearmed) on an Ea-
ster Monday, euery one killing his lodger and guest. And so by this meanes *Peter*
was reduced into his kingdome by the inhabitants. Here we must note, that after
he had taken from *Charles* the Vicariate of Tuscan, and the dignitie Senatoriall,
by some priuie intelligencers of his he diued into his mind, to see whether he now
ought any rancor or reuenge against him: who affirming, That they found him no
other wayes affected to the Church than before, *Yea, yea*, saith he (measuring the E
Princes nature and disposition by his owne) *his fidelitie he hath from the House and*
race of France, his pregnancie of wit from the kingdome of Spaine, but the grauitie and
weight of his words, from his often frequenting the Court: Wel we may toller at others, but
thus man is no wayes to be endured. Furthermore, this good *Nicholas* was author of
Ca. Fundamenta de electione & electi potestate. that famous Decretall which is extant in the chapter *Fundamenta de electione &*
electi potestate in sexto; whose words run thus, *Peter* (saith he) *God called into the socie-*
tie of the individuall Trinitie, to be called as he was, the Lord saying, Thou art Peter, &c.
that from him, as from a certaine head, hee might derive and powre forth all his gifts
throughout the bodie, meaning the Church: That the worser men they be, and the
wickeder

A wickeder actions they enter into, so much the more they might continually and *Ca. Fundamenta de electione, & electi potestate.* impudently arrogat and assume to themselues.

Nicholas dying in the yeare 1282, *Simon* of Tours succeeded him, who was *An. 1282.* called *Martine* the fourth, the French Gardinals preuayling in number, and he was consecrated at Oruetto. He prosecuted the same designe which his prede-cessours begun, of getting all Italie into his hands, but by contrarie meanes: for he restored the Senatorian dignitie to *Charles*, and in fauour of him, excommu-nicated *Peter* of Aragon, publishing the Croisado against him and all his aber-tors, as if the spirit that gouerned them had been quite contrarie in himselfe; con-curring onely with his predecessour in this, that he retayned his concubine, and *Iohannes Nouio dunensis in il-lustrationibus Beati.* B because she brought forth to him a beare, to auoid the like inconuenience, he cau-sed all the armes of the Vrsin within the Court to be rased out, least by continuall beholding the same she might againe conceiue such a forme. Historiographers here report, that *Peter* of Aragon being mightily pressed by *Charles* his forces, who intended a reuenge of the Sicilian butcherie, he tooke occasion out of this mans letters to turn the warre into a duell; and therefore he offered to decide the quarrell of the kingdome in a battell of a thousand to a thousand, an hundred to an hundred, or in single fight: *Charles* chearefully embraced the condition of single combat, a day was constituted, and the field appointed at Burdeaux in A-quitane, and the king of England, as a kinsman to them both, was to be judge of C the field. They relate also that *Martine* (*though this seemed verie absurd*) consen- *Blondus decad. 2. l. 8. Collenu. l. 4.* ted thereunto, and sent thither *Gerard*, Cardinall of Parma, to obserue both the progresse and euent of this matter, *Charles* appeared attending there the greatest part of the day, which the judge of the field did testifie; but *Peter* of Aragon fay-ling of his presence, he departed and left the field, the Pope for this cause excom-municating *Peter*, and denouncing him vnworthie and incapable of the kingdome of Naples: as also he deposed him from the kingdome of Catalogna, which then was conferred vpon *Charles*, second sonne to *Philip* king of Fraunce. Not long af-ter, he turned likewise the Croisado against him, and in the assistance and fauor of *Charles*, he promised plenarie remission of sins to all those that would assume this D conscription military vpon them. Gentle Reader doe but obserue what manner of Christs Vicar this is, who permitted two such mightie Princes to entertaine a duell; make you any doubt but Christ did abjure him? All the Sicilians beeing likewise included in the same excommunication, & *Peters* affaires obtaining hard successe, in most submissiue manner they had recourse to *Martine*, and so prostrat on the earth they were enjoyned to crie out aloud, far off from him, *Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem, Lambe of God that takest away the sinnes of the world, graunt vs thy peace*: which blalphemie he no wayes refused to but backe, neither did these miserable soules discerne that while he shewed the hornes of the *Pul. Æmilius in Histor. Francorum in Philip. tertio.* Lambe a Dragon spake out of his mouth. *Nicholas de Biberach*, a Diuine of Er- E ford, complains of this selfesame Pope, that in his young yeres at Rome he would prostitute himselfe in the detestable office of a Ganymed: these are his words that he mortally hated Germanie, that he often wisht it were turned into a stan-ding mere: whereupon also he framed vnto him this Epitaph,

Hic iacet ante chorum submersor Teutonicorum
Pastor Martinus, extra qui totus ouinus,
Et lupus introrsus, cui nulla redemptio prorsus,
Sed sit ad inferna, detrusus ab arce superna.

Nicholaus de Biberachin. l. qui inscribitur occultus.

Before the Quire, a reſtleſſe enemie
To German name, Pope *Martin* here doth lye:
Without a ſheepe, within a rauening wolfe,
From heauen thruſt downe into th'infernall gulph.

And hereupon many inſtile him *Teutenicorum inimicum*, the Germans enemie, but eſpecially the Author of the hiſtorie of the South. There ſucceeded him about two yeres after, *Iacobus Sauellus*, a Roman, who was called *Honorius* the fourth, who proceeded in the reduction of Romania vnder the obedience of his See, and at laſt obtained his deſire, partly by ſubjugating in a warre *Guido* of Monteſeltro, head of the Gibelline faction, that principally withſtood it, and partly vrging him to come to an accord, who was faine to retire himſelfe into the conntie of Aſt, and ſo vpon this condition was receiued into grace and fauour. But that which principally then ſet the Popes agog in Italie, was *Rodulphes* either too great ſimplicitie, or too great wiſedome: from the one ſide he fearing the powerfull oppoſitions which the Popes had raiſed againſt his predeceſſors, and then on the other vnderſtanding by *Princeuall Fliſcus* his Chauncellor, how hard a matter it was to reduce the cities of Italie, now for ſo long time inured to libertie, vnder their ancient obedience, he reſolued to yeeld them their abſolute liberties, ſo that each of them would furniſh him with a certaine ſumme of money, whereof he ſtood in great need: He therefore ſent *Princeuall* againe to paſſe theſe couenants with them. He for the ſummes aboue mentioned gaue them ſeuerall charters; and ſo from hence came moſt of their immunities and liberties: as the citie of Luca obtained her libertie for 12000 crownes, Florence for ſix thouſand, and ſo of the reſt: which being by this meanes made free, they were afterwards called *Imperij* Iohannes Nauio magus in illuſtr. Bedæ. *feodes*, Feudatories to the Empire. The Hiſtoriographers, *Blondus*, *Sabellicus*, *Trithemius*, *Cuſpinianus*, *Krantzius*, *Nauclerus*, and others, reprehend *Rodulphus* much, becauſe herein he wonderfully impeached the authoritie of the Empire: *But ſo Pope Honorius* (ſay they) *was no wayes diſpleaſed with this redemption, though it did altogether misbeſeeme ſo great a Prince, becauſe he thought the Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction would in the future come to be the more ſecure, and better confirmed.*

Hereunto may briefly be added, the ſuperſtition which together with ambition ſo much augmented vnder *Alexander* the fourth: for then at Perugia, where he held his ſeat, roſe vp the ſect of *Flagellantes*, a certaine hermit being author and patron thereof, and men and women ſtript naked to the nauels, for expiation and ſatisfaction of their ſinnes, would whip themſelues throughout the townes and villages, with fearefull howlings and cries, calling out vpon the Virgine *Marie*, compaſſing in this manner the whole citie, exciting others by their example to do the like, and drawing after them people of all kinds and conditions. Out of Tuſcan they went and ſpred themſelues in the Marquiſat, and then in Romania, this Blondus l. 8. Decad. 2. fooliſh ſuperſtition like a fire deuouring whatſoeuer it met withall. *Auentine* ſayes of this, *A bloudie kind of penance did then ariſe at Perugia in Tuſcan, neither could any weather or way ſtop them from going forward in their iourney once vndertaken, or afflicting vpon themſelues theſe ſacred cruelties*, eſpecially in Germanie, *where for three and thirtie dayes continuing in theſe auſtere regularities, without ſo much as taking their quiet ſleepe and reſt, they then thought themſelues abſolued from their ſinnes, and perfectly reconciled vnto God. Now* (ſaith he) *they were paſſed the Alpes, gone through high Nauaria, and entred as farre within the land as Friſinghen, where Lewis forbad them to goe any further forward in his countrey, and Henrie commaunded them by publike Edict, That,*

A *That, as prophane and vagrant perſons, they ſhould not ſet foot within his confines.* But *Krantzius* deliuering what the better ſort of men thought of them, *In this ſect* (ſaith he) *horrible errors did lurke, which being by Gods goodneſſe diſcouered, were occaſion to baniſh theſe diabolical inuentions: In the meane while they being of dejected countenance, and framing lookes to moue commiſeration and pitie, they ſung hymnes in prayſe of Chriſts croſſe, and as often as the name of Chriſt was mentioned, which was not ſeldome, they fell downe flat on their faces, no wayes reſpecting the place, whether it were durtie, craggie, brittle, aſperous, moyſt, or drie, fearing nothing. For the druell amongſt mortall men hath alſo his Martyrs.* Theſe be the words of the Pontifical Author, although this fearefull ſuperſtition was not onely by the Popes approued, but euen moreouer adored. By this Popes authentication alſo S. *Clare* was canonized, hauing her feſtiuall day by her ſelfe apart, that ſhe might obtaine the ſame reſpect from women, as S. *Francis* had from men. Other ſuch blaſphemies as theſe euen ſcraule and creepe all ouer his Legend. *Vrban* the fourth out of the ſame ſpirit at this verie inſtant inſtituted the feſtiuitie of *Corpus Chriſti*, or *Corpus Chriſti* day, of whoſe originall diuers Authors haue written diuerſly. Some ſay it ſprung from this, That the Prieſt celebrating the Sacrament in the citie of Bolſeua, bloud was ſeene to come forth of the Hoaſt. From whence that Bull came, which began, *Tranſiturus de hoc mundo, &c.* Others report, That a certaine woman, a Recluſe of the towne of Liege, called *Eue*, whom Pope *Vrban*, before his being Pope, had knowne familiarly, told him it was reuealed vnto her from aboue: Whereupon that other Bull came, *Scimus ô filia, &c.* grounded on the like foundation. Vnder *Clement* the fourth *John Semeca* was the firſt that dared to write commentaries againſt *Gratians* Decree; for thus they relate of him, Some call him *John Teutonicus* gouernor of Halueſtat, who thought he had not ſlenderly deſerued of this chaire, by many good maximes and digeſts which he had publiſhed in fauour of the Popes, of which we will ſpeake in their proper place. But when vnclement *Clement* demaunded the tenthes of the German Clergie, vnder pretext of an holie warre, he diſcerning the knauerie, oppoſed himſelfe, and appealed to a Councell; for which cauſe he was excommunicated: in which ſtate notwithſtanding he dying, for the renowme of his myracles he was afterwards canonized. *Gregorie* the tenth, as before you ſaw, ordained a forme and vſe of electing the Pope in the Conclaue: hee alſo in the Councell of Lyons reduced the Orders of Mendicants to foure ſpeciall obſeruants, new daily creeping in, and were now growne to be in number nine or ten; that *Saccorum Fratres*, *Fratres Pratorum*, and others. But *Nicholas* the third would haue the Minorite regularities publikely read in the ſcholes, threatning him with excommunication that ſhould but withſtand it. And yet we may cleerely ſee what manner of man he was, for as euerie one of the reſt did, he likewiſe augmented the eſteeme and repute of the Mendicants, that ſo they might make them the ordinarie toll-maſters, and gatherers of his impoſitions and exactions. But it was *Honorius* at laſt that gaue them the height of their authoritie, ſo as afterwards the Popes grew into a jealouſie and feare of them: that as they that were the ſons, nephews, and progenie of heretikes (for thus they might nominat any whom they pleaſed) vnder no pretext or colour whatſoeuer, they could not be receiued to no perſonall dignitie, no publike function, nor Eccleſiaſticall benefice. And in France we haue obſerued by experience, what that beginning of the Bull meant, *Exhibita nobis, &c.* which was ſent forth *againſt the vpholders and fauourers of heretikes*, that is to ſay, euen as their humor or paſſion lead them.

Krantzius in Metropol. l. 9. c. 44

Summa conſtitut. Et in Clement. 3. de Reliquijs & Veneratione ſanctorum tit. 10. c. 1.

Petrus Premonſtrat. in Chron. qui inſcribitur, Biblia pauperū. Arnoldus Boſtius. Krantzius Saxonig l. 8. c. 17. Auent. l. 7. Volaterra in Antropologia. C. 21. Chron. Æditui.

Oppo-

OPPOSITION. A

This monſter of the Papacie grew at length to ſuch a greatneſſe, that all the Chriſtian parts would ſcantly ſatisfie their ambitious thirſt; to which the Legats and Mendicants were like cloukes and talons to gripe and faſten on their prey: For firſt Princes feared their cenſures, not ſo much out of religion, as that they feared leaſt their people would be abuſed by theſe ſtratagems; or that ambitious neighbours, vnder this pretext might make ſome vſe of them, for their owne auarice and greedineſſe. And yet there wanted not thoſe that oppoſed and withſtood them, euen, as aboue all others, our king S. *Lewis*, who ſhined in an example herein beyond all the reſt, in that his pragmaticall ſanction, which diſcreetly runnes in B this manner: *We will and commaund that the peſtiferous crime of ſimonie, which deſaceth and ruinates the Church, be vtterly baniſhed and extirpated out of our kingdome: As alſo we will in no wiſe permit any ſuch exactions, and grieuous pecuniarie impoſitions, laid, or to be leuied vpon our Church by the Court of Rome, whereby our kingdome is miſerably impoueriſhed; or that hereafter ſhall be impoſed and layd, to be leuied or collected, except vpon a reaſonable, pious, and verie vrgent occaſion, or ineuitable neceſſitie, and that by our owne voluntarie & expreſſe conſent, as alſo by that of the Church of our whole kingdome.* He likewiſe reformed the location of benefices called *Prouiſiones*, accor-

Bo: bellus l. 4. Decret. Gallican. p. 647.

ding to the auncient Canons of the Church; expreſly forbidding the tranſporting
Matth. Paris in Henrico 3. of any money to Rome, for the confirmation of Prelats, either electiue or preſen- C
tatiue. But the Clergie of England were yet ſomewhat more bold, for ſeeing the Legats neuer came thither but to pill and poil the kingdome and the Clergie, they humbly intreated the king, That according to the auncient lawes and priuiledges of England, no Legat might be ſuffered to croſſe the ſeas without expreſſe leaue and permiſſion firſt demaunded. They likewiſe inſtantly required, That the like Decree might be enacted about the Mendicants, Predicants, and Minorites, eſpecially thoſe who are vulgarly called *Legatos ſophiſticos*, ſophiſtical Legats: and no doubt they had obtained this ſuit, but that they light on a king who was ready to joyne hands with the Pope, that ſo by a common accord they might both glib, D
and euen flea the people. *Ruſtand* the Popes Legat vrging a moſt tyrannicall and cruell exaction, whereto the king gaue his conſent, *ſteeming out of the ſulphurie fountaine (Oh miſerable) of the Roman Church*, *Fulco* Biſhop of London, in a verie ſolemne aſſembly, ſaid, *Before I will agree to ſuch a ſeruitude & iniurie to the Church, I will by intollerable oppreſſion yeeld firſt my head to be cut off*: Then followed the Biſhop of Worceſter, who ſpake in a lowd voyce, *Before holie Church ſhall be ſubiect to ſuch corrodiation, and vtter ſubuerſion, I will be hanged on a gibbet.* *Ruſtand* replied, *All Churches were vnder the Pope*; when maſter *Leonard* modeſtly made this exception, *Tuitione, non fruitione*, in tuition, not in fruition; not to be ruined, but preſerued. The king, to whom the Legat had granted a ſhare in this gaine, threatned the Biſhop of London with ſeuere puniſhment, as he that inſtigated the reſt; when he E
replied and ſaid, *The Pope and the King, who are ſtronger than I, may take away my Biſhoprick, which notwithſtanding by no equitie they can doe; they may take away my Myter, but yet I ſhall haue an head-peece left.* All this occurred vnder *Alexander* the fourth, to which the people added, *This is the Pope who at his firſt comming to the chaire cauſed prayers and ſupplications to be made to God for him, that hee might raigne and gouerne well, how can it be that he ſhould performe worſe things than all the reſt? God forbid.*

But no man bore himſelfe herein more ſtoutly than *Seuual* Archbiſhop of York, of

A of whom, S. *Edmond*, Archbiſhop of Canturburie, out of whoſe ſchole he came, had preſaged ſo many excellent things. This man perceiuing how the Pope with his prouiſions, left nothing throughout his whole Archbiſhoprick vnharrowed, he with a noble conſtancie oppugned his proceedings. Firſt, becauſe he placed all the Eccleſiaſticall benefices in Italians that were about himſelfe, and ſo conſequently were leauers of their flocks: and ſecondly, in that he commanded all the Prelats of England to paſſe perſonally ouer the Alpes, to be confirmed at Rome: *Our Lord the Pope, therefore bare an heauie hand ouer him, and procuring him ignominiouſly to be excommunicated all England ouer, with lighting of tapers and ringing of Bels, that by this terrible and fearefull forme he might quaile and daunt his conſtancie:* *Matth. Paris in Henrico 3.*

B *but he no wayes diſpaired of comfort, to be ſent downe to him from heauen, patiently vndergoing the Popes tyrannie: neither would he ſuffer the large reuenewes of his church, to be conferred vpon vnworthie and vnknowne Tranſalpineans, nor yet leauing the lester of ſtrict equitie and right, effeminatly ſtoop to the Popes will and pleaſure. Wherefore, the more he was curſed by the Popes order & commandement, the more the people bleſſed him, although cloſely for feare of the Romans. Flying out of this worldly priſon, he aſcended into heauen, while moſt conſtantly, with his whole power, he ſtoutly defended his Church from the tyrannie of the Roman Court, and ſo being depreſſed and vext with many tribulations, for this earthlie life, as all men firmely beleeued, he purchaſed the kingdome of the higheſt heauens.* And here it muſt not be omitted, *that S. Edmond was euer wont*

C *to ſay vnto this his deare and ſpeciall diſciple, O Seuual, Seuual, thou muſt leaue this world a Martyr, eyther by the ſword, or elſe ouerlayed and euen killed with inſuperable and grieuous worldlie afflictions. Yet let him be thy comfortor, who inſpired that ſaying into his Pſalmiſt,* Multi tribulationes iuſtorum, de quibus quandoq; liberabit omnibus eos Dominus, *Many are the tribulations of the righteous, but God ſhall deliuer them out of all.* The ſame Author alſo recounteth, that perceiuing himſelfe approching to death, lifting vp his watrie eyes vnto heauen, he burſt out into theſe words. *I call the Pope by appeale before the ſupreame and moſt incorruptible Iudge, and both heauen and earth ſhall be my witneſſes, how vniuſtly he hath proſecuted and ſcandalized me, with ſundrie & important oppreſſions.* Wherefore, in this bitterneſſe of

D ſoule, after *Robert* the biſhop of Lincolns example, he by letters layd down to the Pope all his enormious actions, and that he would obſerue his admonitions in abandoning his accuſtomed tyrannies, and returning againe into the humble pathes of his holie predeceſſours: *For the Lord ſayd vnto Peter, Feed my ſheepe, doe not ſheare or flea them, doe not euiſcerat and by continuall demorations conſume and deſtroy them. But our Lord Pope, ſcoffing and deriding hereat, conceiued no ſmall indignation, that they would breake out into ſuch a preſumption and raſhneſſe, as to dare in anywiſe to ſollicit and moue him: and therefore he ſtopped his eare to the healthfull admonitions, both of Archbiſhop Seuual, as alſo of Robert of Lincolne.* And yet our Authour aſcribeth miracles to this man. And theſe things alſo happened during the

E Papacie of *Alexander* the fourth.

Vnder *Gregorie* the tenth, one *Nicholaus Gallus* a countrie man of ours, flouriſhed, who was borne in Languedoc, the ſeuenth Prior generall of the Carmelites, who diſtaſting the corruptions that then crept into his order, returned into his auntient hermitage, and there ended his life; he being Authour of that book, intituled, *Ignea ſagitta*, wherein he layes open the cuſtomes and manners of the Monkes of his time, eſpecially the Mendicants, who beeing but newly riſen vp, were yet growne to ſuch an hight of depraiuation, that in their conuents there was no ſo much as any mention made of ſtudies, or any Chriſtian exercifes; ſo wholly

wholly they were tranſported with pleaſure and vncleanenteſſe. That theſe, after the leauing of hermitages, and entring into cities, were ſo degenerated, as they ſeduced the preſent, and were like to corrupt thoſe future and to come. And this was wholly the Popes fault, who denied them nothing, both to the Churches prejudice, and the danger of their owne ſaluation. Much after this vaine *Elias Rubeus* an Engliſh man, in his Simidiali inferres, That the Monkes had conuerted religion into ſuperſtition, and turned from the interior to the exterior, to the forme of an hood, to colour, and to meats; making ſaluation to conſiſt in things of themſelues vaine, or indifferent. That there was no kind of men more blind in concupiſcences, or infamous for vncleanneſſe, than the Clergie: that a man who otherwiſe was good and commendable for his life and manners, if he but once attained to any Clericall place, he was inſtantly transformed into a theeſe; of a lambe he became a wolfe, and of a ſouldier of Chriſt a baſe broaker and huckſter. And therefore it was deſeruedly ſpoken of a Monke, who was conſecrated to be a Biſhop, *Monachum promouendo perimunt*, They kill the Monke by promoting him. All Biſhops, breaking downe the walls, entred not into the Biſhoprickes by the open gate, neither could inferiors by any other meanes be promoted or preferred. The ſaying was in the Court of Rome, *Except you bring purſes laden with money, you cannot be promoted to the honour of any Eccleſiaſticall dignitie.* No eſteeme was made of learning, vertue, or religion, *In ſuch a caſe reall allegations of royals preuailed aboue learning, vertue, or morall vnderſtanding*: And therefore, *becauſe they thus promoted doe glorie in their exaltation by meanes of money, they afterwards become extreame and ſhameleſſe extorters of money; but, in my opinion, Eccleſiaſticall perſons erre mightily in this, nay what may we ſay of the verie gouernours and rulers of the Church? certainely, to auerre nothing but truth, without lying, we can deliuer no good of them in generall.* Nicholas of Biberache in Germanie affirmed no leſſe: He tells how he was at Rome, and declares how they there vſed only fained flatteries toward ſtrangers & learned men, and that *Iuramenta per oſcula Iudas*, Oathes paſſed for *Iudas* kiſſes: Faith and pietie were there *rare and deere* like aromaticall ſpices. And that the Pope and his aſſiſtants raked all to themſelues, being robbers and theeues, worſe than *Pharao*, *Perpetuò in ſinu mulierum*, and dayly lulling in womens laps: he concluding in theſe verſes:

Elias Rubeus in Semidiali l. 2. c. 3. & 4.

Papæ dicatis, precor intuitu pietatis,
Quod ſtat in Eccleſia, iam multiplex ſimonia:
Et mala quamplura, fidei quæ ſunt nocitura,
Quæ ſi durabunt, eclipſin forte creabunt.

Shew to the Pope in zeale and pietie,
That in the Church raignes too much ſimonie,
And euils many more that hurtfull are,
Which will eclipſe true faith in ſpreading farre.

He preſaging herein ſome eclipſe and reuolt in the Church. But *Arnold de Villa noua*, borne in Catalognia, a man endued with the knowledge of all Tongues and Sciences, ſpeakes ſomewhat more broadly: *The diuell* (ſaith hee) *led all Chriſtian people from the veritie and truth of Ieſus Chriſt.* The faith that Chriſtians *now retaine is but ſuch as the diuels themſelues hold. All Cloyſterers ſwarue from charitie, and are damned. All falſifie the doctrine of Chriſt, and Diuines did ill, namely the Schole-men, in mixing Philoſophie with Diuinitie. The Popes in*

in their conſultations haue no regard but to humane reſpect and intereſts. And as for doctrine, he expreſly condemneth *the ſacrifice of the Altar. Maſſes are not to be celebrated. We muſt not ſacrifice for the dead: Nothing herein is offered vnto God. Almes rather repreſents the paſſion of Chriſt, than this ſacrifice.* He therefore for theſe propoſitions was condemned of hereſie by Frier *Iohn* of Longuil, of the Order of the Predicants, and *Geoffrey* of Crudilles.

But Germanie vnder, *Honorius* the fourth, renewed her auncient vertue, & ſent *Iohn* Biſhop of Tuſculum, a Roman Cardinall, to *Rodulphus* the Emperour, vnder pretext of intreating him to goe into Italie, there to be crowned, which notwithſtanding he did not greatly deſire: and he demaunded of all his Clergie for fiue yeares, a fourth of all reuenewes as well ſecular as Eccleſiaſticall; as alſo of the Conuents of women and Nunnes. A Diet therefore was called at Wirtzberge, where his demaunds and patents were opened, being corroborated and vrged with many intimations and reaſons. By a generall conſent the Archbiſhop of Collen roſe vp, who oppoſing himſelfe, appealed to a generall Councell; and as he was deliuering there reaſons, according to the charge impoſed vpon him, hee was by the Cardinall interrupted, threatened, and excommunicated. The Monks and Prieſts receiued him with ſcorne and laughter, filling the whole temple with clamors and tumult. He exclaimed of the wrong and violence done vnto him, imploring aid of the Emperour, who was preſent; who by his Marſhall cauſed him to be conducted, halfe dead, into his lodging. Then *Probus* Biſhop of Thoul, a Doctor of Diuinitie, ſtanding on his feet neere to the Font, made this Oration: *How long (deere Collegues) ſhall theſe Romulian Vultures abuſe our patience, if rather I may not ſay, our follie and blindneſſe? How long ſhall we endure their impietie, auarice, pride, and exorbitancies? This wicked race of arch Synagoguiſts will neuer giue ouer before they haue brought vs all to powrtie, & ſlauiſh ſeruitude.* And comparing the Popes to the Iewiſh Prieſts, *Our owne diſcord* (ſaid he) *brought forth this inconuenience. Theſe impoſters haue made vſe of our differences, and as long as they are vpheld the Chriſtians will neuer be able to enioy happie peace, to auoyd the miſeries of warre, or to exerciſe pietie and charitie one towards another. They lately ſet the Sueuians and Saxons together by the eares, then did they depriue both of State and life Frederick the ſecond, an excellent member of the Chriſtian Commonwealth, and Conrade the fourth, both Sueuian, and worthie Princes. The impes of Sathan and Antichriſt ſowed ſeditions and diſſentions in Germanie, then afterwards by fraud and deceit they intercepted and put to death Conrade, a moſt innocent and harmeleſſe yong gentleman, of ſingular hopes, and one might ſay, an offſpring of heauen, in ſeeking, by the law of nations, but to recouer the inheritance of his royall progenitors. They ſtirred vp the Sueuians againſt the French (Conrade againſt Charles) cauſing them to take vp armes, as a ſpectacle of pleaſure and delight to themſelues; afterwards againſt theſe they excited the Spaniards, and now they would ſet vs againſt the French and Spaniards, being our conſanguinians, and comming heretofore out of Germanie* (to driue both the one and other out of Italie.) *You muſt needs remember what that famous Decimiſt, Gregorie the tenth, about ten yeres ſince, did with his tenthes, and the ſame will this Honorius the fourth doe with his fourthes. Thus this ſubtill Gregorie, to wipe vs of theſe tenthes, he armed againſt vs the Scythians, Arabians, and Turkes: And, if I ſhould not lye, I verily beleeue, conſidering the great profits that come in to him by this meanes, that he wiſhes better to them than vs. Theſe of the Order of S. Bernard, to whom notwithſtanding he profeſſed much kindneſſe, were faine to redeeme themſelues with a ſumme of 600000 crownes. Hereby you may ſee what his conuentions coſt, and what ſummes of money are raiſed thereby. One deceit intrudes another,*

Bernard. Luitzenbergenſ. Catalogo hereticorum.

Auent. l. 7. Mauclerius vol. 2. Genet. 43.

ther, and his Decrees paſſe vnder the forme rather of ſubtiltie end deceit, than of open equitie and iuſtice. And euen as Sathan transformes himſelfe into an Angell of light, ſo doe they inuent meanes and deuiſes how to caſt a miſt before the peoples eyes. And that theſe things are no wayes agreeable nor pleaſing to Chriſt our Lord and God, the euents and iſſues, except we be vtterly blind, doe plainely proue, daily effects teach vs, and the holie Scriptures in euerie place declare and manifeſt. Wherefore, moſt reuerend Fathers in Chriſt, wake your ſelues out of this ſleepe, prouide and ſuccour things almoſt loſt and periſhed, regard and defend the Commonwealth. Our predeceſſors, who notwithſtanding held not then the Empire, did euer ſhake off the Roman yoke, though they were a people expert in armes, skilfull in militarie diſcipline, conquerors of nations, ſubduers of the whole world, and a terror to mankind, not well enduring their Empire ſo much as ouer confining and bordering countries, and ſhall we (not to ſpeake more bitterly) baſely ſubmit our ſelues to boyes and effeminats? What this Tuſculan is I am not ignorant, I know well his maners and faſhions, he is a gold-ſucker, an vſurer, a perfidious man, and a ſeruile ſlaue to money and coyne. I lightly eſteeme of his threatnings, and appeale vnto the generall Councell of the whole Chriſtian Commonwealth. When Probus had vttered theſe words, and all the reſt both approued and followed his opinion, Tuſculan fearing ſome violence to be offered, and therefore not daring to come abroad, in a few dayes by little and little they all ſlunke away. And ſo nothing at all being done in the matter, the aſſembly was diſſolued. But the Pope for reuenge of this contumelie, thundered excommunication againſt *Probus*, and did what he could to depriue him of his Biſhopricke.

Matthew Paris in Henrico 3.

In the like caſe *Mathew Paris* the Monke breakes out into this exclamation, *O the ſeruile and vaine ſolicitations of the Roman Court, O blind, though holie ambition* (ſo he ſpeakes by ironie) *which notwithſtanding is eſtentimes abuſed by the counſel of the wicked, why doeſt thou not ſuppreſſe thy violence with the bridle of diſcretion, learning wit by things paſt, & hauing beene taught and chaſtiſed by ſo often and much experience? In thy ruines we are all puniſhed. We all ſuffer and feele with opprobrie a generall confuſion. Thou didſt attempt to create two Emperors in Germanie, in whoſe preferment infinit treaſures (howſoeuer gotten and brought in) muſt needs be waſted, and yet both of them vncertaine and doubtfull of the dignitie. And now in the parts of Apulia the Popes armie being twice moſt ſhamefully ouerthrowne, that is to ſay, once vnder the conduct of William the Cardinall, and ſecondly vnder the Legatſhip and gouernement of Cardinall Octauian, it hath preiudiced the children of the whole Church by ſtealths and rapines, drowned them with opprobries, and euen mortally wounded them with anguiſhes and vexations. And to conclude in few words, the generall Church, which was ſuppoſed to be defended by the Roman Court, complaines her ſelfe to haue beene rather in many things aggrauated and oppreſt.* Theſe things fell out a little before vnder *Alexander* the fourth.

Vnder the ſame Pope alſo fell out the controuerſies betweene the Diuines of Paris and the Mendicants, who of Phariſies becomming the Popes Publicans, proued the verie ſcourge of other ordinarie Paſtors, and the diſturbers of all Vniuerſities: As alſo wee haue lately ſeene that they were rebuked and condemned for many hereticall propoſitions, readie to haue beene excommunicated if they had perſeuered and ſtood in the ſame. And now againe they are cenſured of a new crime and errour, eſpecially the Dominicans, being the authors of a new Goſpel, which they call *Eternall*, by which they meant to haue buried in obliuion the ſacred Teſtament of our Lord Ieſus. Authors therefore ſpeake of it in theſe words,

Math. Paris in Hewico 3.

Rancors and hatreds multiplying betweene the Maſters of Paris and the Friers Predicants, certaine famous Doctors, publike Readers, were choſen, with ſound deliberation and aduice, that is to ſay, Maſter William de Sancto Amore, or S. Amors, Maſter Otho of Douey,

uay, who had worthily diſcharged themſelues in the Artes and Decretalls, and then in Diuinitie, Maſter Chriſtian, Canon of Beunais, a great Philoſopher, and afterwards a Diuine, Maſter Nicholas of Baro vpon Aube, profeſſor in the Artes, Lawes, and Decretals, being readie to read publikely in Diuinitie, Maſter Iohn of Sechvill, an Engliſh man, the Vniuerſitie Rhetoritian, and Maſter Iohn Belim a French man, all theſe being famous Philoſophers, and profeſſors in the Artes. Theſe men proceeding from worthie parents, becauſe the Chriſtian faith began to be much ſhaken and depraued, were out of mature aduice and iudgement choſen to goe to Rome, and to moue our Lord the Pope for a reconciliation in the Vniuerſitie of Paris, and a reeſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian faith, eſpecially in that this euill threatened a further propagation and encreaſe: and for their charges a common collection was made ouer all the Vniuerſitie. For it was reported that the Friers preached, read, and taught, certaine new opinions and errours, drawne out of a booke of one Ioachim an Abbot, whoſe writings Pope Gregorie condemned: and they had written a booke which it pleaſed them to intitle thus, Incipit Euangelium æternum, *Here begins the eternall Goſpell; with ſome other poynts which it is not requiſit to repeat. The Predicants on the other ſide ſent their ſpecial meſſengers againſt the Vniuerſitie, that they might oppugne the maſters face to face. The people ſcoffed at them, withdrawing their accuſtomed almes, and tearming them Antichriſts, hypocrites, and the ſucceſſors of Antichriſt, falſe preachers, flatterers, and miſleaders of Princes, contemners of ordinarie Paſtors, and their ſupplanters, creepers into royall chambers, and adulterators of confeſſions; as they that roaming ouer vnknowne Prouinces, adminiſtred a libertie and boldneſſe of ſinning. All theſe complaints being heard, the Pope commaunded that this new booke, which they called The eternall Goſpell, ſhould ſecretly, and with as little ſcandall as could be to the Friers, be burnt, with ſome other inuentions, which were ſaid to proceed from Ioachims erronious braine. This execution therefore was cloſely and priuily performed, and with as little ſcandall as poſſible might be to the Friers, through the ſpeciall diligence of Cardinall Hugo, and the Biſhop of Meſſina, both which were of the Predicant Order: ſo as this tumult at that time ceaſed and ſlept.* The opinions of this Goſpell were theſe, *That God the Father raigned vnder the Law, and the Sonne vnder Grace, but by the riſing of the foure Orders Mendicants, the holie Ghoſt began then to raigne, and ſo ſhould doe while the end of the world; and that from this time forward they onely ſhould be ſaued, that beleeued in this new Goſpell: That Chriſts Goſpell was not true, perfect, nor ſufficient to ſaluation, as alſo his Sacraments were of little eſteeme; but if this new one were compared with that, it as farre exceeded it as the Sunne doth the Moone, and ſo conſequently, that the Church which ſhould be grounded on this new Goſpell, would in the ſame proportion excell the other precedent.* The authors notwithſtanding of theſe inuentions, which were to be extirpated, the Pope did tollerat and ſupport; becauſe any thing whatſoeuer, ſeemes juſt and equall to them, ſo it make for their prerogatiue and power; and they were afraid eſpecially, leaſt theſe their huckſters ſhould grow out of grace with the people, by whoſe tongues and talons ſo much good bootie and ſpoyle came vnto their hands. Wherefore that ſame *William* of S. Amors, one of wonderful eſtimation amongſt good men, both preached & writ againſt them, declaring in his ſermons, That he affected aboue all other crimes, to be zealous in diſcouering of hypocriſie, becauſe this brought more damage and preiudice to true pietie than all the other beſides; as alſo in that the Church was now ouergrowne with the ſame ſinne, and no bodie, for feare of the Pope and Prelats, durſt lay hand to the irradication of it. Amongſt others, wee read at this day a booke of his intituled, *De periculis mundi, ſeu nouiſſimorum temporum*, which begins thus, *Quia nos vacantes ſacris Scripturis, &c.* printed at Baſil in the yeare 1555, and no wayes to be ſuſpected of falſitie, ſeeing *Mathew Paris* in a great volume

Matth. Paris in libro de Antichriſto.

lume that he writ againſt Antichriſt, comprehends the ſame wholly and entirely, A
aſcribing it to the Vniuerſitie of Paris, and this queſtionleſſe, becauſe it was made
and publiſht by authoritie thereof, eſpecially in that hee alwayes ſpeakes in the
Plurall number. In which booke he conuinceth them, That they preached vn-
ſent, or at leaſt without a Miſſion canonicall, againſt, and contrarie to the veritie
of the ſacred Scriptures, and fraudulently concealing that which ſhould moſt
principally be deliuered: That they crept into houſes, and inſinuated into the
Gulielmus de Sancto Amore lib. de periculis mundi edito Baſileæ An. 1555. peoples priuities by confeſſions, whom by this means they bring vnder their pow-
er, the eaſier to command and rule them: And they call themſelues *Generall a-*
ders and ſupporters of the Church, preferring themſelues before all men, euen before
the religious Orders themſelues: And to appeare the more holy, they deuiſe new B
and ſuperſtitious traditions: That they loued the higheſt places at inuitements,
the chiefeſt chaires in Synagogues, reuerences and low bowings in the open mar-
ket places, and of men to be called Rabbies: That they vaunted of the great
good they did in the Church of God, boaſted of their owne and their followers
myracles, and chalenging the prayſe of that they neuer performed: That vnder
pretext of humilitie they inſinuated themſelues into the Courts of Princes, and
affect to be reputed Courtiers: That they ſmoothed the defects of men, and ar-
rogantly aſſumed a farre greater zeale than that of ordinarie Paſtors: That at firſt
men entertaine them joyfully, but at laſt they grow wearie of them, the which
happened quite contrary with the true Apoſtles: That they asked with importuni- C
tie, and receiued indifferently, not to releeue neceſſities, but to proſecute their de-
lights and pleaſures: To conclude, That they ſolicited and ſued to obtaine letters
commendatorie from great men. (And here the Reader may obſerue the maners
and carriage of theſe Neotericke Phariſies.) The ſame man deliuered in a certaine
ſermon, That Chriſt choſe plaine and ſimple men to preach, but Antichriſt on the
Duo Conciones Gulielmi de Sancto Amore in Antilogia Baſileæ edita, An. 1555. contrarie, for the propagation of his falſities and errours, made election of men
of a double heart, ſubtile and expert in worldlie policies, and not onely Antichriſt
himſelfe made choyce of ſuch, but alſo his members and champions. No maruell
therefore though they perſecute the profeſſors of the Chriſtian faith to death,
ſeeing *Iohn* ſaith in his Apocalyps, *I ſaw a beaſt riſe out of the ſea that had ſeuen heads* D
and ſeuen hornes: this beaſt was intended by Antichriſt and his followers.

And certaine yeares after, *Iohn de Poliaco*, *Williams* diſciple, and *Laurence* an Eng-
liſh man, defended theſe propoſitions publikely in Sorbon: In a ſermon of his he
Laurentius Anglicus in defenſione Gulielmi de Sancto Amore, & Tractat. Cauendum eſſe à Pſeudoprophetis. Serm. 2 in die Philippi & Jacobi, Thomas Cantipratenſis in Apibus myſticis. particularly admoniſhed the Church, *That a great danger hung ouer her head by the*
Monkes: That they were the ſeducers and miniſters of Antichriſt, of Antichriſt who
was hard at their doores. But when the Pope had ſuppreſſed the ſcandall of this new
Goſpell, leaſt it might haue prejudiced his affaires, taking an occaſion of reuenge
againſt *William* of S. Omers, and ſome other his like, for the denunciation of theſe
truthes, whether by right or wrong, he publiſhed and declared him for an heretike; E
as alſo he complained of him to our Princes, that had need of his helpe and fa-
uour, and cauſed him to be expelled out of the Vniuerſitie, which remained as it
were deſart and forſaken; exciting in like manner *Thomas Bonauentura* and others,
to write againſt him: ſo as all true Diuinitie yeelded to Sophiſtrie, and *Paul* to
Ariſtotle. But ſo the Mendicants on the other ſide euen ſeazed on the Diuinitie
Scholes, and the Canoniſts on the Ciuilians chaire, that ſo all points were decided
by *Gratian* and *Lombard*, and of the holie Scriptures there was not ſo much as any
mention in ſcholes. Out of their ſtudies therefore from this time forward came
bookes, eaſie to be ſmelt by their verie titles, as *Summæ*, *Repertoria*, *Quodlibeta*, *Roſaria*,

A *ſaria*, *Legendæ*, *Speculæ*, *in Sententias*, *Decreta*, *Ordines*, *Monachorum Regulas*, *Confeſſiones*, *Tractatus de Potentia Papæ & Clauium*, *de vtilitate vitæ Monaſticæ*, *de Mendicitate*, *de ſex alis Seraphim*, *de ſeptem gradibus contemplationis*, with other ſuch like: by
meanes of which the myſts and darkeneſſe of ignorance and ſuperſtition taking
further condenſation, euen in theſe our dayes, the Papal tyrannie is riſen to her ve-
rie top and height.

And here we muſt by no meanes omit, that *Michael Paleologus* Emperour of
Greece, vpon hope to be ſuccoured by *Gregorie* the tenth, promiſed in the Coun-
cell of Lyon to make the Patriarch of Conſtantinople conſent to the Primacie of
the Biſhop of Rome, & that whoſoeuer wold he might thither appeale, by a *neceſ-*
B *ſarie* counſell ſaith *Trithemius*, at his returne into Greece putting *Iohn Becke*, and
ſome of his neereſt friends into a deepe dungeon, and there detaining him a good
while, he wrought him to ſuch a paſſe, as that he by letters gaue his conſent and
agreement thereunto. But *Michael* was no ſooner dead when the Biſhops of *Chron. Hirſaug. Nicephorus Gregoras in in Hiſtor. l. 5. & 6.* Greece depoſed *Iohn* by common conſent, created another in his ſtead, and
renounced all that which had formerly paſſed in the Councell to the preiudice
of their liberties and prerogatiues; ſo as alſo the Clergie of the countrey being
wonderfully prouoked by this matter, they denied *Michael* buriall in the holie
Temple, notwithſtanding any inſtance and ſuit that his ſonne *Andronicus* made.

The Waldenſes ſtill continued during all theſe times in diuers countries, a-
Thomas Cantipratenſ. l. 2. c. 55 Blondus Decad. 2. l. 9. C gainſt whom the Dominicans, taking vpon them the office of Inquiſition, they o-
mitted no kind of rigour, but burned them aliue by dozens, and yet they aug-
mented in ſuch ſort, that their verie aſhes, by the power of God, being conuerted
into the ſeed of the Goſpell, the verie Biſhops and Iudges (which appeareth out
of the Decrees and ſentences that were then denounced, eſpecially in Auignion)
were euen amazed at their conſtancie; and ſo by the inutilitie of rigorous puniſh-
ments they were deterred from their crueltie. Theſe things occurred in the yeare
1283, *Martine* the fourth hauing the Papall dignitie. *An.* 1283.

D

54. Progression.

An accord of peace made betwixt Charles of Anion and Iames of Arragon, by the Popes meanes is broken, and reentred into againe. Pope Nicholas dyes.

Iohn de Aſcoli, of the order of the Minorites, ſucceeded *Honorius*, being elected on
Mount Auentine, who was called *Nicholas* the fourth. He preſently remoued
the Court to Rietto, either through the intemperature of the aire, which had bin
verie infectious the yeare before, or that he was vexed with popular ſeditions,
but being wearie of the place, the yeare following he returned to Rome. The
Kingdomes of Apulia and Sicilia, were then the verie roots of all diſcord: wher-
E fore it was accorded betweene *Charles* the ſecond of Anjou, and *Iames* of Aragon,
that *Iames* ſhould haue Sicilia, wherein he ſhould be inueſted by the Pope, and
this, *Charles* tooke vpon him, and the Pope promiſed. The occaſion of this accord
grew from a nauall ouerthrow that *Charles* receiued, wherein he was taken and
impriſoned, and being ſet at libertie he promiſed to returne againe, except with-
in three yeares he made a full ſatisfaction: and in the meane while he left *Charles*
and *Lewis* his ſonnes for hoſtages. The affairs of Siria were now reduced to ſo mi-
ſerable a paſſe, as nothing but finall ruine and deſtruction was daily expected: for
the Souldan hauing taken in Tripoli, Tyre, Barut, and many other important pla-

ces, there remained onely Ptolomaida to the Chriſtians in all Paleſtine, and this A
likewiſe cried out inceſſantly for ſuccor. Theſe occaſions excited *Nicholas* to con-
uert all the Chriſtian forces that way: and ſo conſequently by his authority to ra-
tifie a peace betweene *Charles* of Anjou, and *Iames* of Aragon. And himſelfe ſent
fifteene hundred horſe at his owne charge to Paleſtina, but ſo vnſeaſonable and
with ſuch ill direction, as imploying their firſt force againſt the Chriſtians, they
filled all places with rapines, adulteries, whoredomes, and deuaſtations: then ſe-
condly they broke the truce with the Souldan when it was moſt neceſſary to haue
beene obſerued, for the attending of freſh ſupplies: and this firſt errour of *Nicho-*
las is ſpecified vnto vs in the Hiſtorie of his time; Another is annexed, which de-
faced the only happineſſe of his Papacie; *For deſiring to gratifie Charles the ſecond, he* B
broke the peace conſtituted betwixt him and Aragon: And meaning to conferre vpon
Charles, the kingdome due vnto him by paternall ſucceſſion, he created him king of both
the Siciles, of that beyond, and of the other of this ſide the Sea: with this permiſſion,
That for ſixe yeares it ſhould be lawfull for him to demaund the tenths. The
which *Iames* being no wayes able to digeſt, he preſſed *Charles* ſo hotly, as that
the Pope himſelfe conſenting thereunto, he was enforced to his former accord,
which he promiſed within two yeres to performe: but then during theſe protra-
ctions, Ptolomais was miſerably loſt, and whatſoeuer had beene recouered in A-
ſia, by ſo much toyle and Chriſtian bloud ſpilt, Cyprus onely excepted and the
coaſt of Cilicia. This happened in the yeare 1290, wherein both Pope *Nicholas* C
and *Rodolphus* the Emperour died. *Rodolphus*, who while he liued neuer made ac-
count of his conſecration at Rome, though he was often perſuaded thereunto,
both by the Popes and by his owne Nobilitie; *Italie*, ſaid he, *hath ouerthrowne*
many Alman kings, I will not goe to Rome, I am a king and an Emperour, and I hope
I ſhall diſcharge my ſelfe no worſe for the benefit and good of the Common-wealth, than
if I had beene crowned at Rome. And *Nicholas* at his death endeauoured to propa-
gate the Papacie, in the order of the Minorites. *It is reported*, ſaith *Krantzius*,
that when he ſaw he ſhould die, he called all the Cardinals together, and recounting vn-
to them his whole life paſt, out of his plenarie and abſolute power, he diſcharged them of D
the place and dignitie they held, for the remainder of their liues to liue priuatly: where-
at the Cardinals at the firſt much wondred, afterwards (as a man that drew nere to his
end, ſuppoſing him to be extaticall, or frantique) they left him: but then he called ſo
many Friers of his owne order, on whom he impoſed the Titles of Cardinals, obliging
them by oath, That after his death they ſhould create none Pope but of that Order, nor ſuf-
fer any to be admitted into their Colledge, but thoſe of that Fraternitie: and ſo hauing
made this Teſtament he dyed. A moſt wonderfull thing, if a true report. And hereupon
it is ſaid, that till Sixtus the fourths time, there vſed to be a priuie Pope amongſt the Mi-
norites, which failed in his perſon when he came to be elected Pope publikely. This ſo ſin-
gular a note of blind and precipitant ambition, both in and after his death, de- E
ſerues thus briefly an end of this Progreſſe.

Blondus l.8. Decad.2.

*An.*1290.

Chronic. Hirſaug.

Krantzius l.8. cap.35.

Opposition.

Vnder *Nicholas*, the Clergies complaint againſt the Mendicants was reuiued,
they informing, That theſe men ſupplanted all ordinarie Prieſts; the Vniuerſitie
of Paris joyning with them herein, but eſpecially the Colledge of Sorbon. Now
let but the Reader judge what equitie or conſcience one might expect in this
Pope, tranſported with ſuch a violent ambition of perpetuating the Papacie in his

A his Order. Wherefore foure Archbiſhops and twentie Biſhops, together with
the Rector, faculties, and ſuppoſiſts of the Vniuerſitie, aſſembled together in the
Biſhop of Paris hall, before whom the Archbiſhop of Burges, *a profound Clerke*
(ſayth our Author) *generally reputed*, made an Oration of charitie in theſe words,
At this day charitie is waxen cold, and Order Eccleſiaſticall wholly confounded, ſeeing
many put their ſickles into other mens corne; ſo as the Church may now truely bee tear-
med a monſter: For euen as in a naturall bodie we count it monſtrous, when one member
diſchargeth anothers office, euen ſo is it in a bodie ſpirituall, that is, in the Church, when
the learned and prudent Friers, I meane the Maiorites and Minorites, vſurpe the place
and office eſpecially committed to vs, though moſt vniuſtly, in that no man ſhould aſſume
B *vnto himſelfe this honour, except, like Aaron, hee were called thereunto by the Lord.*
Becauſe therefore we haue many times cited for this cauſe the Monkes perſonally before
the king, as alſo by the mouthes of diuers other of the Nobilitie, entreated them to deſiſt
from intruding into our office, yet haue they not done it, but preached throughout all our
dioceſſes againſt our wills, and heard confeſſions, warranting themſelues herein by the
Popes priuiledges. We come vnto you before whom we are preſent, hauing letters of rati-
fication from all the Biſhops in France, to make complaint vnto you of the Friers great in-
ſolencie, becauſe what we are, yee are one day like to be. For I ſuppoſe there is not one
Prelate amongſt vs, which was not called to his place out of this Vniuerſitie. After this
the Biſhop of Amiens roſe vp, who declared by many reaſons, how it was no
C wayes probable the Popes mind was, that the priuiledges granted to the Mendi-
cants ſhould be prejudiciall to other members of the Church, eſpecially in that
Decretall of *Innocent* the third, *Omnis vtriuſque ſexus*, he intreating the Vniuer-
ſitie to joyne themſelues in this cauſe with the Prelats, *who were reſolued to repell*
this iniurie, though it were with the loſſe of their liues: Exhorting likewiſe the Fri-
ers Mendicants to repayre to Rome for a ſolution of theſe doubts and difficul-
ties. The Mendicants by one of their ſocietie made anſwer, That the ſame Bi-
ſhop of Amiens was at Rome when theſe priuiledges were granted them; as al-
ſo that the Prelats had then there both procurers and ſollicitors, who ſpared no
labour nor endeuour, and yet the Pope abſolutely denounced, *Placet*, it pleaſeth
D me: And therefore (ſaid they) what hath authentically beene granted vs, wee
haue no reaſon now to debate or call in queſtion againe, *becauſe we are no members*
of any Vniuerſitie. The day following the feſtiuitie of the Virgine *Maries* con-
ception was celebrated at the Minorites, when one of the Majorites (the Do-
minicans I meane) applied his whole ſermon to this poynt: *There the Scripture*
was fulfilled, which ſayd, That day Herod and Pylat were made friends; for concerning
her conception the difference was betwixt them. At length in an aſſemblie fol-
lowing, held at the Bernardines on Saint *Thomas* eue, the Biſhop of Amiens
againe roſe vp, and expounding that place, *Propè eſt Dominus inuocantibus eum*
in veritate, according to a certaine Gloſſe of the Decretals, hee made three
E kindes of truthes, *The truth of Life, the truth of Doctrine, and the truth of Iu-*
ſtice; *ſhewing by many authorities both in Diuinitie, the Canons and the Lawes, as*
alſo by euident effects, That there neither concurred with the Friers trueth of Life, be-
cauſe they are conuicted of manifeſt hypocriſie; nor veritie of Doctrine, becauſe their
mouthes preach honie, and their hearts harbour gall; neither any trueth of Equitie
and Iuſtice, becauſe they vſurpe and take vnto themſelues other mens functions.
And ſo comming to a concluſion, hee cauſed the ſaid priuiledges to bee once more read
with the ſaid Conſtitution. Thus much *Godefridus de Fontibus*, who was then a Sor-
bon Doctor, reports.

Godefrid. de Fontib. in Quodlibet. Sorbone.

But Germanie neglecting the branches, put her hatchet to the very root of the Tree: For *Nicholas* had commaunded the Archbishops of Germanie, euerie one in his seuerall Prouince, to call a Councell: where vnder pretext of recouering the holie Land, he demaunded againe the tenths, which had so often afore bin a busiuely exacted, and employed: and the Bishop of Saltzburg to this end conuocated his Suffragans and Diocesans: *who percetuing the Roman auarice, to aime againe at the tenthes, some few in behalfe of the whole assemblie made aunswer, How it was an hard matter to be graunted, and that with extraordinarie tribute and taxations they had beene wonderfully worne and wasted; and therefore it were much more necessarie to debate of an head for the Christian Common wealth, and then to reduce the Princes to loue and amitie, for without their authoritie, nothing could be decreed.* In the same Councell, by the Popes commaund, *Meynard* Count of Tyroll, was excommunicated out of the Church, for two causes: first, because he detained certaine holds, within the Bishoprick of Trent, by maine force, and then in that vexing *Henrie* the Bishop with continuall warre, he enforced him at last to giue ouer his Bishoprick: but when he was dead *Nicholas* gaue this Bishoprick to *Philip* of Manton, by whose instigation he had excommunicated *Meynard*. He therefore protested against the injurie done vnto him by the Fathers, & by a publique Apologie, made a defence of himselfe. *Vndoubtedly*, saith he, *I doe not raise but repell a warre, for there was neuer any thing more deare vnto me than to maintaine peace with euerie man, especially with the Bishops; but that thise good Fathers, being corrupted with too great abundance, as other men are, haue cut of a disordinate desire of rule, taken vp armes against vs altogether vndeseruedly, and laboured to driue vs out of our hereditarie Lands: Then indeed I betooke my selfe to armes, recouered certaine Castles from the enemies of my Countrie, that so I and my people might enioy peace without the tumult and disturbance of warre. But if any man would be a securitie or pledge that I might not stand in feare of these Wolues, and their treacheries, and that the like outrage shall neuer be committed vpon vs, by these proud and puffed vp Archimagouists (for I doubt whether I may name them Rastours) I would forthwith surrender all things againe: but otherwise I neuer meane to shew my selfe so foolish, to suffer my sleeue to be ript off my arme, or witting to expose both me and mine for a scorne and laughing stocke to these effeminate Antichrists and prodigious Eunuches. For who infringe Christian concord more than they, not giuing their minds to interpret or teach the holie Scriptures, but to get children; they loue wine, accumulate and most eagerly affect wealth, kingdomes, glorie and domination: For these things they contend with vs, in the bloud of their sheepe: Christs pouertie and simplicitie, they are so farre from admiring, as they deride the same and studie how to race out all memorial thereof: and therefore if these be not Antichrists, what then I pray you are they? Is this to feed the sheepe? to loue the flocke? to affect kingdomes, wealth, and other mens proprieties, for mere glorie and dignities sake to draw the sword, oppresse their flockes, to kill and make warre? The precepts of Christ they inuert and condemne, and your coat and cloake they violate a way by maine force. Who is so stone dull, or to speake more truely, so dull and stupide, patiently to beare the pride, arrogancie, perfidie, fraud, flagition, wickednesse, excesse, and auarice of such Insolents? being worse than Turkes, Saracens, Tartarians, and Iewes, in that they worship Christian integritie more than all these, by infringing that libertie obtained and purchased in the bloud of Christ, and drawing to themselues all authoritie and power. They being borne our naturall subiects, against the Lawes of Nations, contrarie to the Laws, Oracles, and authorities diuine, they themselues would vsurpe & haue their Soueraignties obey: The common saying is true, That the Priests by superstition*

Auent. l. 7.

tious delusions, cast a mist before mortall mens eyes, and by ceremonies, & cassis carminibus, *ambiguous verses, depraue their vnderstandings, and dull their senses, as it were with a potion of Mandragoras: does it belong to the Shepheard, to share or milke the flockes? and must not a messenger aduaunce the affaires of his Lord, or of those whomsoeuer for whose benefit he is sent and employed? And therefore from a cruell and vniust Pope, I appeale to a most iust Pastour, and a most clement Father.* While these things daily came to the Popes vnderstanding; he left this life: And *Celestine*, the fift, did afterwards release *Meynard* of this excommunication.

55. Progression.

After a long vacancie, Peter Moron, an Hermit, was chosen Pope, but out of his simplicitie, being abused by Benedict, who was afterwards Boniface the 8, he renounced the Papacie; and priuily retourning to his hermitage, he was in the way by Boniface intercepted and put in prison, where he died, as reports went, being by Boniface put to death.

After *Nicholas* death, the Cardinals by reason of the intemperature of the aire left Rome, and went to Perugia: and some were readie to affirme that all the disasters, which *Nicholas* brought vpon Christendome grew from this, that he was chosen at Rome in an infectious time. But in deed the true cause was their owne ambition, which so distracted their minds, in such sort, that in three moneths space they could agree vpon no successour. Although *Charles* king of Apulia, who foresaw these inconueniences remoued thither, to presse them forward, yet they delayed it for certaine moneths, so as *Benedict*, Cardinall of Caieta, who afterwards was *Boniface* the eight, vrged them with many entreaties, as if his words should haue enforced them. But when he was gone they chose *Peter Moron*, an hermit, one that was verie old, but voyced to be of a verie good life. This was *Celestine* the fift, if we may beliene Stella, elected by way of skorne and derision. And because it seemed straunge, that any should be chosen Pope but out of the middest of the Roman pride, 200000 are sayd to haue had recourse to his coronation. And in the first consistorie, resoluing to reforme the Roman Church, after Christs example, he made shew that he would ride on an Asse, and that the Cardinals should doe the like, which was a thing remote from their manners & customs: afterwards they wilfully suffered him to fall into many grosse and childish petulancies, through his inexperience, that euerie man might hereby plainly discern how requisit it was to make choyce of another. But he senting out these stratagems, began to be wearie of his imposed dignitie, desiring to be eased of it, though *Charles* perswaded him by all meanes to retain the Papacie, and for this end, carried him to Naples, causing the Archbishop in presence of all the people to demaund his benediction, and seriously adiuring him that hee would not renounce the Papacie. At length Cardinall *Benedicts* policie carried the matter cleere away; for being retourned to Rome, *Benedict* being a verie subtile Canonist, put many toyes into his head, representing herein vnto him the great burthen and trouble of his function: what a charge it was to giue an accompt of all the soules in the world: then how the course of his saluation should be hindered, if either through the infirmitie of his yeares, or ignorance in affaires, the Christian Church should suffer any detriment: Nay further, he subornd diuers

Stella in Pontific. Platina in Celestino. 5. Christianus Masseus in Chronico. Henricus Erfordiensis in Chronico. Auent. l. 7.

uers, who priuily in the night by a reed or trunke conueyed to his eare, ſhould admoniſh him as if it were from aboue, *Celeſtine, Celeſtine, giue ouer the Papacie, if thou meaneſt to be ſaued, it is a burden beyond thy ſtrength to ſupport*; that ſo hee might thinke himſelfe perſuaded and vrged thereunto by ſome angell. This ſimple man therefore intended nothing elſe but how hee might reſigne the Papacie, ſo this ſcruple could be remoued, That he might doe it with a good conſcience; wherein *Benedict* eaſily gaue him ſatisfaction, and producing many reaſons, he cauſed a Decretall to be paſſed, *That the Pope might lawfully giue ouer his charge*. And not long inſiſting in this, he digeſted another like Decretall, which wee find in *Sexto*, *That the Pope might freely renounce the Papacie*; although when *Celeſtine* was dead he paſſed another, That it was *ſcelus inexpiabile*, an inexpiable ſinne to renounce the Papacie, the ſame Cardinals affirming and denying one and the ſelfeſame thing, with their ſuffrages and conſents. *Celeſtine* therefore reuolued onely in his mind how he might renounce the Papacie, and returne to his hermitage; but withdrawing himſelfe priuily to goe thither, *Boniface* intercepted him in his iourney, & caſt him into a moſt ſtrait impriſonment, that ſo he might haſten his death, as was thought: *For this ſubtile man much feared* (ſaith our Hiſtoriographer) *and not long time after it plainely appeared, leaſt the people ſhould rather follow Peter, ſo famous for his vnſpotted ſanctitie, than himſelfe ſwarming in doctrine, ſwelling in pride and arrogancie of mind, as Pope of Rome, ſucceſſor to Peter, and Chriſts Vicar vpon earth.* There was none out of doubt which did not vtterly condemne his violent impriſonment, and vpon the rumor of his death *diuers opprobrious and ignominious reports were openly diuulged both in the Court and Citie, againſt Pope Boniface.* Thus ſpake *Blondus, Platina*, and others, of the ambition, impudencie, inſolence, & ingratitude of *Boniface*. But aboue all others *Colenucius* ſpeakes plainely to the poynt, and auers, That he cruelly cauſed him to be put to death in priſon.

Platina & Stella in Bonifac. 8. Continuator Vincentij l. 37.

Extra de renunciatione cap. in Sexto.

Auent. l. 7.

Collenuc. l. 5.

·His Papacie afterwards exceeded in all kind of iniuſtice and violence, ſo as not without cauſe *Langius Monachus Citicenſis* ſaid of him, *Tyrannizing rather with a Lyon-like mind*, than Papizing, *he ſought to ſtrike a feare and terrour of himſelfe in all the world*. Being jealous of *Iames* and *Peter Colonna*, Cardinalls, as alſo of the whole familie of the *Colonneſi*, he raiſed the Croyſado againſt them, ſo as they were driuen to retire into Preneſte, which then was held by *Sarra Colouna* their vncle. This towne he preſently beſieged with the Croyſadoes, who, to eſcape his hands, left the towne, and the ſame afterwards being driuen to yeeld, in reuenge and hatred to them, he vtterly demoliſhed it, extending the ſame furie and rage to Zagarolo, and other places whither they fled. Afterwards he depriued both the Cardinals of their hats, he excommunicated and baniſhed out of Rome & the Church the whole familie, and *Sarra* by name, their vncle, as *Petrarch* ſayes, hee droue to ſuch plunges, as he was conſtrained to roue priuily vp and downe the woods and deſarts, not daring to commit his life into any ones hands, for feare of being betrayed vnto *Boniface*. They complained to all Chriſtian Princes of this violence offered them, which he ſtucke not to inſert into the ſixt booke of Decretals, which he then publiſhed, glorying therein, as in a thing honeſtly and juſtly performed. With the ſame furie and intemperance he proceeded againſt all the Gibellines and allies of the Empire. And here we will make mention of a ſtratageme well beſeeming and worthie of this prophane Pope: *Porchetto Spinola*, one of the Minorites Order, was nominated to ſucceed *Iames Varagine*, Archbiſhop of Geunes; for his confirmation he came to Rome on an Aſhwednesday, amongſt many others *Porchetto* alſo fell down at his feet, to be ſigned on the forehead with a croſſe of

Langius ad An. 1295.

Blondus Decad. 2. l. 9. Ex Petrarcha.

Blondus ibid.

A of Aſhes: when *Boniface*, *Carmine mutato*, changing the words of that Scripture, *Remember*, ſaith he, *that thou art a Gibbelline, and with the Gibbellines thou ſhalt returne to aſhes*: and ſo caſting aſhes in his eyes, the ſame day he depriued him of his Archbiſhopricke. The Reader may hereby euidently judge in what eſteeme and reuerence he held his owne ceremonies: and afterwards, in the yeare 1300, celebrating the jubilie, whereof he was the inuentor, he vſed no better reſpect, being the firſt, according to Hiſtoriographers, that opened the golden gate; a gate, at the opening whereof there is ſuch a concourſe of people, from all parts of the world, as if by this they expected infallible ſaluation, and plenarie remiſſion of ſins, the which he ordayned to be opened euerie hundreth yere. And let

An. 1300.

Krantzius in Saxon. l. 8. c. 36.

B but the Reader here obſerue how this ſacred ceremonie was derided and mocked euen by the Author, and inuentor thereof: *Before him* (ſaith the Hiſtoriographer) *the Popes neuer dreamt of troubling Chriſtendome with ſuch glorious feſtiuities: & to ſhew his pompe and maieſtie, in this Iubilie, which then was celebrated in Rome, he is reported to haue ſhewed himſelfe on the firſt ſolemne day, to all the people in his* Pontificalibus, *beſtowing vpon them his Apoſtolicall benediction; but the day after, he preſented himſelfe in imperiall habit, which was verie reſplendent and remarquable, in an imperiall Diadem; when hauing a naked ſword borne before him; and ſitting on a throne he vttered with a loud voyce: Behold here two ſwords.* And now Authors exclaime, *Here, O Peter, thou ſeeſt thy ſucceſſour; and Sauiour Chriſt, thou maiſt here diſcerne thy*

Krantzius ibidem. John Marius Belga, lib. antiq. quinto. Liberties of the French church. Extra Tit. de maioritate, & obedientia C. vnam ſanctam Eccleſiam.

C *Vicar*: (The which words notwithſtanding, many father vpon himſelfe.) See to what height the pride of the ſeruant of ſeruants is mounted vnto.

And becauſe he would not be ſatisfied in theſe extremities, he proſecuted the matter hotly in effect: For he publiſhed a decretall, which is in the extrauagants, wherein he peremptorily declared: *That faith vrging vs thereunto, we were bound and obliged to beleeue one holie Catholike Church, and that to be Apoſtolicall.* And from this he brings vs to the Roman Church, to obey one Pope: to whom in the perſon of *Peter* it was ſayd, *Feed my ſheepe*: ſo as whether they were Grecians or others, *they were not to be accounted Chriſts ſheepe except they obayed him. In this*, and his power, ſaith he, *are comprehended two ſwords, that is the temporall, and ſpiri-*

D *tuall, as in the ſayd goſpels we are taught: For the Apoſtles ſaying to our Sauiour, Behold here two ſwords; that is to ſway in the Church: when the Apoſtles thus ſpake, our Lord did not anſwer, It was too much, but, It was ſufficient. And queſtionleſſe he that denies, the temporall ſword to bee in Peters power, ill vnderſtands our Lords words when he ſaies, Put thy ſword into the ſcabberd*: Arguing out of theſe words quite contrarie to the Fathers ſence made thereof, *That both the materiall and ſpirituall ſword, was in the Churches power; but the one to be vſed for the Church, the other of the Church: one by the hand of the Prieſt, the other by the hand of Kings and ſouldiers; but this by direction and permiſſion of the Prieſt, that is of the Pope: but*, ſaith he, *one ſword muſt be vnder another, and the authoritie temporall muſt be ſubiect to that*

E *ſpirituall: For when the Apoſtle ſaies, there is no power but of God, and that power which is, is ordayned of God; and ordayned it ſhould not be except one ſword were vnder another, and as the inferiour were not by another reduced to ſupremeſt power*: And here againe ſhamelеſly againſt his owne vnderſtanding and conſcience, he cites the Apoſtle in theſe words (behold the place) *Let euerie ſoule be ſubiect to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God, and whatſoeuer power it is, is ordained of God*. In which words, by all the Fathers explications, it is manifeſt that the Apoſtle in this place meant temporall powers, he in thoſe generall words, excepting no man from their obedience, of what qualitie or order ſoeuer he were.

Then

Then he goes forward, *affirming, That we muſt needs confeſſe the ſpirituall power ſo farre in dignitie and worth to excell the temporall, as things ſpirituall goe beyond things temporall: and thus the propheſie of Ieremie is verified in the power of the Church and perſons Eccleſiaſticall, Behold this day I haue ſet thee ouer nations and kingdomes, with the reſt which enſues. If therefore any temporall power erre and offend, he muſt be iudged by the ſpirituall; but if the ſpirituall inferiour ſwarue or erre, he muſt be tryed by his ſuperiour.* Which ſence of that place none of the Auncients euer applied to the Pope: and thus he might eaſily be victorious, where he had no oppoſite. But if this ſupreme ſpirituall power ſhould offend, whether in this caſe muſt be our refuge? I pray you ſee how perſpicuouſly he reſolues this doubt, *If this ſupreme power erre, he muſt onely be iudged by God and not by man, the Apoſtle teſtifying, The ſpirituall man iudgeth all things, but he is iudged of no man:* but is this ſpirituall man of *Paules* to be onely vnderſtood by the Pope, doth he not there rather oppoſe one to another, the man meerly animal and liuing, to the man ſpiritual, the man regenerat by the ſpirit of God, to one vnregenerat? and haue all the faithful this power to judge of Kings and Princes as their ſuperiours? Is the Biſhop of Rome then onely a faithfull one, in that he onely aſſumes to himſelfe this power and prerogatiue? And thus in their Decretalls the Popes make as meere a mock of the Scriptures, no leſſe than Roman Paſquill doth. Yet notwithſtanding out of theſe ridiculous antecedents he impudently concludes, *We therefore affirme, declare, determine, and pronounce, That vnder paine of ſaluation euerie creature muſt be ſubiect to the Pope of Rome.* But now let vs ſee how wicked an vſe he makes of ſo impious a Decretall.

1. *Cor.* 2. *v.* 14. & 15.

After the Emperour *Rodulphes* death there grew a ſchiſme and rend in the Empire, there concurring at the ſame time a vacancie of the Popedome; for part of the Princes, eſpecially the Eccleſiaſticall, choſe *Adolph* Count of Naſſau, and the other part *Albert*, *Rodolphes* ſonne. But when *Boniface* came to be Pope he reiected them both, vnder this pretext, that without his approbation they could deſcend to no election. Hereupon grew a ciuile warre in Germanie, and at laſt a battell was fought, wherein *Adolph* was ſlaine, ſo as then *Albert* came to be eaſily confirmed in the dignitie by all the Doctors. When the Iubile was ended he ſent embaſſadours to Rome to haue his election by him ratified and confirmed; But *this ſtout Prelat made anſwer, That without his authoritie the election paſt was not validious*, affirming, that he *had in his hands the power of both ſwords.* Another pregnant teſtimonie he gaue of himſelfe in the Eaſterne Empire: *Charles* Count of Valois, brother to *Philip le beau* king of France, maried *Katherine* daughter to *Baldwin* Emperour of Conſtantinople; he permitted him to inuade the Eaſterne Empire, out of which his father in law was driuen, vnder colour (ſayth *Platina*) of vſing his aid in an expedition to the Holie Land, but rather, in truth, to conſtitute him his Lieutenant in Tuſcan, for the extirpation of all the Gibellines. And at laſt he grew to that height of inſolencie, as that he commaunded by authoritie Apoſtolicall, all Prelats, Clerkes, and perſons Eccleſiaſticall, to pay no tributes, tenthes, twenties, nor hundreds, to any lay powers, to Emperours, Kings, Dukes, Counts, Barons, or inferior Lords, &c. as alſo that they ſhould impoſe nothing vpon them, vpon paine of incurring excommunication: enioyning the like to all communities and gouernements, vpon paine of interdiction, from which they could not be abſolued before the verie point of death, and that by the Pope himſelfe. A bold enterpriſe, very iniurious and preiudicial to all Princes and magiſtrats, which notwithſtanding preſently tooke effect in England, where the Clergie

Krantzius in Saxon. l. 8. c. 36.

Platina in Bonifac. 8. Extra in Sexto l. 5. c. 23. Clericus.

Matthæus Weſtmonaſt. in Floribus Temporum, an. 1302.

A gie proudly anſwered the king returning from a warre with the Scots, That it was no more lawfull for them to pay tribute; which he hearing, preſently layd hold of all the Clergies temporall goods: where he alſo by expreſſe Patents forbad the attempting of any thing againſt Scotland, becauſe *pleno iure*, in true right and equitie, it belonged to the See of Rome. Thus farre he preuailed without any reſiſtance: but attempting the like oppreſſions in France, he light vpon king *Philip* the faire; who making no ſuch extraordinarie account of his decretall, to the great benefit and emolument of all Princes, *curbed as we ſee and bridled his* vnjuſt inſolencies.

B OPPOSITION.

In the yeare therefore 1301, *Boniface* ſent the Biſhop of Pamiers into France to *Philip* the faire, *a man verie like himſelfe in pride and arrogancie*, to ſtir him vp to a ſacred warre, with no greater fidelitie queſtionleſſe than his predeceſſours formerly had done. He furniſhed his Legat with imperious and menacing Letters vnleſſe he ſtoopt at his beck, to thunder out againſt him excommunications, as alſo the Legat out of his own froward diſpoſition, inſerted with his perſuaſions, verie vnſeemely and diſtaſtfull words. But *Philip* could not digeſt ſo great arrogancie, for apprehending his Legat, he committed him in cuſtodie to the Archbiſhop of Narbon, while he ſhould further determine of him: *Boniface* grew into a rage herewith, and ſent the Archdeacon of Narbon, by birth a Roman, to *Philip*, by whoſe embaſſie he commaunded the king forthwith to ſet his Legat at libertie: the Biſhops and Peeres of Fraunce alſo were enjoyned to appeare in Rome at a Councell by a certaine day. But *Philip* mouing ſome ſcruple herein, the Pope proteſted that the kingdome of Fraunce did belong to the Roman Church; and therefore he ſhould refraine the gouernement thereof, committing the ſame to him and the Church: forthwith he abſolued his ſubjects from the oath of fidelitie, ſpeaking to them perſonally that were preſent; and for want of obedience in this point, he ſuſpended *all the indulgences, pardons, and graunts*, which vnto that day the Popes had giuen to the kings and kingdome, preſuming of his owne head to inuent and deuiſe, That in the Treaſorie of Rome he found a certaine record which made mention, that Fraunce belonged to the Pope. *Philip* being exaſperated with theſe threatnings, forbad the Prelats to goe out of the kingdome. The Pope ratled out his excommunications the more againſt him, becauſe he had layed hands on a Biſhop, diſpoſed of the goods of ſeats vacant, and inueſted Biſhops. True it is that *Philip*, to juſtifie and confirme his owne right, freed the Biſhop out of priſon, but ſnatching the Bull out of the Archdeacons hand while he red it, he gaue the ſame to *Robert* of Artois, to be burned in the Palace Court at Paris, commaunding him preſently to withdraw, which he did. And here it is not amiſſe to ſee, what letters he brought, and what he returned: Theſe of *Boniface* were of this tenour, *Feare God and keep his commaundements: We would haue you to vnderſtand that both in Spirituall and Temporall things you are ſubiect to vs: The collations of benefices and prebends no wayes belong vnto you; for though you haue the vacancie of places, in your cuſtodie, yet reſerue the fruits and profits thereof to the due ſucceſſours: And if you haue conferred any, we denounce ſuch collations voyd; or being alreadie paſt, we reuoke them againe: and whoſoeuer beliefe otherwiſe, we declare them heretikes.* Philips of returne, were to this effect: *Let your groſſe foolerie take notice, That in matters tem-*

An. 1301.

Henricus Stetton. in Annalib. Ann. 1301. *Chronique de S. Denys. Paulus Æmilius in Philippo Pulchro. Blondus Decad. 2. l. 9. Naucler. vol. 2. Generat. 44. Bochellus Decret. Gallican. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 32. Chronic. Monfort. Theodor. à Nyem. Guilelm. de Nangis. Ieanle Maire de Belges.*

temporall we are ſubiect to none: the collation of certaine Churches and Prebends vacant, belongs vnto vs, out of our regall prerogatiue, and the fruits and benefits during their vacancie ſhall be ours: That collations formerly conferred by vs, and to be conferred hereafter, ſhal be validious, and by vigour and force of thoſe grants we will ſtoutly defend their poſſeſſors againſt all men: and whoſoeuer thinks otherwiſe, we repute them to be but fooles and mad men. Euen as he was anſwered by *Peter Flot*, *Philips* embaſſadour, to the like menaces and threatnings, *Your ſword is verball, but my Soueraignes ſword is reall.* And here our countrey man *Iohn Tillet*, Biſhop of Meaux, is worth the hearing, *Let vs but behold* (ſaith he) *this mans impudencie, who dares affirme the kingdome of France to be feudatarie to the Papall Maieſtie.* And yet more fooliſh are they who ſoeuer goe about to debate whether the Pope may doe thus much or no.

Platina in Boniface. 8. Nauclerus vol. 2. Gener. 41. Chron. Martin. manuſcriptum.

During theſe controuerſies the States of the kingdome aſſembled at Paris, *aſſiſted with all the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prelats, Decretiſts, Diuines, and Maſters of Faculties*; before all whom the Biſhop of Narbon making an oration, hee produced ten ſeuerall heads of accuſation againſt *Boniface*; *Firſt, That he was a Symoniſt: Secondly, in that he ſaid he could not commit ſimonie: Thirdly, That he was an homicide: Fourthly, an vſurer, which was moſt manifeſt: Fiftly, That he gaue no beliefe to the miniſters of the Euchariſt: Sixtly, in that he affirmed the ſoule to be mortall, and there was no other ioy but of this preſent life: Seuenthly, becauſe he was a reuealer of confeſſions, for he enforced a Cardinall to reueale vnto himſelfe a confeſſion that was made vnto him by a certaine Biſhop of Spaine; which being knowne he remoued the Biſhop from his place, but the Pope afterwards being pacified with money, he reſtored him againe: Eightly, becauſe he kept two of his owne neeces as concubines, and had begotten children by either of them (O fertile and luſtie Father:) Ninthly, becauſe he had granted all the tenthes of Eccleſiaſticall goods for an aid of warre againſt the French king: And tenthly and laſtly, for that he entertained the Saracens into pay for the inuaſion of Sicilia.* Wherefore he appealed vnto the See Apoſtolicall, as he ſayd, then vacant, and vnto the next Councell. In the meane while it was enacted vnder grieuous penalties, That no man might tranſport any gold or ſiluer out of the kingdome, to the vſe or ſeruice any wayes of the Court of Rome. Wherewith *Boniface* burſting for anger, calling a Councell at Rome, hee impoſed his interdiction vpon the kingdome of France, excluding out of the Church the king himſelfe and all his poſteritie, to the fourth generation: ſending the Archdeacon of Conſtance, to thunder out theſe things in all parts, whoſe journey notwithſtanding was cut ſhort by the apprehenſion of himſelfe and of his Bull, at Troyes. And now *Boniface* reſolued to confirme *Albert* in the Empire, whom before he had ſo often repelled, ſo he would promiſe to vndertake a warre againſt *Philip*, and to inuade his kingdome; vpon which condition he gaue him both the titles of king of Romans, and king of France. But *Albert*, doubtleſſe out of his wiſedome and diſcretion, refuſed theſe offers; but to the end he might not make him his open enemie, his anſwer was, That he could not entertaine theſe offers, except he would permit the perpetuation of the Diademe Imperiall to his poſteritie and familie. But in the meane while this warre turned into royal nuptials; and ſo reiecting Pope *Boniface* his vaine and hollow counſell, he embraced *Philips* affinitie and alliance by the mariage of his daughter.

Albertus Argentin. in Chron. Krantzius in Saxon. l. 8. c. 37.

And *Philip* ſeeing himſelf entangled *with an implacable man*, reſolued to make an end of this great altercation & ſtrife. As formerly we heard, *Boniface* had depriued the Cardinals *Colonnaes* of the hat, & their vncle *Sarra* wandring vp and down by ſea & land, fel into the hands of pyrats; who now had nothing left but only his wil and

and deſire of reuenge: a certaine noble man of France knew him as he was faſtened to an oare with a chaine in the Tryreme of a Pyrat, and ſo ſuing for his libertie he priuily conueyed him to king *Philip*. Now the king was formerly determined to ſend *William Nogarete* of Narbone, a gentleman by birth, into Italie, to declare vnto Pope *Boniface* preſentially, how the king appealed from him to a Councell, and whatſoeuer came of it, to put vpon him ſuch an affront as his inſolencie worthily deſerued. *Philip* therefore joyned *Sarra* with *Nogarete* in commiſſion, and *Nogarete* made ſome ſtay at Sienna, about taking vp ſome money out of the Bank of the Petrucci, while *Sarra* in diſguiſed habit viſited and ſolicited his old friends, but aboue all others he ſecured to his partie three hundred French horſe, which being remainder companies of the Sicilian warre, trouped vp and downe here and there: Wherefore betimes in the morning he ſuddenly ſurpriſed Anagnia, where *Boniface* then was, in his fathers houſe; who vpon ſo ſudden a tumult, being ignorant what the matter ſhould be, roabing himſelfe in his Pontificals, hee ſat on a throne, and *Nogarete* entring in, ſhewed him the Appeale in the kings name, ſignifying, that the Pope muſt come to Lyons, that ſo afterwards he might be depoſed of his dignitie, in France: and taking him by the necke, when he made ſome reſiſtance, he gaue him a good blow on the cheeke with his gantlet; and cauſed him to be carried to Rome. The Hiſtorie relates, That when they had taken him they ſet him on an vnbridled horſe, his face turned to the horſe tayle, and ſo they made him runne as long as he had any breath in him: *This Boniface* (ſaith the Author of *Mounforts* Chronicle) *who lately made Kings, Popes, Prelats, and oftentimes the people, to tremble and feare, now ſuddenly in one day both feare, trembling, and griefe, aſſayled and ouerwhelmed, and thirſting ſo much after gold, he now loſt the ſame, that all ſuperiour Prelats may learne by his example not to tyrannize too inſolently ouer the Clergie and people, but rather be an example to their flock, and to take care of thoſe vnder their charge, ſtriuing more to be loued than feared. The ſame Boniface, who* (ſaith *Platina*) *ſought rather to ſtrike terrour and feare into the minds of Emperours, Kings, Princes, nations, and people, than there to plant religion and pietie; as he that at his pleaſure would giue and take away kingdomes, expell, and reduce men backe againe, greedily thirſting after gold, howſoeuer gotten or come by.* But after this juſt judgement he fell into ſuch a deſperation and madneſſe, as ſome thirtie dayes after he yeelded vp his life; giuing occaſion of a prouerbe, which did as it were epitomize his whole Popedome, *He entred like a Foxe, liued like a Lyon, and dyed like a Dog.* Some ſay, thus much was preſaged vnto him by *Celeſtine* in theſe words, *Aſcendiſti vt Vulpes*, thou didſt aſcend like a Foxe. The Tuſcan ſtorie queſtionleſſe deliuers it written, That in the election of Popes it ranne by way of propheſie, *Intrabit vt Vulpes*, which the hiſtorie called *Faſciculus Temporum* notes to haue beene fulfilled in euerie reſpect: *This Pope grew to ſuch an height of arrogancie, as he would ſtile himſelfe to be the Lord of all the world, as well in things temporall as ſpirituall: and many things he did out of magnificence, which at laſt failed moſt miſerably.*

Platin. in Bonifac. 8.

Ranulph. in Policronico l. 7. c. 39. Walſingham in hiſtor. Angl.

Concerning matters of doctrine, there flouriſhed at this time in France one *Robertus Gallus*, a man verie famous, who of a Prelat became a Dominican, and as it ſeemed he did not approue of the manners and cuſtomes of that Order. There is a booke of his extant at Paris, comming forth together with the propheſies of *Hildegard*, wherein comprehending certaine viſions of his owne, in the fift chapter he calls the Pope *Idolum, an Idoll*; and he brings in God ſpeaking in theſe words, *Who ſet this Idoll on my throne, to command ouer my flocke? he hath eares, yet doth he not heare the clamor and crie of thoſe that lament and deſcend downe into hell, though their*

howlings drowne the sound of trumpets, and the fearefull claps and reports of the thunder. Eyes he hath and yet he sees not the abhominations of his people, nor the exorbitancies of their pleasures: what wickednes does his people performe daily in my presence & yet he will not looke into it, except he may gather money and coyne thereby: A mouth he hath, and yet speakes nothing, for it is enough for him to say, I haue appointed those shall speake good things to them; it sufficeth that either by my selfe or others I doe good. Accursed bee that ydoll, and woe be to him that set it there, for who can bee equall to this ydoll vpon earth? For hee hath magnified his name vpon earth, and sayd, who shall bring me vnder? Is not my familie linked with the most Noble of the earth? I exceed them in all my sumptuous fare: Knights and Nobles serue me, that which was neuer done to my Fathers is done vnto me; Behold my house is paued with siluer, and gold and gemmes are the ornaments thereof. Could that place of Zacharie be more fitly applied to the Pope? O Pastor idolum, O ydoll Shepheard: In the first, and twelfth Chapters, in the figure of the Serpent, he describes the Pope, or Antichrist, who extols himselfe aboue measure, oppressing the godlie, though they be but of a verie small number, and beeing enuironed with many false Prophets, who, in contempt of God, and Christ, onely preach and magnifie him, contrariwise, obscuring and defacing the name of Iesus: In conclusion, deciphering the Roman Church, *I did pray* (saith he) *on my knees, with my face towards heauen, nere to the Altar of S. Iames, at Paris, on the right hand, and I saw in the ayre before me the bodie of the onely high Priest, clad in white silken Roabes, and his backe was towards the East, and his hands lifted vp towards the West, as Priests duely stand while they say Masse: I did not see his head; and beholding wistly, whether he were altogether without an head, or no, I saw his head leane, withered, and as if it had beene all of wood: and the spirit of the Lord sayd, This signifies the state of the Roman Church*, that is to say, wherein there is no bloud nor humour of life remayning. That it might also signifie what maner of bread she distributed to her children; *Againe*, saith he, *intending the same worke another day, I saw in the spirit: And behold a man of the same habit went about, bearing on his shoulders delicat bread and excellent wine: and the bread and wine hung downe on his sides, but he in his hands held a long hard stone gnawing it with his teeth, as an hungrie man would doe bread, but effecting nothing at all: out of the stone came two Serpents heads; and the spirit of the Lord instructed me, saying, Curious and vnprofitable questions are this stone on which the hungrie chew, and gnaw, omitting points substantiall for the saluation of soules: And I sayd, And what meanes those heads? And he answered, The name of one of them, is Vayne glorie, and of the other Difference of religion.* Was it possible in more significant words to expresse the Sophistries & cauillations of these times, which hauing the word of God readie at hand to distribute vnto the people for their nourishment, they rejected this (though this was a burthen layed vpon their shoulders) continually liuing, and dying, in chewing, and eating of idle and contentious questions. The which, in like manner the Prophet obiects to the Iewes, *Why lay you out your money for no sustenance, and bestow your labour in a thing that affords no repletion?* As also in the vision before he thought that he saw the Church reformed: *I saw* (saith he) *a certaine cleare bright Crosse of siluer, like the Crosse, the Armes of the Counts of Toulouse; but those twelue Apples which are in the extents of the Crosse, were like certaine rotten corrupt Apples cast vp by the Sea: and I sayd, Lord Iesus, what meanes this? and the spirit sayd vnto me, This Crosse, which thou seest is the Church, which through puritie and cleanenesse of life shall be bright, and resonant through the shrill voyce of the preaching of veritie: and being*

Esay 55. v. 2.

being inquisitiue, I said, What is meant by these rotten and corrupt apples? and he sayd, The future humiliation and digression of the Church. The which crosse vndoubtedly did truely decipher the Church, in that the crosse of Christ is the Churches saluation; the true preaching of this crosse the exact reformation of diuine worship, inuolued in humane traditions, which doe but obscure the glorie of the Crosse, and euen cast a blacke cloud ouer the Church. And yet *Posseuine* the Iesuite calls this Author, *An excellent preacher of the word of God.* Neither need we to doubt, but that in such a general coherence of the French Clergie against *Boniface*, there were many more who together with *Robert* discerned both the Popes tyrannie, and the Churches deformitie. For king *Philip* in the yeare 1302, when hee made his progresse through the Prouince of Narbon, heard many complaints made to him against the Inquisitors of the Faith; who participating in all forfeitures and confiscations, they apprehended whom they thought good, without due proofe condemning them: whereupon the Vidame of Piquigni was constrained to goe personally to the Court of Rome, to release those that were innocent and guiltlesse out of their prisons. Whereunto we may annex, That the same *Nogaretes* father, who by *Philip* the Fairs iniunction tooke Pope *Boniface*, was burnt in Languedoc, for the opinions of the Waldenses: for these Waldenses did not only persist and go forward in France, but euen out of the bloud which the Inquisitors daily shed, their steps and impressions grew more frequent & famous ouer all Italie and Germanie. In Italie, where *Boniface* with all rigor & seueritie, rooted out those whom he called *Fratricellos, The brethren*, whose principal Doctors were, *Gerardus*, disciple to *Sagarellus* of Parma, & *Dulcinus*, disciple to one *Nouarius Hermannus*, who while he liued, being in Italie esteemed for a Saint, was afterwards by Pope *Boniface* his commandement digged out of his graue at Ferrara; whom notwithstanding, after their manner, they accused of sixe hundred seuerall foule crimes, now plainely conuinced to bee false and vntrue, because they seriously did inculcat, and aboue all other things beat vpon this point, the aduersaries themselues bearing witnesse, That the Pope was Antichrist, the Church of Rome the Apocalypticall Babylon; and that they who would faine seeme and appeare to be spirituall, were reiected of God. And no man will presume there was any iust cause why they should vndergoe such impietie and crueltie from *Boniface*, a most vnconscionable and prophane Pope: yet we see that at the same time we find them to haue beene in Germanie.

Possevinus in Apparatu tom. 2. An. 1302.

Paulus Æmilius in Philippo Pulchro. Guido Perpinian. de Hæresib. Blondus Decad. 2. l. 9. Gulielmus de Nangiaco. Nicholaus Emericus l. 1. Inquisitionum.

Hereunto we will annexe, That vnder *Nicholas* the fourth, *Peter* the sonne of *Iohn de Besiers*, a Franciscan, made the Postille vpon the Apocalyps, wherein he refers all those speciall places to the Roman Church, the which he calls *a carnall Church, the Synagogue of Sathan; and the Pope mysticall Antichrist, as also his Prelats Antichrists members:* For which cause he was condemned of heresie by the Inquisitors: and because they could not come by him when he was aliue, they pluckt him out of his graue being dead. And also *Peter Cassiodorus*, an Italian, who writ that vehement and persuasiue Epistle to the English Church, *Super Cathedram Mosis sedent Scribæ & Pharisæi; cuinam illos æquiparabo? &c.* Wherein he exhorts them to shake off the yoke of Antichrist, with his vniust and continuall exactions. And these things fitly lead vs vnto the fourteenth Age.

Guido Perpinianus de Hæresibus.

Bernard. de Lutzemburg. de Hæresibus. Nicholaus Emericus l. 1. Inquisitionum.

A

56. Progression.

Benedict the eleuenth succeeds Boniface: he is poysoned, and Clement the fifth, a French man, obtaines his place. Henrie sonne to the Count of Lutzemburg going into Italie to be crowned Emperor, was poysoned in receiuing the Hoast. Clement dyes in the way betwixt Vienna and Bourdeaux.

B*Enedict* the eleuenth, a Tuscan, of the Dominican Order, succeeded *Boniface*, being elected by the Cardinals at Perugia, whither they were retired vpon *Boniface* his ouerthrow. At his first entrie he excommunicated *Nogarete* and the inhabitants of Anagnia, which assisted his enterprise; but so he restored both *Iohn* and *Iames Colonna* to be cardinals, and yet they were commaunded for a time to refraine wearing of the hat. King *Philip* he absolutely released of all censures, restoring to him all those priuiledges that *Boniface* had taken from him: but in the ninth moneth of his Papacie, as many write, being killed with a poysoned fig, he dyed. Wherefore in the yeare 1305, after ten moneths altercation, the Cardinalls chose *Raymond Goth* a Gascoine, Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, who was absent, who tooke vpon him the name of *Clement* the fifth. He vnderstanding of his owne election, commanded presently all the Cardinals to repaire to Lyons, who forthwith obey: and he determining to transferre the Papall See into France, made choyce for that end of the citie of Auignion; which also liked the Cardinals so well, as there it continued for seuentie foure yeares. Some say the cause was, in that there they might more freely wallow in their delights than in another place, though this no doubt they might haue done in Italie: but this seemes to bee the more solide reason, Because at Rome, through the supreme authoritie & power of the Senators and Nobilitie, they were kept within due bounds, being oftentimes driuen with their whole Court to remoue to Perugia, Viterbe, Oruietto, Anagnia, and Assisia; And his predecessors hauing in diuers voyages into France met with a more open & courteous conuersation, hauing here greater reuerence vouchsafed them than at Rome, as not being there yet so plainely discouered and looked into: These men also hoped they should more peaceably raigne in Auignion, and from hence, with lesse opposition, extend their authoritie and power ouer other nations. Doubtlesse *Herman and Occam, Friers Minorites, who were renowmed Diuines, in this contentious age of the Church, lay vpon this Pope the notes of wonderfull ambition, auarice, and sensualitie*: but more particularly *Villanus* and *Antoninus*, who peremptorily write, That he kept a concubine publikely in Auignion, who was daughter to the Count *de Foix*: Moreouer, *That all the vices, crimes, sinnes, impieties, and flagitions, which formerly possessed the Roman Church, vnder a vale and cloke of vertue and pietie, did openly and most impudently in this man habituat and grow shameless.* And hereupon our whole countrey of France brought forth little better fruits, if you consider looose and lasciuious liberties: for *Clemangis* Archdeacon of Baieux sayes, *That Rome might cleerely herein discerne the imminency of her own ruine & ouerthrow, because leauing that citie for her odious & abhominable fornications, she fled into Auignion, where the more freely, the more openly & shamelessely, she discouered the courses of her simonies and wicked prostitutions, and so brought strange and corrupt manners into our France, which were the introductors of many other calami-*

B

C

D

E

Thomas Walsingham in Chronico. Leandro Alber. An. 1305.

Nicholaus Clemangis in l. de corrupto Ecclesiæ statu.

A *calamities.* As also for forensiall delayes and trauerses, because they taught vs all the wiles and subtilties of the Roman Court, and the verie stile and forme of the Rota, which vtterly extinguished our naturall simplicitie, so as we could neuer afterwards be repurged of these corruptions. Neither shall you read of any man who alledged, That Rome was S. *Peters* seat, or that wee must goe thither where the holie Ghost had his residence. Out of question Auignion, which liked and pleased them well, was then to them no lesse the same than the other: whereas now at this day they referre the vniuersal Church to Rome onely, as also onely to Rome this seat and chaire. When the Cardinals came to Lyons, they crowned *Clement* with a wonderfull concourse of nobilie from all parts. King *Philip* and his
B brother *Charles* were present, which *Charles* was lately returned out of Italie, and had not faintly furthered *Clements* election: *Iohn* also Duke of Burgondie, and many other Princes: The recourse was such, as at the entring in of the multitude a wall instantly falling downe many were crushed, amongst whom *Charles* the kings brother and the Duke of Britaine were sore hurt, and the Pope himselfe was ouerthrowne, and his Myter strucke from his head, whereof one jewell of inestimable price was lost: And all these things presaged disaster and ruine. This made all men beleeue that he transferred the Papacie into France for some speciall end, because this new Pope at his first entrie created many French Cardinals, in whose hands lay the whole authoritie and power of election: Then on the other side,
C that the Romans might not grow into any great discontent, he sent them three Cardinals, on whom he conferred the dignitie of Senators, that so they might in some sort supplie his absence.

Now in the yeare 1308, *Albertus* being slaine, the electors chose for Empe- *An.* 1308.
rour *Henrie*, sonne to *Henrie* Count of Lutzemburg, called the seuenth, being a Prince of noble valour and fortitude, imposing on him the Diademe at Aquisgrane: who presently sent embassadours to *Clement* being at Auignion, to obtaine at his hand, that his coronation might be celebrated at Rome: which *Clement* yeelded vnto vpon this condition, That within the space of two yeares hee should goe into Italie. But *Henrie* not attending an appointed day, passing the
D Alpes, came into Italie, where he found many cities of the Guelphish faction, ill affected towards him, who had formerly bound themselues vnto him in very strict league, as also *Robert* king of Sicilia, the Popes friend, who supplied them with forces, to erect strong garrisons where speciall need did require. An armie in like manner he brought with him, to defend their league and societie. But so on the other side many that receiued him with great applause, suffered him willingly to haue both succours, and captaines, but especially in Lombardie, which being more remote from *Robert*, was the lesse subiect to his plots and stratagems. When he came to Viterbe the Clergie and people of Rome met and saluted him, conducting him honourably to Rome. At his entrie he discouered a conspiracie on
E foot against him, and therefore for his securitie he bound the Nobilitie to him by oath, and put sufficient defensiue forces into all the strong places. Many also adde hereunto, That out of a new and vnknowne example he would haue exacted a tribute of the people on the same day when other Emperours contrariwise were woont to giue great largesse. For these respects therefore the Guelphes found fit opportunitie to stirre vp the people against him, especially being backed by *Robert* king of Sicilia, who, vnder colour of honouring this festiuitie, was come thither. *Henrie* therefore being crowned at S. *Iohn* Laterans, leauing the citie to the Cardinals, was enforced to retire to Tiuoli, whither he being gone, they then ma-

niſeſtly ſhewed, how they were not ſo preciſely enjoyned to ſet the Crowne on his head, as to forbid him the Citie. For vpon his occaſion, *Clement* preſently enacted this Law, That the elected kings of Romans in Germanie, could neither be held nor taken for abſolute Emperours, before they receiued this title and inueſtiture from the Popes owne hands: and moreouer, That during the Interregnum, and vacancie of that dignitie, the Pope ſhould rule and commaund ouer all the Cities and precincts of the Empire. But the controuerſie betwixt them laſted not long; For this good Prince going towards Sienna, and beſieging Bonconuento by the way, in few dayes after he was poyſoned, whereof he died. Out of the precedent Storie, let the Reader conjecture of his death, although in this point all writers conſent that this poyſon was adminiſtred to him, by one *Bernard* a Dominican, who was *Henries* confeſſor, in the Hoaſt, from whence grew this verſe.

Henricus Stevon. in Annalibus ſub annum 1313. Clemens Ne ſede vacante aliquid innouetur. Idem de ſententia & de re iudicata, Colleuc. lib 5. Henricus Stero in Annalibus Trithem. in Chron in Abbate Hen. 13.

Iure dolet mundus, quod Iacobita ſecundus,
Iudas nunc extat; mors Cæſaris hæc manifeſtat.

The world much grieues, a Iacobine, making great ſhew of pietie,
Should proue a ſecond *Iudas*, poyſoning th'imperiall Majeſtie.

And ſome affirme, the Popes Legat, inſtigating him thereunto. They that put their hands into theſe practiſes, beleue they vnfaynedly (thinke you) in their hearts Tranſubſtantiation? Others relate, that the Dominican Prieſts in commemoration of this haynous deed, were commaunded afterwards to communicat onely with the left hand. An indictment was framed againſt this criminall by *Henrie* Count of Flanders, and other Noble men of the Armie; but the partie, after he ſaw the effect of this poiſon, made an eſcape. *Auentine* notes, that *Clement* became an enemie to *Henrie*, becauſe in receiuing the Crowne he denyed to take an othe before the Cardinals, ſaying, *How, it was againſt the cuſtome of his predeceſſours, and the libertie of Chriſtian religion, that a Prince of Princes, and Lord ouer all the whole earth, ſhould be put to an oath by a ſeruant of ſeruants*: By meanes whereof, he ſtirred vp *Robert* of Naples and other Princes againſt himſelfe: then he perceiuing this *Robert's* practiſe to take away his life by poyſon, appointed him a day of triall, when he meant to haue pronounced him a rebell and Traytor, and ſo haue ſtript them of his kingdome: But *Clement* gaue him to vnderſtand, that it belonged not to him, to diſpoſe any way of the kingdome of Naples, but to the Roman See, of which he held in homage.

Clement being made Pope, by *Charles* Count of Valois his procurement, according to *Antoninus*, he promiſed by ſolemne oath, to performe ſix things, which are ſet downe, both in *Antoninus* and other writers. Firſt that he ſhould abſolue all thoſe that had colleagued againſt *Boniface*, and that he ſhould redeliuer the hat to the Cardinals *Collonnaes*: one thing he reſerued to be propounded in due and conuenient time, which was to raſe out the verie memoriall of *Boniface*, excluding his name out of the Catalogue of Popes, and to diſinterre his carcaſſe. In the yeare therefore 1310, in Auignion, *Philip King of Fraunce being publiquely excuſed by him of ſome matters that hee had attempted againſt the memorie of Boniface ſometimes Pope, hee pronounced further in the Kings behalfe, That what hee did hee did out of a good mind, intention, and zeale, the Kings Orators, beeing then preſent: and theſe things conſequently as hath beene ſond were*

Antonin. parte; Tit. 21. c. 1. para. 3. Villan. in Hiſtoria Florent.

An. 1310. Cronic. Martini. Chronic. Monfort. Thom. Walſingham in Chronico.

A *were confirmed by the teſtimonie of the Popes Bulls: this buſineſſe was preſently referred to Pope Clement, who in this Proceſſe of Boniface tooke vpon him to bee both accuſant and defendant, the Pope vndertaking both to examine, and finally to determine this controuerſie. Item, At the ſame time Pope Clement abſolued William de Nogarete of the ſentence of excommunication which was laid vpon him for the ſurprizing of Pope Boniface.* A further clauſe of fauour was added by the conſent of the whole Conſiſtorie, which was, That neither the kings nor kingdome of France could not be ſubiect to any excommunication or interdict: which Bull is reſerued in the Treaſurie of the Charters. *Momforts* Chronicle ſayes expreſly, *That he reuoked two of Bonifaces Decrees, one wherein he had written to the king, That he was ſubiect to the*
B *Church of Rome both in ſpirituall and temporall things: and another inſerted in the ſixt of the Decretals, whoſe beginning is, Clericos &c.* The *Colonnaes* were alreadie prouided for; but the defacing of *Bonifaces* memorie remained yet to be performed, being ſufficiently conuicted by *Philips* teſtimonie, and the abſolution of the attemptors: but this poynt was referred to the Councell of Vienna, which began about the end of this preſent yeare. There it was debated on the behalfe of king *Philip*, That *Boniface* was to be condemned for an heretike; which three Cardinals aboue all the reſt vehemently argued: but at laſt the ſtronger partie ouercame, partly becauſe the Cardinals by him created feared leaſt by this meanes they ſhould endanger their owne places; and partly, becauſe *Clements* election,
C wherein their hands bare the ſtroke, might wonderfully by this proceeding bee weakened and diſioynted. But certaine it is, that king *Philip* was ſo perſeuerant in this affaire, *That by ſpeciall meſſengers* (ſaith *Walſingham*) *he with much importunitie demaunded the bones of his predeceſſor Boniface to be burned as an heretike.* And this queſtionleſſe he did not without the conſent of the Pariſian Senat, and of the Sorbon. *Walſingham Chronic.*

In this Councell three heads were propounded, The affaire of the Templers, The warre of the Holie Land, and The reformation of the Church. The Templers were condemned both of hereſie and other crimes, and hereupon cruelly burnt in many places, proſcribed ouer all Europe, and ſpoyled of their goods.
D And yet many Authors affoord teſtimonies of their innocencie, as *Bocatius, Villanus, Antoninus, Naucleras, Auentinus*, and others: Some ſay, that greedineſſe of enioying their goods brought vpon them this proſecution; and herein they blame *Philip*, and *Clement* himſelfe, who would denie him nothing. Others affirme, that the Popes choler was incenſt againſt them, becauſe they deteſted the Court of Rome, which was the onely cauſe of all the miſeries in Chriſtendome; and of the vtter deſtruction of the Holie Land. So as by no torments nor cruelties of puniſhment inflicted, they could be brought to confeſſe the crimes impoſed and layd vpon them. And they of Germanie proued their owne innocencie in an
E (ſaith he) *which alledge that Iames Burgond, Principall of that Order* (ſome call him *Molanus*) *being brought forth to dye, and enuironed with a mightie multitude; while the fire was a ſetting about him, and being offered his life, and releaſe of that paineful puniſhment, if confeſſing publikely that which he had deliuered during his impriſonment both of himſelfe and his whole Order, he vttered theſe words: In theſe my laſt actions, it being vnpardonable impietie to lye, I freely and frankely confeſſe, that I committed a great offence both againſt my ſelfe and my Order, and that I haue therein deſerued a moſt tormenting puniſhment, becauſe in fauour of them for whom I ſhould not, and allured with the ſweetneſſe of life, I haue in my tortures ſlanderouſly impoſed many impieties and de-*
Paulus Æmilius in Philippo pulchro.

tractions,

tractions, vpon my Order, which hath euer deserued well of the Christian religion. I haue now no need of a life obtained by intreatie, much lesse retained by lying and defamation. And then being set to the pile, and fire kindled about the nether parts of his feet, to wring out from him some confession, euen when the flames began to wast and frie his entrails, he neuer swarued from the constancie of his former speech, or shewed the least change or alteration of mind, neither he, nor two others of his Order, being of a great familie, one of which was brother to the Dolphine of Vienna. From hence the Reader may easily obserue and judge of the calumniations and slanders that the Popes in all ages haue imposed and laid vpon their oppugnants. Some Authors of no small esteeme adde, That two Cardinals were present at this execution, and that this great Master summoned Pope *Clement* before the tribunall of the euerliuing God, to answer to the judgement and sentence hee had denounced against him; who some fortie dayes after died justly on the same day: for this execution was the eleuenth of March, and he dyed the twentieth of Aprill, a moneth after the publication of his *Clementines*.

Supplementum Martini Parad. in Historia Burgundica.

For that which concernes Palestina. The crosse was published to be assumed against the Turkes, with a more ample and large grant of Indulgences than euer before, that is to say, Whosoeuer tooke vpon them the Crosse for this expedition, he could not incurre damnation, in these plaine words, *We will not that he be subiect to the torments of hell: We further granting to those that be signed with the Crosse for this end, three or foure soules at their pleasure to be deliuered out of Purgatorie, by their supplications and prayers.* Whereat the Parisian Diuines were wonderfully scandalized, and so much the rather, because there was a speciall clause annexed to this Bull, *We commaund the Angels, that absolutely freeing the soule from Purgatorie, they conduct it into the glorie of Paradise.* Conformable to a doctrine taught then by themselues and their adherents, That the Pope could command the Angels as his officers and serieants. And many copies of this Bull are yet reserued at Vienna, Poictiers, and Limoges.

As for Church reformation, little or nothing was spoken at all, as shall appeare in the section ensuing. But by the conclusion and shutting vp of *Clements* life we shall see what manner of man he was, which with such confidence tooke vpon him to dispose of Paradise. These be therefore the verie words of *Antoninus* himselfe: *After the celebration of a generall Councell in the yeare 1313, Clement going from Vienna to Bourdeaux, fell sicke by the way, and dyed. This man, as Chronicles relate, was too much addicted to concupiscence, and for this cause the sinne of simonie, so deeply detested, and punished by the Canons, tooke deepe root in his Court, about the recommendations to benefices. And whereas some say, That simonie cannot concurre nor stand with the Pope, S. Thomas sharpely reproues them. Besides, it is reported, That when he was departing out of this world, a certaine nephew of his, whom he had sensually before affected* (marke well these words) *brought in one that was skilfull in the art of Negromancie, that by his wicked art he might seeke out how his nephew should be disposed of in another life: who putting in practise his skill, he caused one of the Popes Chaplaines, a bold spirited man, to see the places infernall, and a Palace wherein was a firie bed, on which this the Popes nephew lay: All which being related to the Pope, he was neuer after seene to be merie, but within a while departed: Whose bodie being layd in a certaine Church, with many lights about it, in the night the Church was burnt with fire, and his bodie from the leynes downe to the feet.* And yet this is he which in his Clementine, *Pastoralis, We, as well out of the superioritie which vndoubtedly we haue ouer the Empire, as out of the power by which (in the Empires vacancie) we are to succeed the Emperour, but more especially*

Clement. l. a. tit. 11. de sententia & reiudicata C. Pastoralis.

ally out of the fulnesse of that power which hath pleased Christ the King of kings, and Lord of lords, in the person of blessed S. Peter, to conferre vpon vs, &c. doe decree and ordaine. May we not rather beleeue, by the poynts aboue mentioned, that hee tooke his power from him that sayd to the Lord, *I will giue thee all these kingdomes, if falling downe thou wilt worship me?* This is he also that commaunded *Corpus Christi* day to be kept holie of all men, in a Councell at Vienna, which was first instituted by *Vrban* the fourth, and then afterwards came to be neglected againe, and therefore he granted new Indulgences, which is to say, *To all* (saith he) *penitents and confessed which shall be present at the Matines of this feast, in the same Church where it is celebrated, shall haue 100, and he that is present at Masse as many: as also they that were present at the first beginning of Euen-song of the same feast, 100, and they that were at the second as many: and they that were present at the offices of the first, third, sixt, and ninth houres, and at those completorie, for each of the houres he had graunted forte Indulgences: And to him that was present at the Matines of the Octaues of that feast, and the Masses of the foresayd houres, he obtained an hundred for euery day of those Octaues; And trusting in the mercies of God we release him of all enioyned penances.* Can we better judge of these inuentions, than by the inuentors themselues, who made but laughter and scorne of these things, whether in life or death? And yet abusing the reuerence fallly by them vsurped, they dare presumptuously vpon any occasion offered, most vnworthily dare and prouoke Princes and Emperors. This was the Pope, amongst others, who being angrie with the Venetians for taking of Ferara, exposed them all both in generall and particular to bootie and spoyle; so as they might haue beene brought vnder slauerie and seruitude. To be redeemed from which miserie, they sending *Francis Dandulo* to require absolution in their names, after many detractions & delayes, the matter was thus concluded, That he lying prostituted at his feet so long as the Popes pleasure was, to obtaine the same, he was enforst, with a coller of yron about his necke, by way of penance, like a dog to lye vnder his table; and therefore amongst his countrymen he was tearmed *Canis*, a Dog. And yet *Baronius* would needs excuse the cruelties of *Alexander* the third against *Frederick* the first, *Because* (saith he) *to be true, it digresseth too much from the accustomed clemencie of the Popes.*

Lib. 3. Clementinarum tit. 16. de reliquijs & veneratione sanctor.

OPPOSITION.

When *Clement* published the Councell of Vienna, to giue some hope of Church reformation, he commanded *Durandus*, Auditor of the Rota, and Bishop of Mende, a French man (vulgarly called the Visitor or Examiner) to digest certaine principall heads thereunto tending, to bee propounded in this Councell. There is a treatise yet extant, whose title is, The celebrating of a Councell, printed at Paris *Anno* 1545; this booke began with a sharpe reprehension of the Roman Clergie, with an intention, if he might haue beene heard, or beleeued, not to haue spared them a iot: *They follow* (saith he) *the way of Balaam of Bosor, who loued the reward of iniquitie, and bore the chastisement of his owne madnesse: for a dumb Asse speaking to him in a mans voyce, discouered the Prophets follie and impietie. The same happens amongst vs at this day, seeing so many foolish and dissolute parts are played in the Church of God, by the sayd Ecclesiastical persons (who should be a light vnto others, as candles set on candlesticks, according to that which the Lord sayth) as that they dull and amaze the sence both of Iewes and Pagans: yea, and they who are altogether depriued of the vnderstanding of diuine wisedome, doe detest their follie, and their by and digressing*

sing steps from Gods pathes, they correct, and convince by a sounder vnderstanding. And
Tit. 2. therefore he briefly sets downe what course must be held to effect a reformation:
By a sacred Councell (saith he) both Kings and Popes ioyning their hands toge-
ther, we must haue recourse, First to the Law, to the Gospell, and to the Coun-
cels approued and confirmed by the instinct of the holie Ghost, as also to good
and wholesome humane lawes; *And what soeuer we find to the contrarie to haue beene*
attempted in worldlie gouernement, let it be reformed and amended, as well as may be, and
the contrarie no wayes permitted to escape vnpunished. Let all abuses, customes, dis-
pensations, priuiledges, liberties, and exemptions, which are opposit to the same
reformation, be removed, being to be reputed but meere deprauations and cor-
Tit. 2. ruptions. Secondly, Let the Popes themselues conforme their words and deeds,
both to diuine and humane lawes, submitting themselues thereunto for imitati-
on sake, and setting forth examples of those things to be performed in themselues,
for their followers and subiects to imitate and behold: but otherwise, if they
themselues swarue and digresse from lawes and precepts, desiring rather to ouer-
rule and commaund, than to aduise and counsell their subiects, *Their honour will*
swell vp into pride, and what was ordained for concord will turne to offence and discord.
Thirdly, It cannot be denied, but that the Roman Church hath in many things
declined from the Institutions of the sacred Primitiue Church, and from the sen-
tences and approbations of the holie Fathers, Councels, and Decrees, *So as it ap-*
peares to haue vtterly forgotten the first Institutions, although wee should preser the
truth of the holie Scriptures before any custome, how auncient soeuer. Fourth-
ly, That the Popes should not easily permit causes and controuersies to be trans-
ferred out of their Prouinces to be decreed in the Court of Rome. That Eccle-
siasticall gouernement was manifestly confounded, when the Popes place benefi-
ces depending on the Bishops, yea and that before their vacation; so as it is to bee
feared, that the Roman Church hooking all to her selfe, will giue an occasion to
verifie the prouerbe, *Qui vult totum, perdit totum, All craue, nothing haue.* And here
he inueyed against the promotion of strangers, whose voice the subiects could not
heare, they neither vnderstanding the people, nor the people them, being there-
fore vnworthie, blind leaders of the blind: And thus the whole Church may
come to be ouerthrowne. Fiftly, He spake also against Simonie, which in the *Ro-*
Parte 2. tit. 2. 11. 12. 20. 21. Titul. 32. eiusdem partis & 4. *man Court so raignes* (saith he) as if it were no sinne. Plurarilitie also of benefices
he reprehended, and Cardinals pensions, wherewith the Bishoprickes were char-
ged; as also other benefices perpetuated to the Popes nephewes and kins-
men, which neuer dye, nor are vacant: and that Saint *Gregorie* the Great re-
fused the title of Vniuersall Bishop, neither would haue had any other to as-
sume this nomination: Further, *That the old Popes in their Epistles were woont to*
preferre other Bishops before themselues; which hee proueth by examples: and
therefore the Church of Rome was so to be honoured, that the reuerence and
honour due to other Churches might not likewise be abridged, he auerring, That
the Canon of the Councell of Miletum was to be confirmed, *Vt vnaquaq; causa in*
sua prouincia terminetur. Sixtly, That it seemed very behouefull in this Councel to
allow the mariage of Priests, seeing hitherto they had idly and in vaine bin vrged
to chastitie, the Priests of Greece being permitted to marie, as also it was vsed in
the Apostles time. Seuenthly, *That hand-labour was to bee imposed vpon Monkes*,
conformable to the customes in times past in the Churches of Ægypt, who
would by no meanes receiue any Monke which had not learnt some trade or my-
sterie; marie aboue all the rest, it was no wayes to be suffered that they should dis-
charge

A charge pastorall Offices, minister the Sacraments, visit the sicke, or burie the dead, *Part. 2. Tit. 53 & Part. 3. Tit. 16 & 28. Part. 2. Tit. 57. Part. 3. Tit. 15. & 16.*
and much lesse therefore the Mendicants. Eightly, That the abuse of Images
was necessarily to be suppressed, and the sale of indulgences and penances: as al-
so the vagrant libertie and rouing of Monkes in their Sermons, who leaue the
sacred Scriptures, to preach the mere inuentions of men. Ninthly, Returning
euer to the first poynt, That there was no hope nor meanes of reforming the
Church, either in policie, discipline, or manners, except that of Rome would be-
gin with an example, whose corruptions in euerie respect he displayed; except
the Pope, before all others, prescribed a Law to himselfe, and were comprehen-
ded within sacred Lawes, both diuine and humane, affecting nothing in any wise
B to the contrarie, nor performing nothing without the aduise and direction of his
fellow Bishops, seeing they hold the place of Apostles, on whom Christ con-
ferred equall power and dignitie with *Peter*, not on the Roman Courtries: Ex-
cept also, the primacie of the Roman Church might be distinguisht by Eccle-
asticall and secular Lawes, and that the Pope would forbeare to be called the
highest Priest of the Church vniuersall, taking this person vpon himselfe which
Gregorie vtterly forbad. But, saith he, *The Church vniuersall suffers much scandall* *Part. 3. Tit. 32.*
by the bad examples of the Roman Church, and the whole people in generall are infected,
the rulers of the people, according to Esay, tollerating by this meanes the name of the
Lord to be blasphemed: For, according to S. Augustine, nothing more confounds or
C *hurts the Church of God, than when it is sayd, That the Clergie is worse than the*
Laietie. And from hence he proceeds to the rapin of Legats, Nuntios, and of al the
Popes Ministers, the exactions of indulgences, of priuiledges, of dispensations,
the excesse and pride of the Pope, and his Prelats, by many degrees surmoun-
ting that of any King or Prince: as also, therewithall, the ignorance and negli-
gence of a number, whereby innumerable soules perish. And then here againe he
exclaimes, casting away all hope, as in case of a most desperat disease: *Oh what* *Part. 3. Tit. 28. & seq.*
a griefe is this, saith he, *for the saying of the Prophet Esay, seemes now to be verified e-*
uen in the Church it selfe, Chap. 34. in the figure of the Citie of Babylon, glorious a-
bone other Kingdome, and renowned for the pride of the Chaldees, of whom it is sayd,
D *It shall be a denne of Dragons, a pasture for the Estriges, the Diuels shall there meet,*
and the Onocentaures, the hairie Hobgoblins shall crie out one to another, the Sorcereese
shall there haue her couch, there the Scrich-Oule shall haue his nest, and bring vp his
young ones, there the Kites assemble, and meet one with another. Also, *I would the* *Part. 3. Tit. 28. & 50.*
words of the Prophet Esay might not be verified vpon the Clergie, when he sayd, This
people honors me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me: with many other pla-
ces occurring in this treatise, which is verie worthie to be wholly read ouer, nei-
ther will the Reader repent his paines taken. But in the meane while, these good
admonitions brought forth no fruit: Contrariwise, in this Councel, that Decre-
tall came forth, which begins, *Pastoralis* &c. wherein *Clement* magnifies himself far
E boue the Emperors, seeing he was Vicar to the King of kings; & no other reforma-
tion was wrought, than that which proceeded from the ridiculous Law, whose be-
ginning is set downe in the Clementines: *I came out of Paradise, I sayd I would wa-*
ter the garden of plants, saith that heauenlie husbandman, who was the true fountaine of
wisedome, the word of God proceeding from the Father, in the Father remayning, be-
gotten from all eternitie &c. But in vttering these words, see what he adds: *That*
is to say, this garden is the sacred order, and institution of the Friers Minorites, which
being immured round about, with the walls of regular obseruance, and satisfied onely
within it selfe, with Gods comforts, is wonderfully adorned by the new plantations, of ini-
tiants

tiants and nouices, which throughout all this prolixe Bull he ſtudies and contends A
to ordaine, that ſo thoſe weightie ſcruples might be remoued, wherewith they appeared to be vexed: as whether they were bound to obſerue all the commaundements comprehended in the Goſpell, as alſo whether all the Councels, or ſome onely, and particularly the precepts of veſtments, what ſtuffe or cloth they ſhould be of, what colour, what length, what breadth, what forme. Profound myſteries doubtleſſe of the Chriſtian religion, and worthie the diſcuſſion of a generall Councell, of which notwithſtanding he ſo ambiguouſly determined, as not long after by new Decrees they were driuen to preſcribe and order them.

Dant the Florentine Poet flouriſhed alſo in that time, who amongſt the writers of the ſame age obtained the prayſe both of pietie and learning: hee writ a Tra- B
ctate, whoſe title was *Monarchia*, wherein he proued, that the Pope was not ſuperiour to the Emperor, hauing no right nor prerogatiue ouer the ſame; which is diametrally oppoſit to that Clementine, *Paſtoralis*, wherein the Pope peremptorily arrogates to himſelfe both the one and the other: hee proceeding thus much further, when in his Canto of Purgatorie he ſayes,

Di hoggi mai che la Chieſa di Roma,
Per confonder in ſe due reggimenti
Cade nel fango & ſe bruta & la ſoma.

C
The Church of Rome which now will needs confound
And joyne in one two diuers gouernements,
Her ſelfe defiles in dirt, and brings her keyes to ground.

He refutes alſo the donation of *Conſtantine*, that it neither was *de facto*, nor could be *de iure*, and therefore by ſome he was condemned of hereſie: *There are a third ſart* (ſaith he) *whom they call Decretaliſts, ignorant and vnlearned in all Diuinitie and Philoſophie, who cleauing abſolutely to their Decretalls, putting all their hope, as I ſuppoſe, in the vigour and force of them, they derogate from the Empire: And no marueil, when I haue heard one of them ſay, & conſtantly auerre, That the traditions of the Church were the foundation of faith: which wicked opinion and beleefe let them baniſh away far from them, thoſe men, I meane, which before the traditions of the Church did beleeue in Chriſt the Sonne of God, either to come, preſent, or paſt, and ſo beleeuing they hoped, and hoping were enflamed with charitie, and being thus diuinely enflamed, the world makes no doubt but they ſhall be coheires with him.* In his Poeme of Paradiſe, written in Italian, he complaines, That the Pope of a Paſtor was become a Wolfe, and diuerted Chriſts ſheepe out of the true way, and therefore the Goſpell was forſaken, the writing of the Fathers neglected; they relied onely on Decretals, no man thinkes on Nazareth, where *Gabriel* diſplayes his wings, but the Popes and Cardinals only repaire to the Vatican, and ſome other ſelected places of Rome. Theſe things (ſaith he) were the abſolute euerſion of Chriſts warfare impoſed vpon *Peter*, whoſe pure doctrine in the meane while lyes deepely buried at Rome. In times paſt war was made vpon the Church by the ſword, but now the ſame is inflicted by a famine, that is, by taking away the bread which God allotted for the nouriſhment thereof, this being denyed to no man, which is the preaching of the holie word: *But thou* (ſaith he) addreſſing his ſpeech to the Pope, *which by the Chancellor onely writeſt thus:*

Dante del Paradiſo c. 9. & 20. Del Purgatorio c. 32.

Cogi-

A
Cogita Petrum & Paulum, qui mortem oppetiuere
Propter vineam, quam vaſtas, etiamnum viuere.
Potes tu quidem dicere, firmum habeo deſiderium.
Sic ad eum, qui voluit viuere ſolus,
Quique per ſaltus fuit pertractus ad ſupplicium,
At qui nec piſcatorem agnoſco nec Paulum.

In another place he deliuers what an vnworthie thing it was, that the holie Scriptures were either wholly layd apart, or violently peruerted: That there was
B no conſideration had with how much bloud they were planted in the world, and how highly they accept of him that comes to them in humilitie of heart and ſpirit: Whereas on the other ſide euerie man applauded himſelfe in his owne Fictions and Comments, but the Goſpell was buried in ſilence. The publike chayres and Oratories reſounded nothing all the yeare long but vaine queſtions, and meere fables; and ſo the poore ſheep being fed with the puffes of wind, pined and conſumed away: with many other things which might bee produced out of his workes, againſt the Popes Indulgences, and the abuſes of the Roman Church, the which he ſo liuely deſcribes, that one may moſt eaſily perceiue how he plainly acknowledged her to be that Whore in the Apocalyps.

C It is a thing verie memorable, That at this time *Frederick* the third, king of Sicilia, a moſt religious Prince, was ſo moued with the depraued gouernement of the Church of Rome, that he began to doubt of the veritie of the Goſpell; but being vrged by a viſion, wherein his mother appeared to him with her face vncouered, and whom he knew by theſe words, *My ſonne I giue thee my bleſſing, that thou mayeſt ſtudie daily to obey the trueth*, hee ſent for *Arnold de Villa noua*, who was then of great eſtimation amongſt all men, that by his aſſiſtance he might bee reſolued in his doubts. His principall doubt was this, Whether the doctrine of the Goſpell was an humane inuention, or a diuine tradition. And here three things principally diſturbed his mind; Firſt, That the whole Clergie, as well great as ſmall, *Colloquium Frederici Regis & Arnoldi de Villa noua.*
D conformed their liues no wayes according to the Goſpell; they diſcharged ſacred offices but euen for forme ſake only, or elſe in verie mockerie & ſcorne, and for the gouernement of ſoules they tooke no care, being contrariwiſe tranſported with all violence to vice and vaineglorie. Secondly, In that the Monks, who ſeemed to draw neerer to Apoſtolicall integritie, they were now ſo ſwarued and ſtrayed from the wayes of God, that in reſpect of them not onely the ſecular Clerkes, but euen lay men themſelues might rather bee juſtified, they being ſerpents and vipers, without any ſpirit of pietie. And there he deciphers them by all the notes of diſhoneſtie, by hypocriſie, impietie, crueltie, rapine, wantonneſſe, diuine contempt, incredulitie, and alſo about the verie Goſpell it ſelfe. Thirdly, That in a
E doctrine ſo weightie, and of ſuch conſequence, he could not ſufficiently wonder at the negligence and careleſneſſe of the See Apoſtolicall. When he ſent into diuers countries, he was by ſome inquiſitiue what progreſſion the Goſpell made: who returned him anſwer, They could diſcerne no ſuch matter, and that outwardly no courſe nor care was taken for the propagation of the Goſpell; as alſo inwardly no greater ſtudie imployed for the extinguiſhing of ſchiſmes, but rather of nouriſhing and ſetting them on fire. The Legats were daily entangled in worldlie affaires, being little carefull either for the promotion or preſeruation of the Goſpell. And conſulting with ſome Friers about his viſion, many made an-

swer, it was but an illusion. Diuers out of this made implication, That his mother was yet in Purgatorie, and wanted prayers and suffrages. But *Arnold de Villa noua*, by many reasons and examples, and especially, in that her admonition was consonant to the words of the Gospell, plainely affirmed, That questionlesse this vision was of God, and thereupon exhorted him earnestly, to serue God according to his vocation, to performe justice and charitie, to prouide as well for the cause of the poore as of the rich; and for matters belonging to God, hee should continually preferre them before all humane respects and considerations. For the doctrine of the Gospell, that he must firmely auerre and beleeue, that all the doctrine of the Euangelists is the verie doctrine of God: That Iesus of Nazareth is the Christ promised vnto the Auncients for a Sauiour, euen God himself which created the whole world: which may be confirmed not onely out of the Articles of the Creed, but also by such euident demonstration as no man could oppugne or infringe: And setting downe the same in writing, he deliuered it him.

Then for the reasons of his wauering and being in doubt, they were of that nature, as they rather strengthened the beleefe and truth thereof, than any wayes impaired or weakened the same; especially the first and second, which touch the deprauations and corruptions of Regulars and Seculars, because our Sauiour himselfe, being the foundation of the Church, both by his owne, and by the words of his Heraulds, foretold expressly, That this should come to passe in those times, and that not onely in the Canonicall Scriptures, but further as much hath beene exhibited to vs in the reuelations of the holie Church, by many sacred persons of both sex and kind, which the holie Popes with singular zeale and deuotion haue reserued in secret Records of the Apostolicall See, *Euen as* (saith he) *I haue seene, and handled with these my hands in the soueraigne citie.* For the third point, of the negligence and carelesnesse of the See Apostolicall, That which our Sauiour Christ did in his owne time, and would shortly againe performe, might satisfie him: he formerly did it in that he twice commaunded, That the See Apostolicall should be taxed *with a diabolicall Apostasie*; first vnder *Boniface* the eighth, and lastly vnder *Benedict* the eleuenth, and that sometimes *with plenitude of directory light: For* (saith he) *the denouncer declared, first, that the things he denounced proceeded not from himselfe, neither was he stirred vp by any motiue of his owne to declare these things, but by the illumination and precept of the Lord of lords. And so he laid open vnto them both the place, time, and meanes, he meant to make choyce of in the declaration of them. Secondly, he denounced vnto them a deceitful snare of Sathan layd for their seduction, in so much that openly these two things were inculcated to them: First, That they had counsellors and assistants about them, who were the Angels of Sathan, who vnder shew of religion, and a cloke of true zeale, should endeuor to mislead them from the sifting & clensing of the aboue mentioned Decrees & Statutes.* Thirdly he declared to them, That if they *should neglect to execute this message, God would make them tast a presagement of he eternall iudgements, so as it was told Boniface in writing, that he should fall into such and such a danger and confusion, and hee tooke no heed thereof, till he tasted the same: As also the like in writing was insinuated to Benedict, That if hee neglected the same hee should swiftly bee throwne downe from his seat; and from the day hee read this hee sat not aboue fiue and thirtie dayes more: So as neither the things written to him, nor the fearefull euents of his predecessour, could moue him to beleeue, but hee contemned all things. Fourthly, for illumination and motiue, many diabolicall and abhominable deprauations were declared particularly vnto them, of many of that state formerly mentioned, which is to say, That those things aboue expressed were verie seuerally layd*

A *layed open; and moreouer, other things in this forme: Certaine pestilent men disseuer and rend the Citie of the celestiall Lambe, especially in the State which so much glories of the hight of all Euangelicall perfection; they subuert veritie Euangelicall, and ouerthrow the edifice thereof, in the people, not onely by peruerse workes, and examples, but by corruption of doctrine in their Sermons and preachings. For they preaching in the deluſion, and subtiltie of malignitie, doe sometimes alledge indirectly, otherwhiles impertinently and peruersly applie, and sometimes sophistically distinguish and most improperly expound. And thus the truth of the Scriptures was by them darkened and not clearely deliuered to the Auditors, but Gods sayings they did adulterat and falsifie. And in the spirit,* saith he, *of Antichrist they endeauour to diuert the*
B *people from excellent ordinarie Priests, and to plucke the Sheepe from their owne proper Pastours, by so many meanes, and in such sort as particularly are expressed in the writings, reserued to this day in the treasurie of the See Apostolicall. Fiftly, the same writings obiected vnto them the diueliſh plague of the inquisitors of that State and others: That is those, who bought* these offices in Prouinces, *not for the reducing of those that erred into the way, but rather that by mere calumniation and slaunder, they might thrust the man righteous and of good conuersation, into the furious oppressions of diuels and Tyrans:* where hee enueyes mightily against diuers coinquinations, which raigned commonly amongst them, as also the frauds and deceipts wherein they maintayned themselues: which being prolix and long, I would rather referre
C to the Reader, to peruse them in *Arnold*: but yet these things ensuing by him prosecuted, are no wayes to be omitted: *They burne and condemne the Scriptures,* saith he, *as superstitious and erronious, expressing the veritie Euangelical, declaring the mysteries of the sacred texts, and touching too nerely to the quicke their transgressions and vncleanesse, not vpon any erronious or false, but onely for some ambiguous and doubtfull saying. They forbid all the Colledges of that state, to read or studie the foresayd holie Scriptures, vnder payne of death, and so by damming vp the well of the water of life, they denie the vnderstanding of the holie Oracles, and this water of life to those that are thirstie and crie out for the same.* Sixtly, because the Popes were by this denunciation enjoyned to reueale these things in the behalfe of God vn-
D to men; which plainely appeares out of such writings which the holie Fathers left both at Rome, and in the auntient Monasteries: but they beeing wholly oppressed with spirituall lethargie, would giue no eare to any good thing, or to extirpat Christs opprobrie on earth, but beeing bewitched as they were, made choyce rather to embrace most palpable and euident lies, than the mysterie of the truth and of the Gospell. And therefore the whole Church was so infatuated by these seducers, as that she tooke the disordered multitude, which supplanted and rooted out the Gospell, to be a Religion and Order. Seuenthly, That this denouncer, exciting the vniuersall Church in these instigations, That she would preuent the Gospels extirpation, all notwithstanding out of consent and
E compact, turne aside her eare, either condemning the message, or raging against the Herault, That amongst them all, not one arose vp, endewed with Catholicall veritie, armed with justice Euangelicall, and encouraged by the equitie and righteousnesse, of this celestiall warfare, who would so much as say, *This man is zealous, for the honour and glorie of Christs spowse, and the saluation of soules: Let vs therefore examine and diligently by experience make triall, whether those things hee speakes, and declares, tend to the conuersation or corruption of the Gospell: But the Senat was all mute, and onely because he reuealed the blemishes and defects of the spowse vnto the Bride-groome (out of a zeale obscuring and healing these wounds) he was*

whipped: And they that bore the colours of Euangelicall ſanctitie, perſecuted him more A *cruelly than any other ſtrangers, not onely in renouncing the rules of equitie and theri-tie, but moreouer laying apart the bridle of all humane modeſtie, they laboured to pollute innocencie, and to deſtroy the innocent.* He concludes notwithſtanding, That *Frede-derick* ſhould in no ſort be ſcandalized with this negligence of the See Apoſtoli-call, for theſe reaſons to make any doubt of the infallible veritie of Chriſts Goſ-pell, ſeeing he himſelfe foretold as much long time before, and God had now in one ſelfeſame time made twice denunciation thereof: and this Herauld being vn-worthily repulſed, ſcorned, and caſt into bonds, was not at all therewith ſhaken, nay, more conſtantly and firmely than euer before, he perſeuered in the Faith: *For I know* (ſaith he) *that God will yet the third time denounce his predictions to the Seat A-* B *poſtolicall, but by whom, where, or when, I preciſely know not, becauſe it is not reuealed vnto me. And if this See receiues the denunciation, proſecuting it with Moſes and Phi-neas zeale, he will honour her by his diuine power, both with all auncient and new glories: but if ſhe neglect and contemne the ſame, bee aſſured that God within the fore-ſaid three yeares, will bring vpon her moſt fearefull and terrible iudgements, ſuch as ſhall giue wonder and amazement to the Eaſterne and Weſterne parts, what manner of ones I will tell you before my departure in the ſence ſpirituall.* And certainely much about that time grew that great and long diſcord betweene the Emperor and the Pope, *Lewis* of Bauaria then wearing the Diademe. But this Denouncer and Herauld, C of whom mention hath beene made, was queſtionleſſe *Arnoldus* himſelfe, being a man then verie famous all Europe ouer, for the knowledge of all Tongues and Arts; who deliuering a ſpeech about Church reformation, at Rome, anſwer was returned him, Meddle in Phyſicke, and not in Diuinitie, and we will honour thee: *In which words* (ſaith he) *they endeuoured to ſeclude Chriſts little ones out of the field of Diuinitie, deſiring onely to haue this field poſſeſſed by Giants*; that is, with ſuch as make warre againſt God. *Frederick* therefore being moued by *Arnolds* relations he reſolued in himſelfe verie curiouſly to ſearch out the truth of the Goſpell, to frame his life according to Chriſts doctrine, who is truth it ſelfe, and can only be-ſtow on men eternall life: That he would by all labour and endeuour procure D the propagation thereof, rooting out whatſoeuer was aduerſe and oppoſit there-unto: And he exhorted the king of Aragon his brother to doe the like, whom by letters he certified of all the proceedings; to which he likewiſe with the ſame re-ſolution and intention made anſwer. Both of them are yet extant, being dated in the yeare 1309.

We alſo read an Epiſtle of king *Edwards* to *Clement*, wherein he inferres, how many kings and nobles of his kingdome, from the verie originall of the Church, had religiouſly built many Churches, liberally endowed them, and placed there-in verie ſufficient and fit miniſters, ſo as the Catholike Faith might the more ſpread and encreaſe among the people and nations ſubiect to him: and by this E meanes the Lords vine did wonderfully grow and ſpread; *But* (ſaith he) *a thing much to be grieued at, the verie branches of this vine are degenerated into briers and brambles, and the wild boares of the foreſt extirpate it, and all the wild beaſts feed there-on.* But if you doubt whom he meant, obſerue, *while* (ſaith he) *the impoſitions and promiſions of the See Apoſtolike, which daily grow more burdenſome, contravie to the in-tentions of the donors, and the beſt benefices are conferred on ſtrangers, and thoſe many times verie vnworthie, and not altogether free from iuſt ſuſpition, who are not reſident in the ſayd benefices, know not the countenance of thoſe ſheepe committed to their charge, nor vnderſtand not their language.* And hee ſet many diſcommodities before his eyes,

A eyes, that thereof enſued, to the vnſpeakable and wonderfull detriment of the States Temporall and Spirituall, both of Church, Kingdome, and people: earneſtly requeſting him, That he would forthwith remedie theſe inconueniences, becauſe ſo principall an euill was no wayes to be ſhuffled vp: *The ſucceſſor* (ſayth he) *of the Prince of the Apoſtles receiued a commaundement from Chriſt, to feed, and not to feed vpon, the Lords ſheepe; to confirme and ſtrengthen, and not to ſuppreſſe and tread vpon, his brethren.* But becauſe *Clement* opened not readily his eares to theſe things, *Edward* forbad the Annates to be conueyed out of his kingdome, as alſo that Pre-lats ſhould not goe perſonally to Rome for their ordination. The Epiſtle began thus, *Penſata ſedis Apoſtolicæ clementia, &c.*

B The Waldenſes continued ſtill in diuers Prouinces, and vnder diuers nomina-tions, according as their aduerſaries were for the moſt part pleaſed to impoſe vp-on them: for we ſee that in Lombardy they were called *Fratricelli, Little brethren*, and becauſe they hated the Pope, the Roman Court, and ſuch as had brought in deprauation and corruption, both into doctrine and manners, they were not one-ly moſt cruelly put to death, but further by calumniation and detraction made in-famous to poſteritie, in many kinds of vncleanneſſe, though their opinions were neuer any other than thoſe of the Waldenſes and Albigenſes, being in the grea-teh part conſonant to the confeſſions of the reformed Churches. This is moſt ap-parent out of the relations of *Raynerius*, a writer of thoſe times, who ſayth he was C preſent both in Lombardie and other places, when they were examined by the Inquiſitors: But formerly, out of his workes, we extracted thoſe things that were pertinent to their confeſſions, that they need not here any further repetition. Concerning their manners, he writes, they were modeſt, ſimple, medling little with bargaines or contracts; to anoyd lying and deceit, liuing on their labour, be-ing content with a little, chaſt, and ſober, inuiting others by their example to cu-rie good thing. Moreouer, hee addes, That the firſt rules and inſtructions which for rudiments they gaue vnto their children, was the Decalogue of the Law, the ten Commaundements of God, that they ſhould learne to abſtaine from thoſe ſinnes which vulgarly were called *mortalia*, mortall: all which poynts haue ſmall D coherence with the diſtaſtfull detractions impoſed vpon them by many. *Clement* therefore commaunded the Croſſe militar to be taken vp againſt them, expoſing theſe poore ſoules to prey and ſpoyle, proſcribing them to be ſtripped both of life and goods, and foure thouſand of them he deſtroyed, being aſſembled together in one place. Others of them recouered the inacceſſible and inſuperable places of high mountaines, where, till Pope *Eugenius* time, which was about an hundred yeares after, our Author *Antoninus* ſayes, they abode. And theſe be the verie race of them from father to ſonne, which we ſee in the vallies of Oſte, Angrogne, and other places. The ſame opinion is held of them which at the ſame time were but-ned in great numbers within the town of Crema, in the Duchie of Auſtria, which E the Abbot of Hirſaug, beleeuing his predeceſſors, taxeth with the ſame faith and beleefe, inuoluing the truth in many lyes and fictions: Yet by his teſtimonie it is manifeſt that they reiected the Maſſe, as vaine and vnprofitable, and the conſecra-ted Hoaſt, a god inuented by men; affirming that the Church of Rome was a congregation of vnfaithfull, and not a Chriſtian aſſemblie: as alſo the merits and interceſſion of Saints to God, the difference of dayes, and meats, the Roman con-ſecrations, with many other things of this nature, they vtterly deteſted, and held friuolous. What the Author layes further vpon them proceeds from the father of lyes. But he teſtifies, that there were innumerable multitudes of this profeſ-

Antonin. Part. 3. Tit. 22. c. 10.

Chronic. Hirſaug.

ſion, in Auſtria, Bohemia, and other bordering countries; and that one of their Preachers being condemned to be burnt at Vienna, and conducted to the place of execution, more than eightie thouſand vpon the ſame embraced that religion in thoſe parts, of whom many were committed to the fire, in ſundrie places, *But they* (ſaith he) *with ioynt will and conſent perſeuered in their errours euen vnto death.* Now let the indifferent Reader iudge, whether any one could euer cheerefully and ioyfully lay hold of the flames for ſuch haynous crimes and offences as they are imputed and charged withall, much leſſe ſo great a number of all kinds and qualities. Not long after *Lombardus* was taken at Collen, a principall Paſtor amongſt them, who drew vnto him both there and elſewhere many diſciples, by his bookes which were written in the German tongue, and vulgarly diſperſed: Wherin (ſaith the ſame Author) he defended his doctrine, ſtrengthening and fortifying the ſame out of the holie Scriptures: and therefore he was condemned to the fire, *leauing many* (as himſelfe confeſſeth) *both within and without the citie, ſecret profeſſors, and diſciples of his errours.* Moreouer he addes, *That Bohemia being then infected with this hereſie, euen to this preſent day abounds and ſwarmes with ſuch errors & obſcenities, as hereafter in the yere of Abbot Blaſius 17, ſhall more fully be related*; though afterwards it was euident ynough to all the whole world, what the Bohemians were, eſpecially in the time of the Councell of Conſtance, in whom no blemiſh of thoſe corruptions appeared; and therefore *Trithemius* mouth may herein fitly be ſtopt, who tranſported too violently with a vulgar aſperſion, repleniſheth his hiſtorie too plentifully with theſe calumniations.

A B C

57. Progression.

After a vacancie of two yeares, three moneths, and ſcuenteene dayes, the Cardinals diſſenting, and referring it to his owne arbitrement, Iames de Oſſa choſe himſelfe Pope, and was called Iohn the two and twentieth. Lewis of Bauaria ſubduing Frederick of Auſtria, went to Rome with an armie, where, againſt the Popes will, he was crowned, and afterwards he elected another Pope, Peter Corbario of Rietto, being named Nicholas the fift: This Nicholas comming into Iohns hands by treacherie, was caſt into priſon. Iohn dyes at Auignion.

D

An. 1316. IN the yeare 1316, after a vacancie of two yeares, three moneths, and ſeuenteen dayes, during which time the Cardinals could not agree of their election, *Iames d' Oſſa* of Cahors, whom *Platina* calls *Iohn* the three and twentieth, came to the dignitie. The Cardinalls diſſenting, referred it to his arbitrement, to make choice of any one out of their number, whom he ſhould iudge worthie and moſt fit. But beyond all mens expectation, and through Cardinall *Neapolion Vrſinoes* aduice, deluding them all, he choſe himſelfe Pope, and ſo mounting vpon the throne, *I am Pope*, ſaith he. And here *Antoninus* addes, *Though in other elections no man can chuſe himſelfe, yet in the electing of a Pope this is not prohibited, when the election is thus abſolutely referred to himſelfe.* Let the indifferent Reader but cenſure of this kind of vocation to the Seat, by euents enſuing. All theſe things paſſed at Lyons, and not long after he went to Auignion, there to ſettle his reſidence. This *Iohn* was borne of verie obſcure parents, and as it is noted by the writers of thoſe times, he much affected innouations, and was verie ambitious. *Henrie* the ſeuenth being dead, for ſupplying the place of the vacant Empire, the Electors were greatly diuided

E

Antonin. part. 3. tit. 21. c. 4.

A diuided in their voyces, many inclining to *Lewis*, Duke of Bauaria, and diuers to *Frederick*, Duke of Auſtria. *Lewis* to procure his owne coronation, ſolicited by Embaſſadours *Iohns* conſent. *Iohn* alledged, that he had alreadie preſumed to do things euerie way exceeding the power of an abſolute Emperor: and ſo he repelled his entreaties. Then *Frederick* on the other ſide propounded vnto him by Embaſſadours, the demerit and valour of his predeceſſours, *Rodolphus* and *Albert*, both Emperours: His aunſwer was briefe in one word, That *Salomons* ſon was not ſo wiſe a man, and ſo diſmiſſed them: detayning them thus as long as he could betwixt two ſtooles, That he, according to the Law of his predeceſſour, might ſway and gouerne the Empire; the which he challenging out of that law, arrogated to himſelfe. *Lewis*, notwithſtanding, ſtill held his poſſeſſion, and ſubdued *Frederick* in battaile, taking both him and the chiefeſt of the Nobilitie in the field. Afterwards, prouiding for the affaires of Italie, he conſtituted *Mathew*, Vicount of Milan, and reſtored the Gibbellines in many places. When *Iohn* obſerued theſe proceedings, he commaunded him to lay downe the gouernement of the Empire, vnder paine of excommunication: as alſo he ſent a Cardinall, Legat into Lombardie, who vpon the ſame penaltie enjoyned the Vicounts, both father and ſonne to depart Milan: and they vſing ſome protraction, he excommunicated them, interdicted the Citie it ſelfe from all ſacred offices, and armed the Croyſados againſt them. To this end therefore, in the Cathedrall Church of Auignion, this excommunication was ſolemnely thundered out, as ſhall in proper place be mentioned; that *Lodouick* onely making ſome delay in his obedience, might bee charged with hereſie. And hereupon, Italie was diuided into more cruell factions than euer before; and the Guelphes roſe againſt the Gibbellines in the ſelfe ſame Cities, being one fleſhed againſt another, yea the verie Monkes themſelues, ſome holding with the Pope, and others with the Emperour, the Minorites againſt the Dominicans, and the Dominicans rent and diuided amongſt themſelues. Notwithſtanding amiddeſt all theſe tumults, *Lodouick* paſſing through Italie with an armie, was louingly entertayned at Rome: and that he might the better manifeſt to al the world, the incredible loue and conſent of the people herein, he deferred his coronation, while the Nobles of Italie, and the Embaſſadors of Cities, could arriue, which came daily to him from all parts: And then they ſet the Crowne on his head, at S. *Iohn* Laterans, or as ſome ſay in S. *Peters* Church; and at the peoples great inſtance by the hands of *Stephen Columna*, and *Vrſinto d'Vrſini*, he being conſecrated likewiſe by *Iames de Prato*, Biſhop of Caſtello, and the B. of Ellera: for they thought it not requiſit to attend the Popes comming or any Legat from him, becauſe then the gouernment of the city was in the hands of certaine principall Barons, or Nobles, who inſtiled themſelues to be the king of Romans Subſtitutes, they executing full and abſolute authoritie; but they were yearely changed, except the Senat at any time thought good to vſe ſome prorogation: *Lewis* proceeded yet further, by the Romans inſtigation (who had many times in vaine ſummoned and ſolicited the Pope as their naturall Biſhop, to reſide at Rome) cauſing election to be made of *Peter Corbario* of Rietto, a Frier Minorite, by the Clergie and people of Rome, he beeing a verie learned man, and fit for the managing of any gouernement, who was called *Nicholas* the fift: and there were many that he made both Cardinals and Biſhops. Nay and moreouer, *Iohn* being conuinced in a ſolemne Councell of hereſie, he condemned him to be burnt: which ſentence was preſently and publiquely executed in effigie or picture. After the performance whereof, ſetting all things in as good order

B C D E

Blondus Decad. 2. l. 10. Aucntin. l. 7.

Antonin. Part. 3. Tit. 21. l. 6. Parag. 10.

Nauclerus vol. 2.

An. 1327.

order as was possible in Italie, he thought good to returne into Germanie, which A
was wonderfully molested by *Johns* arts and stratagemes. From such a forme of
contention kindled in Christendome, what could bee expected but a generall
confusion? and so much the rather, because some yeares before *John* called *Philip*
de Valois, and other Princes, into Italie, with preualent forces, against *Lewis*; and
the more to endeere vnto him *Philip*, who afterwards came to the kingdome, hee
Antonin.part.3. tit.21.c.6. part. 6.& 9. Auent.l.7. Gulielmus de Naugiaco. permitted him to leuy a tenth of his whole Clergie, vnder pretext of an entring in-
to a warre against the Infidels: which custome his predecessors had formerly ta-
ken vp. Thus all things hung in doubtfull balance, by the variable successe of af-
faires, till *Lewis* in Germanie came to an accord with *Frederick*, who was glad to
An.1334. Supplem. Martini. redeeme his owne libertie by yeelding vp the Empire. Now *Nicholas* the fift, *Johns* B
corriuall in Italie, being deliuered into *Johns* hands by the Pisanes, who reuolted
Antonin.part. 3.tit.21.c.6. part.15. from *Lewis*, he was cast into prison: Wherefore *John* king of Bohemia interpo-
sed himselfe to procure some peace betwixt them vpon conditions; but during
the negotiations, in the yeare 1334, *John* dyed at Auignion, Christendome be-
ing all ouer in turmoyles, but especially all the Prouinces and cities of Italie.

Summa Constit. à Greg.9.ad Sixt.5. vsque constit. paternæ motum. Annales Franciæ. Christianus Massæus in Chronico. Gulielmus Ockham, in opere 90 dierum. Adrianus 6. in quæst. de confirmat.

All Historiographers concurre in this, That *John* left behind him a huge trea-
sure in readie coyne, some say fifteene, and others fiue and twentie *Milliones auri*,
millions of gold, which for those times was verie wonderfull: For vnder colour
of recouering Palestina he gramd and gript all the world. And yet hee was not a-
shamed to admonish *Edward* king of England, That hee should not impose such C
grieuous burdens vpon the Irish, *The gouernement of whom* (saith he) *my predecessor*
Adrian granted vnto you vnder certaine conditions. But by what right or succession,
suppose you, should these people any wayes belong to the Pope? For other mat-
ters, he publikely preached in Auignion, That the souls, yea of the most holie and
faithfull, did not behold the face of God before the last day of judgement:
which he pretended to vnderstand from certaine visions of one *Tundall* an Irish
man. And two Monkes he sent to Paris, one a Minorite, and the other a Domini-
can, to preach this opinion out of his suggestion, and to exhort the Sorbon to im-
brace the same: labouring also the like in other Vniuersities. But king *Philip* of
Valois assembled all the learnedest Diuines of his kingdom at Bois de Vincennes, D
who expressly censured this opinion to be plaine heresie. In these things *Thomas*
Wallis, Durandus de Sancto Portiano, William Caleth, and other Authors, are plenti-
full: *Auentine* addes, *That he read a certaine Epistle of the Diuines liuing amidst these*
dissentions, especially of those of Paris, by which they taxed him of heresie, perswading
him to renounce this opinion; which, they say, he did, by their persuasion, not many
dayes before his death. But he might rather, peraduenture, be condemned of he-
resie by the moderne Diuines of the Roman Church, because (as the same Au-
thor relates) *he sent for certaine men that dwelt in the confines of Bohemia and Austria,*
Auent.l.7. *who had painted the Trinitie, vnder the formes of an old man, a young man, and a doue* E
(as yet at this day they vse to doe) whom he charged with irreligion, denouncing them to
be Anthropomorphites, whom he condemned to be burnt; although, in so cleere a Sun-
shine of the Gospell, both *Bellarmine* and other of his followers, are not ashamed
to allow, and defend the same.

In extrauag. Johan.22.tit. de verb. signific.c.1.2.3.4. & cap. ad Canadorem, Cum inter, non nullos quia, quorundam.

Nicholas the fift wonderfully promoted the Minorites, and *John* laboured hard,
according to the vsuall inconstancie of the spirit of lyes, to suppresse & beat them
downe, and this by such arguments as plainely ouerthrew the Mendicants foun-
dation: For concerning the question, Whether Christ or his Apostles held any
thing in proper, he saith, we must herein beleeue the holie Scripture, by which the

A the articles of our faith must be confirmed, which teacheth vs, That they possessed
something in proper; and therefore to beleeue otherwise was heresie, and he that
otherwise affirmed, was to be reputed an heretike. And because their most glori-
ous pretext was in a wilfull pouertie, he turned them to beggerie indeed, enioy-
ning them to be content with meere almes: shewing how the custome *de facto*,
permitted to them by *Nicholas* the fift, with an exception of propertie reserued
to the Church of Rome, was but a plaine delusion and cousenage, that so they
might cunningly be exempted from that pouertie which they professed: and
therefore the Mendicants being driuen to beg their liuing from doore to doore,
grew mightily incensed against him. He further argued, That Christ neuer com-
B maunded nor aduised Christians, to relinquish their goods: That hee neuer set
downe any other rules of pietie to the Apostles, than to other Christians, to
whose perfection the possession of mouables or immouables were no wayes re-
pugnant: That the Apostles neuer vowed pouertie, nor neuer out of vow re-
nounced their temporall goods, who questionlesse, euen as other godlie men doe,
both might and may with a good conscience contend for temporall goods: and
the naked vow was no furtherance at all to Christian perfection. But to this point
he grew (saith *Auentine*) *That such Franciscans as now liued from hand to mouth, and*
begged from doore to doore, that spake against his opinion, in preaching, That Christ and
his Apostles possessed nothing, he condemned of impietie and pernitious errour, banisht
C *them out of the Christian Commonwealth, called them* Fraterculos, *Sillie brethren; and*
many also he burned. The same *Auentine* obserues in these times, *That what was for-*
merly distributed for the sustentation of the poore, was now conuerted to ornaments, set-
ting forth of walls, and glorious pompe, which was out of Ecclesiasticall goods, *Then*
came in priuat sacrifices, sacrificing Priests, sacrileges, pilleries, peculiarities of temples,
and these that we call Incorporations, and Non-residencies, all which may be found out
in the auncient Records. From this *John* also proceeded that Decretall Supple-
ment called *Extrauagantes*, so called of *John* the two and twentieth, as the Cle-
mentines were of *Clement*. And some affirme, That they were both published by
him, *because Clement perceiuing many things in his repugnant to Christian veritie*, he
D called them in againe. We read of one beside these in the Abbreuiate of Con-
stitutions, wherein he commaunds the Inquisitors to proceed against them, as a-
gainst heretikes, in that they had associated themselues with heretikes: And these
were some Prouinces and townes of Italie, who had followed the Emperor *Lewis*
partie. The heresie was this, in that they serued their lawfull Prince against the
Pope, which there he sayes is, *in præcipitium damnationis & mortis sese immergere*,
to throw themselues downe headlong into damnation and death.

Summa Constit. c.cum nonnulli. c.super gentes extr. de consuetudine. Can. Solita de maiorit. & obedient. Clementina vnica de iureiurando. Clementina Pastoralis de sententiis & de re iudicata. C. Venerabilem de electionibus c.2. de sententia & re iudicata. Angull. de Ancona in tit. de potestate Eccles. q.36.art.2 et 35.art.1.37.3 44.45.46. De Rescriptis 6. & ibi Glossa Decis. Rotæ.

And thus at length the Decretals came forth accomplished, from which our
fathers left vnto vs a common prouerbe, That since the Decretalls had wings
(which is, that Decretals were added to Decretals) the world daily grew worse
E and worse: Those Decretals which denounce thus vnto vs, *That the Pope of Rome*
is constituted by the Lord ouer nations and kingdomes. There is as much difference be-
twixt Popes and Kings, as there is betwixt the Sunne and the Moone. That the Emperor
was bound to take an oath of fealtie to the Pope. That the Pope is the Emperours superior,
and the Empire being vacant, his successor. That he may depose the Emperour, and, if he
so thinke good, elect another onely of himselfe. In like manner, *That he may appoynt him*
an ouerseer, and so any other King or State. Kingdomes he may transferre from one to a-
nother, as he that is their rector and corrector. All these priuiledges accruing vnto
him (so you will beleeue it) from that saying of our Lord, *Omnes potestas mihi data*
in

in cœlo & in terra, as also that which *Dauid* propheſied of Chriſt, *He ſhall beare rule* A *from one ſea to another*. And hereupon the Canoniſts enlarge, hand ouer head, in their Gloſſes and Deciſions of the Rota: *The Pope vndoubtedly is Chriſts vicar, not onely in earthlie, celeſtiall, and infernall things, but further, ouer the Angels both good and bad: He onely hath the power and iuriſdiction of all the Patriarches together, a greater priuiledge than all the Saints, or all the Angels haue; ſo as he may excommunicat the Angels themſelues. The whole world is but his Dioceſſe, the ſquare he may make round, right of iniurie, and ſomething of nothing. He alſo may againſt lawes naturall, of nations, thoſe ciuile, humane, and diuine, determine abſolutely, and yet iuſtly. Aboue and contrarie to any law, aboue and contrarie to all Decrees, Canons, and Statutes of Councels, as he* B *whoſe decree and ſentence is aboue all the Biſhops of the earth, hee being the cauſe of cauſes, of whom no reaſon can be yeelded, but himſelfe; and he that demaunds any other, preſumes to liken himſelfe to the moſt high*, make himſelfe equall to God; and therefore the Pope is their god: But heare more, *He may diſſpence againſt the Apoſtle, as ſuperiour, and againſt the old Teſtament, in that he is greater than all the Authors of the ſame.* Why ſayes he not greater than the holie Ghoſt, which inſpired them? And ſome ſay, *againſt the Goſpell it ſelfe: For the Popes will is the rule of all iuſtice: whatſoeuer he does, God holds it well done: God and he haue one Conſiſtorie, Chriſt and he one tribunall, the Pope being like to God, ſinne excepted, ſo as if he might change opinion, wee may as well preſume that God can change opinion. Item, Wee cannot appeale from him to* C *God, in that vpon earth he is God, and as God he iudgeth. In concluſion, He may command the Angels to transferre ſoules into Paradiſe, and diuels, out of the vigour and vertue of his Indulgences, to draw them out of hell and purgatorie.* The bookes of this Age are full of theſe Axiomes, and no man is ignorant thereof, and now they ſtriue who ſhall blaſpheme highlyeſt; for the Canoniſts are not only thus violently carried, but euen the Authors themſelues of the Gloſſes, who ſhould haue made a more ſtrict examination before the yeelding of them vp for authenticall; they recommending vnto vs the Pope for a god, yea and that in eſſence, if it were lawfull for vs to beleeue them: The which who would euer haue beleeued, if the ſpirit of God had not foretold as much? The Gloſſe vpon the chapter *Periculoſo*, of the ſtate of Regulars in *Sexto*, tearmes him, *The Prince of the whole world*; but I ſuppoſe D they call him not ſo in the ſame ſence that Sathan is ſo called. What remaines there more, but to be accounted God himſelfe. But *Peter Bertrands* addition vpon Pope *Boniface* the eight his Extrauagant, ſpeakes peremptorily to this purpoſe, *Ieſus Chriſt the Sonne of God, both while he was in this world, and alſo from eternitie, was naturall Lord ouer all, and out of naturall right might denounce ſentence of depoſition and condemnation againſt the Emperour, or any other whatſoeuer, as againſt ſuch perſons whom he had created, endowed them with gifts naturall, and thoſe of grace, as alſo preſerued them: by the ſame reaſon therefore his Vicar may doe the like.* But did hee, I E pray you, create or preſerue theſe creatures? In ſtead of any reaſon alledged, obſerue but the execrable blaſphemie: *For the Lord ſhould not elſe haue beene diſcreet (that ſo I may ſpeake with his reuerence) except he had left ſuch an onely Vicar behind him, that could doe all theſe things: now Peter was his Vicar, and ſo the ſame may bee affirmed of Peters ſucceſſors.* But becauſe many Canoniſts of thoſe times, were aſhamed of ſuch words, in certaine editions they were quite raſed out, and *Gregorie* the thirteenth, vnder colour of reformation, reſtored them againe. The Gloſſe vpon the chapter *Fundamenta electionibus ſexto*, pronounces flatly, *That the Pope is not a man*: and in a little verſe it is ſaid, *Thou greateſt of all things, thou art neither*

In Decret. Gregorij tit. 7. c. Quanto Gloſſa Lancelot in tempio omnium Iudicum l.2.c.1. par.4. Bald. in l. reſcripta, C. de precib. Imperat. offer. num.7. Auguſt. de Ancona de poteſtat. Eccleſ. q.18 art.1.2.3.5. Canoniſtæ ad cap. Quanto de Tranſlat. Epiſc. & C. Propoſuit de Conceſſ. Præbend. Gloſſ. diſt.4.c.4. Auguſt. de Ancona vt ſupra. Hoſtienſis in caput cum veniſſent de iudicijs. Cravetta poſt Baldum, Concil. 506. colum.2. & Rolland. Concil. 1.num.93 & num. 130. Baldus Concil. 359. & Cravetta Concil. 241. num.3. Gloſſa in Can.4. de conceſſ. Præbend & Can.3. q.6 cauſa 15. Deciſio 1. vel 447 in compilat. Rebuffi editionis Lugdunenſ. ann. 1555. p.27. Bald. in Lege vltima. Cod. de ſententijs reſcindend. & ibi Lancelotus & alij. Lancel. l.1.c.1. par.4. de reſponſ. Pontif. C. debetur de Appellat. Lancel. Conrad. in Templo omnium iudicum l.2.c.1. Bald. in cap. Cum ſuper de cauſis propr. & poſſeſſ. In Extrauagāt. Comm. l.1. de maiorit. Et obedientia. Cunam ſanctā, & ibi Gloſſa. Et additio Petri Bertrandi in iure Canonic. Editionis Gregoriana Lugdunenſ. C. Fundamenta de Electione in 6.

A *God nor man, but ſome interme diant power*: whereupon he ſurnames the Pope *Admirabilis, Admirable*, by which name Chriſt is called in the 9 of *Eſay*; & it was a wonder omitted the attribute following, *Emanuel, God be with vs.* That Gloſſe vpon the Extrauagants of *Iohn* the two and twentieth, *titulo* 14, ſayes, *Non eſt purus homo*: but yet that of the chapter *Cum inter nonnullos, titulo* 14, ſpeakes as it were infuriated, *To beleeue that our Lord the Pope could not ſo or ſo decree, is merely heretical.* Now judge by all precedent inferences, what reformation is to be expected from theſe men, when *Gregorie* the thirteenth peruſing the whole Canon law, left this Gloſſe abſolute and entire, and being formerly raſed out by others, preciſely renewed the ſame: ſuch an heart-griefe it is vnto them, howſoeuer they may faine and diſſem- B ble, to abridge the leaſt title of Antichriſtian priuiledges. But as Antichriſt augments and multiplies his blaſphemous names and titles, ſo does God daily excite and ſtir vp men in the world, to detect and point him out with their finger, which we ſhall better obſerue in the ſequel of theſe relations.

Gloſſa in proœmium. Clementinar.

Ius. Canonicum impreſſum Lutetiæ an. 1520. apud Claudium Chenalotium in fole aureo. Ius. Canonicum Gregorij 13. impreſſum Lugduni poſtr me. Editions apud Tonillium in Extrauag. Iohan. 22. C. cum inter. nonnullos. Tit. 14. niverbo declaramus circa finem.

Opposition.

Lewis the fourth, Emperour, ſuppreſſed his competitor *Frederick*, and fortified himſelfe by the king of Englands affinitie, whoſe wifes ſiſter hee maried, being daughter to the Count of Holland: and therefore Pope *Iohn* thought to rayſe a C verie dangerous conſpiracie againſt him, either to detaine him ſtill in Germanie, or to make all enterpriſes more difficult to him in Italie. He therefore entred into a league with *Charles* the Faire, king of France, and *Robert* king of Sicilie, enjoyning further *Leopald* Duke of Auſtria, and brother to *Frederick*, to take vp armes: he made the Duke of Poland a king, vpon condition that hee ſhould war againſt him: and further, he commaunded the Teutonian Knights, to make peace with the Lituanians, who were yet Pagans, to inuade the Marquiſat of Brandenberg, which belonged to *Lewis* his ſonne. When he ſaw that in all likelihood he would not leaue Germanie, he ſent *Philip de Valois* into Italie, with Cardinall *Bertrand*, a Dominican, in his companie, to open a way for him, and he excommu- D nicated all thoſe whoſoeuer that were of *Lodonikes* partialitie. *Lodonikes* partakers cried out vnto him in theſe diſtreſſes, requeſting his aid: He notwithſtanding, to claime his right, fairely ſent an embaſſadour to *Iohn*, yea to his Legat, to treat of a peace; who being entertained with threats and contumelies, returned backe againe. *Iohn* ſtill reiterates his thundering excommunications; ſo as all other affaires layd apart, *Lewis* muſt needs enter Italie with an armie. In *Auentine Iohns Auent. l.7.* Bull againſt *Lewis* is to be read, taken out of the ancient Libraries of Bauaria, the which it will be verie requiſit here to inſert abſolute and entire: *After* (ſaith he) *that the Roman Empire, transferred by our predeceſſors from the Greeks to the Germans, was committed to the cuſtodie and protection of Charles the Great, this ſoueraigne honor* E *was vouſt to be the beneſit and prerogatiue of the higheſt Prieſt: For it was then decreed, That if the Almans at any time made choyce of a king, this election ſhould be of no vigor nor force, except the Pope of Rome, Father and Prince of Chriſtendome, did ratifie the ſame, and he ſo aſſigned by the Princes and States of the Empire, could neither gouerne nor take vpon him royall Title, before the Pope, Gods Legat, authorized and approued him, ſuo numine, with his diuinitie. And further, the Empire being deſtitute of an head, the abſolute power and prerogatiue lay in the Pope, whoſe ſee it manifeſtly is.* And wee haue ſeene throughout all precedent diſcourſe, what ſtrife hath beene about this word *Beneficе*, or Fee, as alſo how much bloud was ſhed in all parts of Italie: *In*

like manner when the seuen Electors are diuided, neither the one nor the other of the elected can be king: And so the Roman Bishop, as the common parent to all men, is to manage at his owne will the Roman Empire, being by such a dissention destitute of an head. And as the mind commaunds the bodie to serue, by whose benefit it onely liues, so no man can denie but that then the Christian affaires goe best forward, when things fraile yeeld to those eternall, prophane to sacred, and those corporall to the other spirituall: Which then comes to passe, when the Pope at his discretion gouernes both dignities; for both the the Church is gouerned, and all other power is reduced vnder his lawes and obedience. And the Emperour by oath is bound vnto him, who by a Vicegerencie vnder the celestiall Emperour, swayes and rules the earth. For this cause it is, that two after Henrie the seuenths death, hauing beene nominated Emperours, Frederick and Lewis, both the one and the other were incapable of this soueraigne dignitie, and so consequently the Christian Commonwealth came to be dissipated, and abandoned, and therefore in all right was to be directed and gouerned by vs. As also Lodouike to his owne great hurt and preiudice, and no lesse detriment to the Roman Church, before he was thought worthie by vs to rule, out of his owne head tooke vpon him the royall Titles, rashly vsurping the authoritie and power of Emperour, which still he holds both in Italie and Germanie: For hee hath giuen into his sonnes hands the Principalitie of Brandenburg, contrarie to all lawes: And notwithstanding our opposition, he succoured Galeazzo and his brethren, who were condemned of heresie: (And this is continually for such an heresie as neither the Apostles nor the Fathers euer made mention of:) We therefore, according to the authoritie deriued to vs from heauen, peremptorily commaund Lewis, within the space of three moneths to abiure all royal Title, and absolutly to forbeare all gouernment, publike administrations, and managing of affaires; disanulling all things formerly by him acted, and neuer hereafter to reassume the dignitie, except by our expresse iniunction and commaund. But if he delay any wayes in this case to obey, Wee commaund all Patriarches, Bishops, Priests, Princes, and immunified cities, to fall from him, and forcibly to vrge him to submission. Dated and published in Auignion, the eighth of the Ides of October, in the eighth yeare of our Pontificall dignitie, and in that of Christ 1321. And that wee may aggrauat nothing out of our owne constructions, let the Reader but onely obserue this forme of speaking, which retaines with it a certaine similitude of that which hee sayes in one of his Extrauagants, where without any ambiguitie, *God hath committed to me* (saith he) *the prerogatiue of Emperor, both celestiall and earthlie.* When this Bull came to *Lodouikes* hands, prudent as he was, he seriously consulted with all the famous Diuines and Ciuilians both of Italie, Germanie, and France, but especially with those of Bologna and Paris: and all their opinions agreed in this conclusion, *That Iohns Decrees and promulgations against Cæsar, were altogether repugnant to Christian integritie, and diuine Philosophie. These resolutions of the Diuines* (saith *Auentine*) *are yet extant in Libraries, written in parchment.* Many renowmed men allo, of whom some were Ciuilians, and some Diuines, writ stifly against *Iohn*, whom they sharpely refuted out of the holie Scriptures, and the auncient lawes and Canons: And amongst others, some Minorites of greater note forsooke *Iohn*, to cleaue vnto *Lewis*, summoning *Iohn* as it were to a day of hearing. *Lodouike* in the meane while being constituted, published a solemne Diet to be held at Ratisbone, whither all the greatest Princes and Bishops of Germanie had recourse. Amongst these there assisted *Iohn* king of Bohemia, *Mathew*, *Henrie*, and *Baldwine*, of Magunce, and the two Archbishops of Collen and Treuers: Where it was decreed, *That Lodouike the Emperour should be prouident to preuent the bringing of the German libertie into seruitude, and that the Maiestie Imperiall might be freed from tyrannicall*

Extrauag. ne fide vacante C. fi fratrum.

talons: and therefore by the Acts of this Diet all the Decrees of Iohn the two and twentieth, were declared void and inualidious; and whosoeuer stood in defence of them, hee was to be reputed an enemie to the Commonwealth, and his goods to be confiscated. By the force of these Acts *Otho* Bishop of Carinthia, and *Lambert* of Tolouse, the Popes Legats, were expelled out of Germanie, and all the Bishops, Prelats, Priests, Monks, yea, and the Franciscans themselues obeyed this Decree; only the Dominicans hung neutrall, bending sometimes to *Iohn*, and sometimes to *Lewis*, as their owne interests moued them, one while obseruing *Iohns* interdict, & another time for feare of being expelled, celebrating and discharging sacred functions: as also by the high authoritie of this Diet an Act was published, which is to be read absolute and entire in *Auentine*, whose principall heads (to auoyd tedious prolixitie) it may suffice here to insert: *Christ the Sauiour our Lord and God, and his chiefe Legats, Peter, Paule, Iames, and Iohn, ascending into heauen, told vs of verie dangerous times, imminent and hanging ouer our heads, but abone all they instantly admonished vs, That being subtile in some sort as serpents, we should take heed of the leauen of the Pharisies, and auoid false Christs, false Apostles, and false Prophets, being so tearmed, by reason of the lying and hollow hypocrisie of their religion, who call themselues Christs Priests, when they are the verie messengers of Antichrist: They may be discerned by their vnquenchable thirst of honour, power, and worldlie treasure, and their excesse auarice and pride is growne to a prouerbe. We cannot denie, but must cleerely confesse, that our times can abide no strict examination or censure: For now manners being wholly corrupted, Christian sinceritie is troden vnder foot, & inured customes more preualent than truth, ouercome: but yet indignation cannot but breake silence, and being placed in a most high watch tower of discouerie of humane proceedings, we must not hold our peace, least, as the holie Prophet sayes, we shew our selues like to dumbe dogs, that cannot barke. And though we be not able vtterly to expell such Wolues clad in sheepes skinnes, yet it is our parts and dueties to resist, and in some sort to discouer them. For though we cannot doe as we would, yet our mere good will, when we can attaine no further, is both honourable and commendable.* At last he applies this theame to Pope *Iohn*, declaring how many sundrie waies he wasted and spoiled the Christian Church; as he that prouoked Christians to draw their swords against their owne bowels, and stirred vp nations to periurie, treacherie, rebellion, and conspiracie: *And this Antichrist* (saith he) *will not suffer vs to keep that peace recommended to vs by God, so great is the peruersenesse of that man, or rather of Sathan, as in publike sermons he sets forth his owne flagitions, for singular benefits. When Christian Princes are at discord, then the Roman Priest raignes. In briefe, the Pope is then of greatest authoritie and power, when all others being weakened and pluckt downe by discords, seditions, and mutuall hatreds, his thunderings grow terrible, euerie becke of his obeyed, and wee obserue euen his verie spittings, &c. And questionlesse it was by this policie that both of vs were created to the dignitie, whom a verie briefe letter from him might easily haue reconciled, or at least haue persuaded vs to determine our right, rather by iuridicall proceedings, than by armes. But contrariwise, he no wayes laboured to procure peace betwixt vs, but rather to nourish discord, enclining one while to mee, and then another while to my aduersarie of Austria. Now he would be on Fredericks side, and then on Lodouikes partie, and which of them grew weaker, him would hee alwayes fortifie with his aydes and supplies. First of his owne accord hee inuited vs secretly to communicate, giuing faire and equiuocall speeches to vs both, and being almost come to agreement, he would then againe persuade vs to reassume armes. All this he did politically, that while we thus ruine one another with domestical and intestine wars, he might racke the Empire, demolish castles and cities, and inuade and spoyle both the people*

Auentine l. 7.

people and the Common-wealth, whose destruction he hath conspired, reduce Christs flocke into seruitude, and fight against the Saints and holie ones of God. He boasts, that he may presently, without all delay, denounce sentence against vs, before we are condemned: Being our capitall aduersarie, and publique enemie, yet in his owne cause, he sayes he is both iudge, witnesse and Iudge: The which we neuer red of amongst the Turkes, Iewes, Saracens, nor Sarmatians: Those that hold their loyaltie to Cæsar, obseruing heresie. What in Christ our Sauiours commandement, he for no other cause condemnes of heresie. What is his will, he thinkes to be lawfull; wealth purchaseth authoritie for all things &c. He assumes the spirit of Sathan, makes himselfe like to the most high, is content to be worshipped (which was forbidden Iohn from aboue by the Angell) and permits his feet to be kist, after the manner of Diocletian, and Alexander, most cruell Tyrans: when Christ a freeman, nay the Lord of heauen, and our God, washed the feet of poore fisher-men, his disciples, that his Apostles and messengers, by his example, might doe the like to those to whom they were sent. That there was one diuine Maiestie, and prouidence, rich enough in it selfe, and needing nothing of ours, being present euerie where, consulting and prouiding of it selfe for all things &c. And Emperours were not constituted vpon earth, by fortune, chaunce, neither by mortall men, or the secret power of the fates, but they were chosen by supreamest destie, diuinely created, and by a most mercifull and indulgent Father, placed in the administration and gouernement of all humane things. Furthermore the Roman Priest, whose conuersation should be in heauen and heauenlie things, holds and possesseth Cities, Castles, Boroughs, Prouinces, riches, power, great worldlie honour and magnificence, the power of the sword, and accruments, not out of any right of his own, but by others liberalitie & benefit, that is by the beneuolence & bounties, if I may not rather say, the vilitie and baseneese of the Potentates of Germanie. But they of all others most ingrate, studie how to deserue ill of their benefactours; for the sword, which through our munificence they hold in their hand, they are not ashamed to draw and sheath euen in our bowels, which haue beene their benefactors: now these goodlie Pastors, raised by our predecessours, to honour and riches, can endure no equall: They haue excluded Cæsar out of Italie, and Christ out of Rome: true it is they yeeld him heauen and hell, and the world they challenge to themselues: And they will not onely be called, but firmely beleeued to be the gods of this world, and of men, as if they could rule ouer mens thoughts and tongues, or had an Empire equally diuided betwixt them and Ioue. Christ crucified, and supreame power on earth, are verie repugnant and opposit, the souldier and the Priest, the Emperour and the Pastour, the Kingdome and the Crosse, corporall and spirituall things, armes and sacred offices, warre and peace, Cæsar and an humble messenger, the Prince and the Minister, the Lord and the seruant: whosoeuer would be greatest amongst you (saith the highest heauenlie Arbitrator, to his Legats) let him be lowest and your seruant. To be both Emperour and Pope at one time, is a monster with two heads: for in coynes and medals we see that Decius and Nero, with such like Tyrans, then worshippers of false gods, were the like. It is an abhominable reproach to nature, a great prouocation to God, and our owne mere slothfulnesse, and stupiditie, that the Prince of Princes, should serue the seruant of seruants. If he be the seruant of Gods seruants, why serues he not? Why does he not minister? Why feeds he not? Why does he not teach? Why does he not preach? For greedinesse of power and pelfe he confounds heauen and earth, all matters are vendible, he hath hell and heauen at commaund.

Then he comes to refute the Popes Bull, by a president from his predecessours, especially the prerogatiue that he so arrogated to himselfe; as that in the vacancie of the Empire, and vpon the dissenting of the electors, the gouernement of the Empire belonged to the Pope. He justified also the course and proceeding of his electi-

on, and all his actions since the same, explaning and laying open vnto all men, how justly he applied himselfe to a necessarie defence both in Germanie and Italie: And so going forward, *He most falsly*, saith he, *accuses me for a fauourer of Heretikes; I am a Christian, but he is an Heresiarck; for he cannot be Christs disciple that scornes his life, contemnes pouertie, despises pietie, pollutes Religion, prophanes holie functions, sets light by modest manners, condemnes institutions, and treads vnder foot all rule and precept: For S. Frauncis, who was an Herauld of veritie diuine, the ensigne-bearer of Christian pouertie, and all his whole order he condemned of impietie in Auignion, the sixth of the Ides December, anno 1322. I pray you heare for what cause. An. 1322. This pernitious man, thirsting after dominion and Empire, preferring siluer before the Gospell (where wealth is termed sinne) and gold before Christs pouertie, calls the Franciscan Friers, of contemptible opinion with him, a foolish kind of cattell, and pernitious foxes, who with religious hipocrisie, delude the world and deceiue the people. He attempted to put downe their order, because they taught, preached, and proued to their followers, That Christ possessed nothing in proper on earth: But they, calling a solemne assemblie, at Perugia, by common consent of all the Diuines, set him forth in his liueliest colours, defending the truth by the holie Scriptures, and diuine Testimonies, though such kind of men deserue rather to bee chastised with imprisonment and bands, than with arguments and disputations: but yet they deciphered him most truely, euidently declaring him, to be an insatiable gulfe of Auarice, and a worshipper of Idols: For that wonderfull masse of gold, sayd they, which he raked together out of all Christendome, but principally out of Alman, the kingdome of Arles, and Italie, vnder colour of an expedition, into Asia, he distributed amongst the Saracens, to make warre vpon the Christians of Armenia, who refused to be pilled and powled by him.* At last, drawing to a conclusion, he sayes, *If he be not Antichrist, yet he must needs be his predecessour and forerunner: and therefore, for defence of Gods Temple (whereof he hath charged vs to haue a speciall care) we appeale from him, to a generall and vniuersall Christian Councell.* This appeale many supposed to be full of perill and daunger, but *William Ockham*, a Franciscan, a Diuine of great reputation, and his collegues, *diuulging Bookes vpon this subiect, they fully satisfied all those*, saith *Auentine, who made a great scruple where none was.* This Apologie of *Lodouickes*, was of such force among other Princes, yea euen with his aduersaries, that the Counts of Tyroll and Goritz, treated a peace betwixt the two competitors, *Lewis* and *Frederick*, *Lodouick* taking *Frederick* in battaile, as hath beene related, held him in custodie for certaine yeares, he therefore restored him to libertie, vpon condition that *Frederick*, should abjure all royall Title and plight his faithfull promise, That the house of Austria, should neuer contend with that of Bauaria for the Empire: hereupon they receiued the Sacrament together; but as many Historiographers make mention, *Frederick* did not afterwards performe his promises.

Lewis, in the yeare 1327, as you haue heard, went into Italie, and ordering his affaires in Lombardie, the imperiall Diademe was with sumptuous celebration, & solemnitie, set on his head at Rome; There he assembled also a celebrous Synod, wherein, he grieuously complaining of Pope *Iohn*, *Diuers heauie censures past, and many things were spoken freely, boldly, and resolutely*: and so at length *Iohn*, being deposed, another was chosen in his place. It will be verie materiall, here to expresse the principall points of that decree, which may bee read in *Auentine* whole and entire; which *Lewis* in forme of patents directed to all Christians in generall. He therefore declares, with what patience hitherto, he had borne so many grosse and important injuries, to whom notwithstanding God had giuen a *An.* 1327. *Auent. l. 7.*

sword to be reuenged of them: but becauſe that which he did out of amere loue to peace, might not be aſcribed to him for cowardiſe, or that by ſparing the wicked he ſhould but be iniurious to good men, hee meant to plucke vp this euill by the root: *According to the prerogatiue granted to vs from abone* (ſaith he) *we will pluck the Lambes skinne ouer the Wolfes eares, and to tell you in few words, without any colluſion, the whole affaire, doe but giue eare, and attend, for all in generall in this matter are intereſſed. We are all vulgar Communities, without authoritie, without fauour at home or abroad, expoſed to baſe ſale: True Maieſtie and authoritie, the libertie of religion, the Empire of the Chriſtian people, the lawes, and whatſoeuer is either diuine or humane, is come into the hands of a moſt cruell enemie, his repoſe lyes in ſedition, and his trouble in peace; a moſt wicked man, of bloudie hands, of brutiſh auarice, moſt nocent and moſt proud; alſo in luſts effeminat, in ambition precipitant; with whom fidelitie, modeſtie, and pietie, are vices, and the vices vertues, all things honeſt and diſhoneſt end in vnlawfull gaine: he poſſeſſeth the Chriſtian Commonwealth, ſtirring tumult out of tumult, and warre out of warre. The head of all theſe factions is Iames de Baburco, but more truely, Cadurco, who cals himſelfe Pope: the mightie treaſure which he fraudulently amaſſed together from all the Chriſtian nations, he employes againſt the Saints of God, and the ſubiects of the Chriſtian Empire, like Abiathar the Prieſt* (who followed *Abſolon* againſt *Dauid*) *conuerting the Imperiall ſword granted to vs from heauen, euen againſt our ſelues: contrarie to diuine precept he onely intends the temporall cares of this world, gapes after worldlie dominion. As he is a masked ſhepheard, ſo is he a myſticall Antichriſt, who being couered with a dogs skinne, like a rauenous Wolfe he deuoures the flocke of Chriſt, ſels ſinnes, makes merchandiſe of hell, heauen, and celeſtiall benefits: He entred into league and ſocietie with the Saracens, who moleſted the Armenian Chriſtians for fiue yeares together, they daily imploring his aid and ſuccours, with terrible threats and menaces he enioyned the Duke of Pruſia to take truce with the Lituanians, cruell enemies to Chriſtian religion, betraying the countrey vnto the enemie, and opening vnto them a way whereby to inuade the Chriſtians of the Marquiſat of Brandenburg: For the Lituanians combining at Baburco, they forraged without feare ouer all the confines of Brandenburg, put the Chriſtians to ſlaughter and ſword, and moſt cruelly killing crying infants in their cradles, and in their parents armes. The Temples, Momſteries, and Colledges of Prieſts and Monkes, were pilled, burnt, and demoliſhed; ſacred virgines violently enforſt, the ſacred Houſt faſtened on the end of a lance, the enemie inſulting, and vſing this exprobration, Behold here the Chriſtians God. And all theſe things came to paſſe through the impietie of Iohn the two and twentieth. This two headed monſter will needs bee both ſpirituall and temporall. Chriſt our Sauiour, to whom all power was giuen in heauen and earth, yet he refuſed the Empire and kingdome of the earth, offered vnto him by the people. And it is moſt manifeſt, by the opinions of all the moſt learned in diuine Philoſophie, the lawes ciuile, and laws Pontificall, that both the dignities ſacred and prophane ſtand not with the Biſhop of Rome. We abſolutely denie the ſacred Roman Empire, which Chriſt and his diſciples obeyed, and were tributaries to, to be the fee and propertie of a ſillie arrogant Prieſt. This Iames therefore formerly by the diuine and learned Prelats denounced an hereſiarke, by the Councels Decrees, and after the manner of our predeceſſors, being depoſed from his Seat, and by Chriſt reiected, I renounce and diſclaime. We haue before our eyes the examples of many good men, whereby we thinke the ſame lawfull for vs to doe, which others haue done before vs. Otho the firſt, together with the people of Rome, and the whole tribe of Prieſts, raſed Iohn the twentieth out of the Catalogue of Popes, for certaine impieties (which compared to thoſe of Iohn the two and twelueth, are but verie May-games) conſtituting another Paſtor both ouer the world and that citie. And as it is related to vs in the Faſts and Annales*

A *Annales, many Emperours and good Princes haue done the like: and therefore this Iames, for the crime of true irreligion, being before by the Franciſcans, and other Diuines, branded with hereſie, a contemner of Chriſtian powertie, and author of Antichriſtian Empire, by our prerogatiue, decree, ſentence, and common conſent of all the Princes and Prelats of Germanie and Italie, the Prieſts likewiſe and people of Rome inſtigating vs hereunto, we declare and proſcribe, as exaugurated, abiured, and condemned of hereſie, and ſo annihilat and fruſtrat the force of all his Acts. Let all Chriſtians therefore from this time forwards repute him in the number of the impious and wicked: all men depart from him, let them flie his acceſſe and conference, and like a contagion, for feare of infection, let them ſhunne and auoyd him. Affoord him no honour nor reuerence, and let them whom it may*

B *any wayes concerne vſe all endeuour to apprehend him, that after the cuſtome of our predeceſſors he may be iuſtly puniſhed. And whoſoeuer does any thing contrarie to this Decree, be he proclaimed enemie to the Commonwealth. Wee forthwith, aſsisted by the Clergie and people of Rome, will by common conſent, and after the inſtitution of our Elders, conformable to the lawes of holie hiſtories, conſtitute a Paſtor ouer the citie, and the whole world. This Edict was ſigned by the Emperour, as alſo by the Clergie and people of Rome, and publiſhed in a moſt celebrous aſſemblie of Biſhops, Roman Lords, Gouernours, and Cardinalls, in the Minorites Conuent. Giuen and publiſht before the famous Temple dedicated to Saint Peter and Paul, Chriſts Legats, the eighteenth day of Aprill, in the citie of Rome, Anno 1328.* And to this time, or much thereabout, ought to bee

C referred the anſwer of the ſame Emperour to *John* the two and twentieth his Bull, directed to all Princes and States, as well Eccleſiaſticall as Secular, in which contrarie to that the other contended to proue both by the Canon law, Gloſſes, and opinions of Doctors, he auerred, That the Empire no wayes depended on the Pope, and how all the lawes neuer approued the Popes plenarie power both in ſpirituall and temporall things: That an Emperour formally elected, before his conſecration at Rome might execute all his authoritie and prerogatiues: and whoſoeuer thought otherwiſe were traitors and heretikes. Of which kind alſo that information is, *De nullitate proceſſu Iohan. 22*, whether *Marſilius Patauinus*, or *Ockam*, be Authour thereof. Wherein *Lodouike* appeales from a Citation vn-

D duely made in Auignion, vnto a generall Councell, conuocated in ſome ſafe and ſecure place with due forme, and according to the ſacred Canons; and after a lawfull Appeale hee auerres that no place remaines for any Excommunication or Interdict.

Apud Marquardum Frelierum rerum Germanic. Tom. 1. in Appendice. An. 1328.

And thus it was enacted againſt *John* the two and twentieth, or, according to *Platina*, the three and twentieth. Furthermore, the Diuines and Ciuilians of theſe times argued this queſtion by way of Theſis, *De poteſtate Imperiali, & Papali, earumq; diſtinctione*, Of the Emperours and Popes power, and their ſeuerall diſtinction. For, to omit what *Vldarick*, the Emperour *Lewis* his Chancellor, wrot to *John* in certaine letters directed to him in his Maſters name, wherein, amongſt o-

E ther things, he calls him *Beſtiam illam de mari aſcendentem, That beaſt ariſing out of the ſea*, of which mention is made in the Apocalyps; an Apologie was publiſht in *Lodouikes* behalfe, by the Diuines, whereby they ſtifly affirme, *Quod nullus Papa poteſtatis plenitudinem in temporalia ſibi arrogare poteſt, That no Pope could arrogate to himſelfe any plenarie power in temporall things*, much leſſe in the Empire, and yet much more leſſe ſuch an one as *John*, a man moſt vnworthie of the Papall chaire: as alſo, that the Pope ſwaruing from the Faith might haue a ſuperiour on earth, which is, the whole Church repreſented in a generall Councell, which out of their authoritie may judge him, and to which for this cauſe it was lawfull to ap-

Trithemius in Chronic. Hirſaugienſ.

Apologia Ludouic. 4. contra Ioh. 22. publicè propoſita.

sword to be reuenged of them: but because that which he did out of a mere loue to peace, might not be ascribed to him for cowardise, or that by sparing the wicked he should but be iniurious to good men, hee meant to plucke vp this euill by the root: *According to the prerogatiue granted to vs from above* (saith he) *we will pluck the Lambes skinne ouer the Wolfes eares, and to tell you in few words, without any collusion, the whole affaire, doe but giue eare, and attend, for all in generall in this matter are interessed. We are all vulgar Communities, without authoritie, without fauour at home or abroad, exposed to base sale: True Maiestie and authoritie, the libertie of religion, the Empire of the Christian people, the lawes, and whatsoeuer is either diuine or humane, is come into the hands of a most cruell enemie, his repose lyes in sedition, and his trouble in peace; a most wicked man, of bloudie hands, of brutish auarice, most nocent and most proud; also in lusts effeminat, in ambition precipitant; with whom fidelitie, modestie, and pietie, are vices, and the vices vertues, all things honest and dishonest end in vnlawfull gaine: he possesseth the Christian Commonwealth, stirring tumult out of tumult, and warre out of warre. The head of all these factions is Iames de Baburco, but more truely, Cadurco, who cals himselfe Pope: the mightie treasure which he fraudulently amassed together from all the Christian nations, he employes against the Saints of God, and the sub-iects of the Christian Empire, like Abiathar the Priest* (who followed *Absolon* against *Dauid*) *conuerting the Imperiall sword granted to vs from heauen, euen against our selues: contrarie to diuine precept he onely intends the temporall cares of this world, gapes after worldlie dominion. As he is a masked shepheard, so is he a mysticall Antichrist, who being couered with a dogs skinne, like a rauenous Wolfe he deuoures the flocke of Christ, sels sinnes, makes merchandise of hell, heauen, and celestiall benefits: He entred into league and societie with the Saracens, who molested the Armenian Christians for fiue yeares together, they daily imploring his aid and succours, with terrible threats and menaces he enioyned the Duke of Prussia to take truce with the Lituanians, cruell enemies to Christian religion, betraying the countrey vnto the enemie, and opening vnto them a way whereby to inuade the Christians of the Marquisat of Brandenburg: For the Lituanians combining at Baburco, they forraged without feare ouer all the confines of Brandenburg, put the Christians to slaughter and sword, and most cruelly killing crying infants in their cradles, and in their parents armes. The Temples, Monasteries, and Colledges of Priests and Monkes, were pilled, burnt, and demolished; sacred virgines violently enforst, the sacred Hoast fastened on the end of a lance, the enemie insulting, and vsing this exprobration, Behold here the Christians God. And all these things came to passe through the impietie of Iohn the two and twentieth. This two headed monster will needs bee both spirituall and temporall. Christ our Sauiour, to whom all power was giuen in heauen and earth, yet he refused the Empire and kingdome of the earth, offered vnto him by the people. And it is most manifest, by the opinions of all the most learned in diuine Philosophie, the lawes ciuile, and laws Pontificall, that both the dignities sacred and prophane stand not with the Bishop of Rome. We absolutely denie the sacred Roman Empire, which Christ and his disciples obeyed, and were tributaries to, to be the fee and propertie of a sillie arrogant Priest. This Iames therefore formerly by the diuine and learned Prelats denounced an heresiarke, by the Councels Decrees, and after the manner of our predecessors, being deposed from his Seat, and by Christ reiected, I renounce and disclaime. We haue before our eyes the examples of many good men, whereby we thinke the same lawfull for vs to doe, which others haue done before vs. Otho the first, together with the people of Rome, and the whole tribe of Priests, raised Iohn the twentieth out of the Catalogue of Popes, for certaine impieties (which compared to those of Iohn the two and twelueth, are but verie May-games) constituting another Pastor both ouer the world and that citie. And as it is related to vs in the Fasts and Annales*

A *Annales, many Emperours and good Princes haue done the like: and therefore this Iames, for the crime of true irreligion, being before by the Franciscans, and other Diuines, branded with heresie, a contemner of Christian powertie, and author of Antichristian Empire, by our prerogatiue, decree, sentence, and common consent of all the Princes and Prelats of Germanie and Italie, the Priests likewise and people of Rome instigating vs hereunto, we declare and proscribe, as exaugurated, abiured, and condemned of heresie, and so annihilat and frustrat the force of all his Acts. Let all Christians therefore from this time forwards repute him in the number of the impious and wicked: all men depart from him, let them flie his accesse and conference, and like a contagion, for feare of infection, let them shunne and auoyd him. Affoord him no honour nor reuerence, and let them whom it may*

B *any wayes concerne vse all endeuour to apprehend him, that after the custome of our predecessors he may be iustly punished. And whosoeuer does any thing contrarie to this Decree, be he proclaimed enemie to the Commonwealth. Wee forthwith, assisted by the Clergie and people of Rome, will by common consent, and after the institution of our Elders, conformable to the lawes of holie histories, constitute a Pastor ouer the citie, and the whole world. This Edict was signed by the Emperour, as also by the Clergie and people of Rome, and published in a most celebrous assemblie of Bishops, Roman Lords, Gouernours, and Cardinalls, in the Minorites Conuent. Giuen and published before the famous Temple dedicated to Saint Peter and Paul, Christs Legats, the eighteenth day of Aprill, in the citie of Rome, Anno 1328.* And to this time, or much thereabout, ought to bee

Apud Marquardum Freherum rerum Germanic. Tom. 1. in Appendice.

C referred the answer of the same Emperour to *Iohn* the two and twentieth his Bull, directed to all Princes and States, as well Ecclesiasticall as Secular, in which contrarie to that the other contended to proue both by the Canon law, Glosses, and opinions of Doctors, he auerred, That the Empire no wayes depended on the Pope, and how all the lawes neuer approued the Popes plenarie power both in spirituall and temporall things: That an Emperour formally elected, before his consecration at Rome might execute all his authoritie and prerogatiues: and whosoeuer thought otherwise were traitors and heretikes. Of which kind also that information is, *De nullitate processu Iohan. 22.* whether *Marsilius Patauinus*, or *Ockam*, be Authour thereof. Wherein *Lodouike* appeales from a Citation vn-

An. 1328.

D duely made in Auignion, vnto a generall Councell, conuocated in some safe and secure place with due forme, and according to the sacred Canons; and after a lawfull Appeale hee auerres that no place remaines for any Excommunication or Interdict.

And thus it was enacted against *Iohn* the two and twentieth, or, according to *Platina*, the three and twentieth. Furthermore, the Diuines and Ciuilians of these times argued this question by way of Thesis, *De potestate Imperiali, & Papali, earumq; distinctione*, Of the Emperours and Popes power, and their seuerall distinction. For, to omit what *Vldarick*, the Emperour *Lewis* his Chancellor, wrot to *Iohn* in certaine letters directed to him in his Masters name, wherein, amongst o-

Trithemius in Chronic. Hirsaugiens.

Apologia Ludouic. 4. contra Ioh. 22. publicè proposita.

E ther things, he calls him *Bestiam illam de mari ascendentem, That beast arising out of the sea*, of which mention is made in the Apocalyps; an Apologie was published in *Lodouikes* behalfe, by the Diuines, whereby they stifly affirme, *Quod nullus Papa potestatis plenitudinem in temporalia sibi arrogare potest, That no Pope could arrogate to himselfe any plenarie power in temporall things*, much lesse in the Empire, and yet much more lesse such an one as *Iohn*, a man most vnworthie of the Papall chaire: as also, that the Pope swarued from the Faith might haue a superiour on earth, which is, the whole Church represented in a generall Councell, which out of their authoritie may judge him, and to which for this cause it was lawfull to appeale.

peale. And the ſame we read printed at this day. But beyond all others, out of A
doubt *William Ockam*, a Franciſcan, an Engliſhman borne, being a verie wittie and
learned Doctor, aſſayles him verie ſtoutly: *Defend me Ceſar* (ſaith he) *with thy
ſword againſt the Popes iniuries, and I will by word, writing, and irrefragable reaſons
maintaine thee againſt him*: the which indeed he performed while he liued; *hee
conſtantly auerring, That the Pope was an heretike and ſchiſmatike, whoſe cenſures were
nothing at all to be eſteemed.* From hence came thoſe Dialogues of his, *Pro Ludouici
defenſione, Liber nonaginta trium dierum, pro Michaele Ceſennate*, Generall of the
Franciſcans, excommunicated for the ſame cauſe, *Errores Iohannis 22, Dialogus in-
ter Clericum & militem*, and other ſuch like: In which he debates this poynt with
ſo vnanſwerable arguments, as no man need to call his opinion into doubt or B
queſtion. The principall heads were theſe, That the Pope, *ex iure diuino*, hath no
Primacie: That *Peter* neuer had, nor neuer ſat at Rome, and therefore the Pope
cannot haue it: That the Pope may erre, yea and the whole Roman Church, and
therefore ought to be liable to a Councell. Concerning the controuerſie be-
twixt the Pope and the Emperour, he diſcuſſeth eight ſeuerall queſtions, Firſt,
Whether the Imperiall and Pontificiall dignities might be joyntly diſcharged in
one man. Secondly, Whether *Ceſar* onely receiued his authoritie from God, or
from the Pope of Rome alſo. Thirdly, Whether by any authoritie from Chriſt
the Pope and Church of Rome haue power to confirme *Ceſar*, and other kings, in
the exerciſe of royall juriſdiction. Fourthly, Whether *Ceſar* being elected, hath C
at the ſame inſtant abſolute right to gouerne the Commonwealth. Fifely, Whe-
ther other kings beſides *Ceſar* and the king of Romans, being conſecrated by Bi-
ſhops, receiue any authoritie from them. Sixtly, Whether ſuch kings are in any
ſort ſubiect to thoſe which conſecrated them. Seuenthly, Whether if they ſhould
vſe any other rite or ſolemnitie, or aſſume another Diademe, they loſt in ſo doing
their royall title and prerogatiue. Eightly, Whether the ſeuen Electors conferre
as much right vpon the Emperour elected, as other Kings and Princes haue by
lawfull ſucceſſion. All which queſtions he arguing on both ſides, he determines
in the greateſt part for the ciuile Magiſtrat, I meane for Kings and Princes; vtter- D
ly ouerthrowing by the way, the Extrauagants of *Iohn* the two and twentieth, as
falſe, hereticall, and by many condemned: Whoſoeuer thinke otherwiſe, they may
be numbred amongſt them of thoſe times whereof the Apoſtle to *Timothie* ad-
2. ad Timoth. 4. 3. monisheth vs, *The time will be when they ſhall not giue eare to ſound doctrine, but accor-
ding to their owne luſts they ſhall ſeeke out for teachers that may delight their eares,
which themſelues ſhall ſtop againſt all truth, and open wide vnto fables: For this is the
ſtate of the preſent time, that all men in a manner enquire not what was the doctrine of
Chriſt, of the Apoſtles, or of the Fathers, but onely they liſten what the Pope wills and com-
maunds them.* *Aſcentius* in his Preface ſayes, That he writ ſix other Tractats, which
he wittingly omitted, becauſe they were ſomewhat too ſharpe and bitter againſt E
the Pope of Rome.

Editus Baſilie. *Marſilius Patauinus*, the Author of that golden Treatiſe, whoſe title was, *De-
fenſor Pacis*, of the authoritie of the Emperour, and of the Pope, writes much out
of the ſame veine; where, out of the holie Scriptures, the Lawes, the Canons, and
both the ſacred and ciuile hiſtorie, he affirmes and auerres theſe propoſitions en-
ſuing: That Chriſt was the onely head and foundation of the Church, and not
Peter: That he conſtituted none of the Apoſtles, no not *Peter* himſelfe, Vniuer-
ſall Vicar, and head of the Church; and that by as good right any one elſe may v-
ſurpe to himſelfe this title: That *Peter* was neuer Chriſts generall Vicar, neither
did

A did Chriſt appoynt the other Apoſtles to be ſubiect vnto *Peter*: How it was moſt
probable, that *Peter* was neuer at Rome, much leſſe that there hee held his ſeat,
who, as the reſt of the Apoſtles, had no peculiar ſeat: That the Pope labouring to
confirme his Primacie by ſucceſſion, hath no right at all, and therefore it is not va-
lidious: That he hath no greater authoritie than other Biſhops, no not in that
which appertaines to Indulgence, and remiſſion of ſinnes, and that otherwiſe by
diuine right all men are equall with him; the Biſhops of Magunce, Collen, and
Treuer, are Primats as well as he: That the plenarie power attributed to him, was
a manifeſt lye, an execrable title, and the verie originall of all euils, and the vſe
thereof was to be interdicted the Popes by ſome good generall Councell. But
B concerning temporall things, Chriſt, whoſe Vicar he would be thought to be, ne-
uer exerciſed any temporall authoritie vpon earth; but contrariwiſe, both himſelfe
and the Apoſtles ſubmitted themſelues to the ciuile Magiſtrat; and after his aſ-
cention into heauen, they both obeyed Princes, and enioyned their diſciples to
this obedience: and therefore that no temporall juriſdiction did any wayes be-
long to the Pope ouer any man, much leſſe ouer Princes, and leaſt of all ouer the
Maieſtie Imperiall; and if he vſurpe the ſame, they are bound by diuine lawes to
reſiſt him therein, by word, by deed, by all meanes, and all endeuours, and not do-
ing ſo they ſhould be vniuſt and iniurious to God; as on the contrarie they that
fight for him and theſe falſe prerogatiues, may be reputed to be the diuels champi-
C ons: That the Emperours confirmation belonged not to the Pope, much leſſe
his election, nay and this manner of his coronation, by reaſon of many abuſes
growing from the ſame, brings ſome danger to the Empire: But ſo on the contra-
rie the Emperour being a Chriſtian Prince, by the conſent of the Clergie and
people may nominat a Pope, and (the partie being abſent) confirme him nomina-
ted: If he be accuſed, or obiected againſt, he may reduce him into the true way,
and judge him by a Councell. That *Peter* when he liued, as he was a man, might
fall, nay, and erre; neither was the Pope by any priuiledge exempted from error.
And whereas it was ſaid to *Peter, Orani pro te*, this may be extended likewiſe to the
reſt of the Apoſtles; & therfore he could be no ſurer of his faith & conſtancie than
D the reſt of the Biſhops: That only the Canon of the ſacred Bible is the fountaine
of truth, in whoſe diſcuſſion wee muſt neither beleeue the Pope nor the Church:
That we ought not to beleeue the Popes and Cardinall onely, about the ſence
and meaning of the Scriptures, or any principall poynt of faith, becauſe verie of-
ten, by their wicked interpretations and opinions, they haue led miſerable men to
hell: That the Chriſtian Church is properly the generall bodie and number of
the faithfull, not the Pope, or the Cardinals, no not the Roman Church it ſelfe:
and the ſame is truely repreſented in a lawfull and general Councel of the Chur-
ches, which was to be called by the Emperour, with the conſent of other Chri-
ſtian Princes, and in times paſt was ſo perpetually called. And ſurely my verie
E conſcience vrgeth me to comprehend as briefly as I can, what hee ſpeakes of theſe
things, becauſe neuer any man more plentifully diſplayed by what degrees and
pretences the Popes haue attained to this height of tyrannie: As alſo I would re-
queſt the Reader not to thinke it tedious to read ouer the booke it ſelfe, eſpecially
ſpeaking of the Court of Rome: *Thoſe* (ſaith he) *which haue viſited the Roman* Marſil. Patau.
Court, or to ſpeake more ſignificantly, a Staple of traffickes, more horrible than a denne of part. 2. c. 24.
*theeues; Or they, who haue not ſeene it, may vnderſtand by the report of a multitude of
men worthie of credit, that it is at this day become the verie receptacle of all bad and
wicked practicioners, both ſpirituall and temporall: For what other thing is it than a*

con-

concourſe of Simoniacks? What other than an harſh rude bawling of Barresters, an Aſ- A
lum for ſlaunderers, and the trouble and vexation of honeſt men? There the innocents
iuſtice is hazarded, or at leaſt ſo long protracted, if they be not able to compaſſe it by money
and bribes, that at laſt exhauſted and toyld with innumerable diſturbances, they are en-
forced to let fall their miſerable and tedious ſuites: For there indeed humane lawes reecho
and ſound out, but diuine precepts are are ſilent, or ſeldome heard: There are counſels and
conſultations of inuading Chriſtian Princes by armed and violent power, conquering and
taking the ſame from them to whoſe cuſtodie and iuriſdiction they were lawfully commit-
ted: but for purchaſing of ſoules there is neither care nor counſell taken. Whereunto we
may annexe, That there no order, but perpetuall horror and confuſion inhabites. And as
for my ſelfe, that haue ſeene and beene preſent, me thinkes I behold that feareful ſtatue B
which in the ſecond of Daniel was repreſented to Nabuchadnezzar in a dreame, hauing
an head of gold, armes and breaſt of ſiluer, bellie and thighes of braſſe, yron legs, and the
feet one part yron, and the reſt of earth. And ſo applying it in euerie part, *Braſen breaſts*
and thighes (ſaith he) *becauſe of the ſhrill and large promiſes, and the vocall, though fal-*
lacious, abſolution from ſinnes and penalties; and the vniuſt and terrible maledictions and
condemnations of ſuch as but defend their owne libertie, or obſerue due fidelitie to their
Soueraignes, though, through Gods protection, all this rage and tumor is but vaine and
innocuous. And no maruell it is, that the *Index Romanus* forbad all men the rea-
ding thereof.

Iohn de Iandun a Gantois, maintained the ſame propoſitions, who alſo was com- C
prehended in the ſame ſentence of condemnation, a man of rare learning in thoſe tempeſtuous dayes, as may plainly be collected by his workes, printed both at Venice and Florence. Alſo *Leopald* of Bebemburg, Doctor of the lawes, and Biſhop of Bamburg, who handled the ſame argument, namely, That the Emperour had abſolute power of gouerning the Empire, preſently after his election, and the Popes coronation added nothing to him, to whom he was neither vaſſall nor feudatarie. He alſo conuicted *Conſtantines* donation to be a mere fable. The title of the booke is, *De tranſlatione Imperij*, printed at Paris *anno* 1540: but *Michael* of *Ceſenna*, Generall of the Franciſcans, ſpake much more broadly and confidently; for he ſaid expreſly, The Pope was Antichriſt, the Roman Church Babylon, D
which was drunke with the bloud of the Saints: And therefore *Antoninus* placeth him among the *Fratricelli*, or poore Friers of Lyons, who, as formerly wee ſaw, were the verie progenie of the Waldenſes. This man and his followers particularly auerred, That Pope *Iohn* was an heretike, and all the Popes and Prelats
Antonin. parte 3. tit. 21. c. 3. §. 1 that ſhould come after him. And diuers (ſaith *Antoninus*) were burnt in ſundrie parts of the world, that ſtood firme in this opinion. He alſo notes, That long time after the Marquiſat of Ancona, & Florence it ſelfe was full of them, from whence being expelled, they diſperſed themſelues ouer the countries of Greece; as alſo that *Lewis* of Bauaria the Emperour was a ſupporter of theſe opinions: and a- E
mongſt others he makes mention of one *Iohn Caſtiglio*, and *Francis de Harcatara*,
Paulus Æmilius in Carolo Pulchro. Franciſcans, who were burnt. Hereupon our *Paulus Æmilius* deſcends into theſe words: *Vnder king Charles the Faire there liued many admirable wits, and moſt learned men: This age flouriſhed in learning: Some of them were verie holie men, and ſome contending ambitiouſly to excell others, exceeding a meane, grew to be wicked and impious:* Others there were, of whoſe manners and intentions a doubtfull coniecture may bee made: Good men grieued for the euils of the times, and ſilently lamented. And they who were called *Fraterculi*, condemned both by deed and writing, Eccleſiaſticall wealth and opulencie, and preached, That riches, the purple robe, and

A and domination, were vnbeſeeming and vnproper for religion, &c.

But in the life of *Philip de Valois*, we leame both out of him and other French writers, That Pope *Iohn*, what need ſoeuer he had of our helpe, made no ſuch great account of vs, nor we of him, but that theſe amities bruſt forth many times into open warre and contention. Thoſe of the kings Councell, and of the bodie of the Parliament, ſhewed him how diuerſly the Pope and his adherents ſought to infringe and cut off his prerogatiues: *The kings officers complaine that all iuriſdiction was transferred from the royall tribunal to ſacred deciſions: That many more temporall cauſes, and controuerſies betweene temporall men, were heard and adiudged by the Biſhops and other Prieſts than by the kings officers and Iudges. Whoſoeuer in any thing*
B *ſtood not to the cenſure of the Prelats, he was expelled the Church, remoued from communicating with the godlie; and it was come to that paſſe, as euen for debt, when the partie was altogether vnable, he was interdicted water & fire.* Wherfore the deputies of the Prelats and Clergie were commaunded to appeare in the moneth of December, at Bois de Vincennes, neere Paris: there Maſter *Peter de Cugnieres*, the kings Atturney, defended his Soueraignes cauſe, and producing thoſe words of our Sauiour in Saint *Mathew*, *Giue to Cæſar that which is Cæſars, and to God that which is*
C *Gods*, he argued the diſtinction betwixt the juriſdiction ſpirituall and temporall, verie worthie of obſeruation: of which the one belonged to the ciuile Magiſtrat, the other to the Church, which could not interpoſe her ſelfe in matters temporall, without mingling heauen and earth together, and entangling the whole earth in an vtter confuſion. His ſpeech hee alſo confirmed by many apt and well applied places out of the Scriptures, and the ſacred Canons; and inſiſting much vpon that text of the 22 of the Prouerbes: *Exceed not the auncient bounds and limits which thy fathers layed; Becauſe* (ſaith he) *if any cuſtomes were introduced*
contrarie to the ſame, they could be of no worth, nay rather they ſhould be corruptions: and
Preſcription can take no place againſt the kings royall prerogatiue; neither can the king
himſelfe renounce theſe lawes and iuriſdictions, as may be proued by many chapters which
are in the tenth Diſtinction. If therefore (ſaith he) *the king is ſworne at his coronation,*
no wayes to alienate the lawes of the kingdome, and to reuoke againe thoſe alienated, ſo if
D *they ſhould be ſuppreſt or vſurpt by the Church or any other, he is bound to renew and re-*
uiue them againe. And with that he brought forth a ſcedule comprehending ſixtie ſix particulars, wherein were expreſſed ſuch aggrauations and oppreſſions, for which the Clergie was to make ſatisfaction. *Bertram* then Biſhop of Hutum being to ſpeake in behalfe of the Clergie, hee ript vp the memorie of *Charles* the Great, *Lewis* the Godlie, and S. *Lewis*, and other Princes, who in times paſt had endowed and immunified the Churches, aduancing highly their glorie, who had augmented Church liberties; and ſo by many examples exaggerating their reproach and infamie, who had preiudiced and impaired the ſame: and this cauſe being referred for a day of hearing, euen to the verie feaſtiuall of S. *Thomas* of
E Canturburie, might fitly put the king in mind, that this *Thomas* as on that day ſhed his bloud for the liberties and immunities of the Church: and yet wee formerly obſerued, that the Diuines of Paris diſputed how this *Thomas* was more probably (to be ſuppoſed) condemned, becauſe he ſuffered death for his rebellion. But the king plainely made anſwer, *That he would haue a ſpeciall care of all things to come. Bertram* vrgeth further, for the better explication of himſelfe, when the king replied, *I would rather haue the liberties of the Church augmented than diminiſhed*, I meane, the true immunities and liberties, but not vſurpations. And therefore he conſulted with them about the preſeruation of royall rights and juriſdictions: in

hatred

hatred of which fact they endeuoured to depraue the memorie of *Peter de Cogniares*. This is he who in a corner of our Ladies Church in Paris, is commonly called Master *Peter de Cogniet*. An Epistle of *Lucifer* to the Pope and Roman Church fel fit with these times: Some thinke it was written vnder *Philip* the Faire, but because in some exemplaries it is said to be dated in the yeare of his Palace ouerthrowne 1351, about the yeare from Christs birth 1318, it is referred to that yeare. *Lucifer* is in it brought in discoursing, How in times past Christs vicar preaching the word in pouertie of life, the world was so conuerted, that *Erebus* was turned into *Eremum*, Hell into Hermitage: but he had caried the matter so wisely, as to suborne in their places those that should with both their clookes lay hold of worldlie kingdomes, which Christ heretofore refused, being offered him; & that therefore they should not now teach as he and his Apostles did, *Reddite Cæsari, quæ sunt Cæsaris, &c. Subiecti estote Principibus*; but seising both on spirituall and temporall things, they should assume vnto themselues both swords, endeuoring proudly to beare rule ouer Princes themselues. And hereupon came in all excesse, pride, wantonnesse, wicked deuises, and simonie, which carried that sway (as he plentifully laid open) that what aunciently in times past had beene forespoken by the Prophets, was completely fulfilled: The Church of Rome is become the Synagogue of Sathan: The purpled harlot hath committed fornication with the kings of the earth: Of a mother she is become a stepmother, and of a Bride an adultaresse, forgetting her originall charitie, and chastitie; and principally ruinating the Christian Faith, which before she built vp and erected. Then hee exhorts the Pope vehemently to perseuere in these offices, *Because* (saith he) *we are about to send forth Antichrist, for whom all these treasures are to be reserued, in the meane while we would haue you to be our Vicars, &c.* They that spake so broadly in generall of the Roman Church, what thought they, suppose you, of many her particular abuses.

Epist. Lucifer. ad Papam.

Here seemes in the originall to be some error in computation of the yeares.

Hereunto we may adde, That *Iohn Mandeuil*, an English man, a writer verie neere to those times, said, Pope *Iohn* sent to the Grecians, exhorting them to bee vnited to him and the Roman Church, for the knowne and accustomed reasons of that plenarie power graunted vnto him ouer all the Church, in the person of Saint *Peter*: But they answered him laconically, *We vndoubtedly beleeue thy Soueraigne power ouer those that are subiect to thee, but wee cannot endure thy exteame pride, nor are we able to satisfie thy greedie auarice. The dinell be with thee, for God is with vs.*

58. Progression.

Benedict the twelfth succeeded Iohn. He holds the See while the yeare 1342, when as Clement the sixt came to the chaire after him. Lewis the Emperour dyes, and after some opposition Charles, sonne to the king of Bohemia, obtaines the Diademe Imperiall.

Benedict the twelfth succeeded *Iohn*, the Cardinalls hauing been sixteene daies in the Conclaue, before they could agree vpon an election: at last they resolued either for enuie, or in despight one of another, to giue their voyces to this man, nominated *Iacobo de Furno*, the sonne of a Baker of Bearne, or, as some sayd, of Tolouse, of a Doctor of Diuinitie being made Cardinall, called the White, the baseft and most contemptible of all the rest. And the Bulletines, or scedules ran

ran in these words *I N. name such an one, and if he may not be, I name The white*: wherat, himselfe being much amazed, *You haue done verie well*, said he, *for you haue chosen an asse*. For though he was a great Diuine, yet he was thought but an ignorant man for this place, because he was not learned in the Canon-Law, wherein consists all the depth of their Mysteries. It is worthie of memorie, that a certain Bishop of Rome, going to Auignion, it was told him in a vision, the same night that *Iohn* dyed, *Papam quæris, non est, You seeke the Pope, and he is dead*; then being shewed the Pope that should be: when he came to Auignion, and lookt for him amongst the Cardinals, and not knowing him he asked whether they were al present, aunswer was made one was wanting: which was the white Cardinall, to whom he presently went, and knowing him, by his vision formerly had, he spake to him in these words, *Father you are to be Pope*: Then he added, *He that shewed me your countenance, brought me into a most foule and vncleane stable full of dung, where I saw a verie white Marble chest, but nothing in it; your selfe no question is that Chest, which in your office and place you must seeke to fill with vertues, and wonders: And therefore, O Pastor & stabularie, O shepheard, and horse-keeper together, you must now striue to purge the Court and See Apostolike, at this instant, a most vncleane stable of auaricious and Symoniacall dung, & take vnto your cure the holie Roman Church and the Citie.* And yet if we may beleeue *Hieronimo Squarzafico*, in the life of *Petrarch* (who deepely protests, that he would write nothing rashly, nor nothing without ample and large testimonie) he also, though extreamely old, brought in his obscenities, as well as the rest: *For while Petrarch*, saith he, *was in esteeme in the Popes Court, and was promised honours both by the Pope himselfe and other Princes, hee had a sister, about some two and twentie yeares old, which dwelt in Auignion, where she was borne, with his brother Gerard, being exceeding beautifull, and endewed with singular manners and customes; with whose beautie the Pope was desperatly in loue, and many wayes he attempted to enioy her: For this end he thought to purchase Petrarchs good will, by rewards and preferments, promising that he would make him a Cardinall, so he might compasse his will of her. Francis Petrarch, who in all things had God before his eyes, from whom nothing is hid, and as he that had not learnt to flatter, faine or dissemble, being, as he had iust cause, wonderfully prouoakt, and vttering that with his Tongue which was deepely printed both in his heart and countenance, he made answer, That so filthie a hat was not to be put vpon any ones head, but rather to be shunned & abhorred of all men, as prophane and shamefull, and were it not for the reuerence of his place, being Gods Vicar on earth, which detained him, he would be reuenged with his pen for so great an indignitie: as he was, saith Philephus, in a morall Sonet of his, that begins thus in Italian, Io non vo piu cantare come solea. The Pope notwithstanding, enamoured beyond all patience, tampred likewise with his other brother Gerard, who being corrupted with a few bribes, yeelded his sister; when Frauncis vnderstanding of this hayrous offence, and seeing the Church of God so violently transported to all vice and wickednesse, he fled from Auignion, and tooke his iourney towards Italie: and his brother stroken with repentance, after he had married his sister, entred into a religious order, and became a Carthusian, in the Conuent of Materne, nere to Marselles, abandoning and forsaking all worldlie affaires. Theodorick Enghelshuen*, in his Chronicle, sets downe a speech of his, wherein *Benedict* clearely manifests, what himselfe thought of his owne Court; for creating sixe Cardinals presently after his comming to the Sea, and demaunded why he made no more, he replied, *I would willingly haue done so, if at the same instant, I could likewise haue created a new world, for that already made is not enough to satisfie those that are.*

Albert. Argentinens. in Chron. sed aduerte in Indice Hispanico p. 1. multa erasa.

Hieronimus Squarzeficus in vita Petrarcæ.

In

In the meane while the Emperor *Lewis* was the butt whereat he meant to ſhoot all the arrowes of his wrath, who, though he were wel intreated by this mans predeceſſor, omitted no meanes wherby he might aſſuage the ſwelling humor of the Pontificall Court: And *Benedict* certainely gaue the better eare vnto him, becauſe *Philip de Valois* importuned, that himſelfe might be conſtituted the Popes Vicar generall, both in Italie and ouer all Chriſtendome beſides; and that a tenth might be granted him of all tenthes for tenne yeares, as alſo that all the Churches treaſurie might be deliuered into his hands, for the expedition and ſuccour of Paleſtina, to wit, that vnſpeakable treaſure left by *Iohn* the two and twentieth: ſo as all of them were herewith mightily vexed and perplexed. Apprehending therefore due opportunitie, the Emperour *Lodouike* ſent Robert Count Palatine of the Rhine, his brothers ſonne, and *William* Duke of Iuliers, to Auignion, to congratulat with *Benedict*, who were cloſely whiſpered in the eare, That if *Lewis*, *vnder certaine articles* which ſhould be ſet downe in writing, *would demand abſolution and pardon*, it ſhould be granted him. When they were returned he ſent other men of high note, with ample commiſſion to performe the greateſt part of that which he deſired: amongſt whom *Marquard de Randeck*, a Canon of Auſpurg, afterwards Biſhop of Bamburg, a man of ſpeciall eſtimation, deliuered the embaſſage. And *Benedict* made a verie mild and courteous anſwer, *How he was verie glad that this branch of Almaine would be reioyned againe vnto her ſtocke, this Prince, the moſt noble and renowmed of all the world; much commending Germanie, and the Emperour Lodouike, whom he tearmed the worthieſt Prince aliue: complaining that Italie was gouerned by tyrans, and the kingdome of Armenia ouerrun by Pagans, whoſe Princes, both in Pope Iohns time and his, called out for the Chriſtians ſuccour, and the Holie land was almoſt loſt for want of an Emperour: and therefore he ſayd he was deſeruedly to beſtow vpon him abſolution; and the ſame was expected (ſaith the Hiſtoriographer) the day following.* But the Cardinals who were partly created by *Iohn*, and partly againe feared leaſt their cõmings-in in France wold be intercepted, & then further moued by a great embaſſie ſent from *Philip* king of France, and *Robert* king of Sicilie, who proteſted, That he could not without a great ſcandall receiue againe into the boſome of the Church ſo famous an Hereſiarke, and that the Pope had need take heed *leaſt he were reputed* a fauourer of Heretikes, they ſuddenly reſolued, that *Lodouikes* ſubmiſſion was to be reiected, and ſo they withdrew the Pope from his abſolution, though he conſtantly maintained, that *Lewis* was not in fault: and they obiecting, *how Lewis had done many things againſt the Church: He replied, nay rather we did againſt him, for hee would haue come with a ſtaffe in his hand, falling downe at our predeceſſors feet, but he would neuer receiue him, and whatſoeuer he did, he did it by prouocation.* In which words he manifeſtly condemned both his predeceſſor and his proceedings. The embaſſadours therefore returning into Germanie, made relation what was there to be hoped for: In brief, that the court of Rome was wonderfully afrayd of peace and concord: how it was an vſuall prouerbe amongſt them, *That it made well for them the Germans were ſo fooliſh.* And ſo in the yeare 1328 an Imperial Diet was ſummoned at the Bourg of Reynſey, on the bank of the Rhine, where all the Electors of the Empire were preſent, and many Princes, both lay and Eccleſiaſtical: where giuing vp an oath, and all ſolemne rites performed, they publiſhed a Decree, That the Empire depended onely on God, to whom the Emperour is bound to yeeld an account: That being once choſen by the Electors, he is abſolute Emperour: That with a good conſcience he could not againſt the Imperiall Maieſtie ſolicite the Pope by Legats, yeeld him an oath, or demaund leaue of

Albertus Argent. in Chronic.

Auent. l. 7. An. 1328.

of him to gouerne the Empire, who had nothing to doe with the Empire, but was a keeper of ſheepe, bound in this reſpect to looke well to his flocke: That ſo hee was taught out of the holie Scriptures, and they that thought otherwiſe, that the Emperour was the Popes vaſſall, and except he were by him approued hee could not be acknowledged Emperour, did but euidently abuſe the Scriptures, contaminating and wreſting them with their corrupt interpretations, which they apply to their owne behooſes and intereſts, contrarie to the meaning of thoſe Scriptures, no queſtion, euen by the verie inſtinct of Sathan, the Prince of this world, as may plainely be diſcerned by the miſchiefes that deriue therefrom, ciuile wars, inteſtine ſeditions, deuaſtation of nations, taking of cities, deflagrations, ſlaughters, and violations: *Wherefore* (ſaid they) *we perpetually enact, That all power, and the Empire it ſelfe, proceeds onely from the benefit of election, and that by no meanes we need herein the Biſhop of Romes ſanctimonie, conſecration, authoritie, or conſent: and whoſoeuer ſpeakes, thinkes, or practiſeth to the contrarie, let him be condemned of high treaſon, let him be reputed an enemie to the Commonwealth, and proſcribed, let him bee puniſhed with the loſſe of his head, and his goods confiſcated to the Emperor.* And ſo the whole aſſemblie concluded in theſe words. Not long time after *Edward* king of England croſſed ouer the ſeas into Germanie to ſee *Lodouike* (for the Empreſſes ſiſter was his wife) and they met both at Franckfort, whither many Nobles & Biſhops, both of Italie, Germanie, France, and England, repaired: There, by the aduiſe and conſent of both Princes, as alſo of the whole aſſemblie, this Decree was divulged: That whoſoeuer brought in any of Pope *Iohn* the two and twentieth his Bulls (for to ſpare the liuing they laid vpon the dead) he ſhould be condemned of high treaſon. The principall heads and points of this Act, may more fitly be reſerued to the ſection following. Nine dayes after the Princes of the Empire aſſembled againe together at Lenſtaine, within the Dioceſſe of Magunce, binding themſelues mutually by oath to defend this Decree, and denouncing him that did otherwiſe, a pernitious ſchellem, or knaue. This Decree is extant in *Albericus de Roſata in Legem 3. Cod. de quadrienni præſcriptione, & apud Hieronimum Balbum Epiſcopum Gurcenſem*, in his booke *de Coronatione ad Carolum quintum, Imperatorem: William Ockam*, a moſt famous Diuine, and his whole ſocietie aſſiſting in all theſe promulgations. And the Dominicans themſelues vnderſtanding that Pope *Benedict* out of his owne enclination was not oppoſite to *Lewis*, made choyce rather to ioyne with him than to depart out of the cities. In ſome places alſo, to auoyd the blame of weakeneſſe and leuitie, being reſolued to obey, they cauſed themſelues to bee enforſt to celebrate ſacred functions. And to this time Pope *Benedict* held the chaire, that is to ſay, vntill the yeare 1342, deſcribed for his time in theſe two ſhort verſes: *An.* 1342.

Albertus Argent. in Chronic. Auent. l. 7.

Iſte fuit verò Laicis mors, vipera Clero
Deuius à vero, turba repleta mero.

This man the Laities death, the Clergies viper prou'd,
Himſelfe did ſwarue from truth, the people ſtrong wine lou'd.

Peter Roger, a Lymoſine, of the Order of S. *Benedict*, ſucceeded him, called by the name of *Clement* the ſixt. *Albertus* declares, That after his election, *making a ſpeech, he ſaid, That firſt he was promoted to be a rich Abbot, then to bee a better Biſhop, and laſtly to the beſt Archbiſhopricke of all France* (which was, of Roan) that he left all

Albertus Argent. in Chronic.

all these dignities deepely indebted; Then (said he) I afterwards rose to be Cardi- A
nall, and now Pope, *by diuine instinct, because the former places could not support him.*
Obserue how this man feared the weightie burden of his Pontificall office and
function. It is specially noted in him, That contrarie to the custome of his prede-
cessors, he was the first that fastened the armes of his familie to his Bulls, which
was the fiue Roses. And at Paris, in a publike sermon, while he was Archbishop
of Roan, the kings of France and of Bohemia being present, he grossely and foo-
lishly preached against *Lewis*. Afterwards being Pope he ouerthrew all the Chur-
ches of Christendome by his exactions. He was addicted to women, was cou-
tous of honour and dominion, obseruing no mediocritie in his promotions; so
as he made himselfe and the Court of Rome infamous for simonie: And being B
demaunded whether simple Clerks were not to be well examined & interogated,
or no, he made answer, *That the hills and mountaines* (which they were to passe) *had*
Idem ibidem. *examined them sufficiently*; that was to say, had drawne their purses drie ynough.
Thom. Walsing. in Hypodeigm. Neustriæ. And amongst other things the English Historiographer obserues, that when his
Cardinals told him that he had made the king of Englands Secretarie Bishop of
Excester, a lay and ignorant man, hee replied, That at his entreatie (the king of
An. 1345. England he meant) he *had made an Asse Bishop.*

Lewis, though he had sufficient testimonie of his ill affection towards him, yet
defatigated as he was with ciuile warres, he sent vnto him an honourable Embas-
sie, which was *Henrie* Dolphine of Viennois, *Lewis* Count of Ottinghen, and *Pl.* C
rie Hagenhor his Secretarie of State, hauing commission to attend while any hope
of peace remained: as also *Philip* king of France affected the same matter, by this
meanes to abate *Lewis* his affection towards the English: But (saith the Author)
Auent. Let. *the Cardinals, a peruerse kind of men*, detracted day after day for the space of three
yeares, in diuers conuocations deluding him, while at length they resolued, *That*
his impietie towards the Popes, the greatest gods vpon earth, was no wayes to bee let
passe vnpunished. The summe therefore of his answer was this, That *Lewis* should
first so dispose of himselfe, as to giue full satisfaction to the Church, and then he
might solicit the Pope for his absolution. The Pope caused his Monetorie in D
forme of a Placart, to be fastened on the gates of all the Churches in Auignion,
wherein he was commanded to surcease his Imperiall administrations, and vnder
paine of excommunication, within a certaine day to submit himselfe to the
Church. The embassadours declared, That they had a large commission to giue
the Pope contentment, so he would but set downe his demaunds in speciall arti-
Albertus Argent. in Chron. cles: when he thus enioyned, *That he should vnfainedly confesse all his errors and be-*
resies. Item, That he should resigne the Empire, and not to reassume the same before by the
Popes fauour it were conferred vpon him: to commit both himselfe, his sonnes, his goods,
and his whole state, to the Popes will and disposition: with many other strange and vnwar-
all iniunctions. There was no man supposed that euer *Lewis* would haue accepted
of these conditions, and yet he did not onely subscribe vnto them, vnder hand and E
seale, but a Protonotarie being present, who was sent from the Pope, for this pur-
pose, he both sware their obseruance, and also neuer to reuoke them: so as the
Pope and all the Cardinals were herewith astonished. The embassadours there-
fore taking an oath in his name, desired certaine articles of penance to be deliue-
red to them, supposing that no obstacle now remained behind. But then the Pope
abusing maliciously his simple humilitie, digested other articles which concerned
not his person, but the verie State and respects of his Empire, *As that he should re-*
uoke all the Decrees enacted against Iohn the two and twentieth, Christs Vicar, cut off for-
mer

A *mer Acts, recant all opprobries, and publikely by a perpetuall Edict establish, That the Em-*
pire was the fee and donation of the Pope, and that he neither could iustly be, or bee called
Cæsar, before he confirmed him in the same: as also, that he should deliuer Ockam with
his Collegues and associats into his hands. The which articles being communicated to
the Princes Electors, and cities Imperiall, by copies sent all ouer, they met at
Franckfort the yere 1344, in the the moneth of September, to deliberat and con-
sult of them: There with joynt consent, all solemne rites obserued, they decreed,
That these articles were most impious, and tending to the ouerthrow of the Empire: That
the Emperour by his oath Imperiall vndertaken, could by no meanes assent there-
unto: That embassadors should be sent to the Pope to complaine of these articles,
B and if he persisted in this seueritie, they would let slacke no meanes to preserue the
honour, rights, and safetie of the Empire. To conclude, they sent Princes and
great States to the Pope, who vnderstanding their resolution, was the more in-
censed to *Lodouikes* destruction & ruine, and thereupon he began to plot with the
king of Bohemia, with *Charles* his sonne, and the Bishop of Treues their vncle, to
erect another Emperor opposit to *Lewis*, the which egge was hatcht some two
yeares after. *Auentine* here notes, That the king demaunding of the Parisian Di-
uines about this affaire, they made answer, *That Clements answers were not onely*
wicked and insolent, but contrarie to all Christian equitie and iustice.

Clement therefore the yeare 1346, in the administration of the Sacrament bit- *An.* 1346.
C terly cursing *Lewis*, he denounced him both an heretike & schismatike, admonish-
ing the Princes by a certaine day to chuse another Emperor, *That the Church might*
not long be destitute of an Aduocat, otherwise the Apostolicall See would thinke vpon one.
He also deposed the Archbishop of Magunce from Virnberg, because hee had
maintained the prerogatiues of the Empire, constituting *Gerlac Nassau* in his
place. The Bishop of Strasbourg he absolued, after he had taken an oath no more
to assist *Lewis*: He employed *Bernard* of Lutzemberg Elector of Treues, and by
his solicitations, through money and promises, drew vnto himselfe many Princes.
And thus by the negotiations of this new Elector of Magunce he called a Dyet
at Reynsey vpon Rhine, wherein *Charles* of Lutzemberg, sonne to *Iohn* king of
D Bohemia, was annointed Emperour, the fourth of that name: And he being then
in France to ayd king *Philip* against the English, the Pope absolued him of his
oath made to *Lewis*, and encouraged him both with words and meanes to assume
the Diademe Imperiall. *Lewis* on the other side assembled the States at Spire,
complaining of so great and singular a treacherie, entreating and importuning
the Princes both Ecclesiasticall and secular, to reuenge this iniurie done vnto him,
who also vndertooke his protection, detesting both the Popes and *Charles* his at-
tempts. Then *Ockam* and many others writ the more vehemently against *Clement*,
as hereafter you shall see, and a more cruell warre than euer before arose in Ger-
manie; wherein, notwithstanding the Popes fauour and assistance, *Charles* ha-
E uing alwayes the worst, when he came to Aquisgrane to bee crowned, the gates
were shut against him, and when the Bishop of Liege would haue receiued him,
the citizens expelled the Bishop himselfe, and raysed the siege layd to it. Yet be-
ing confirmed by the Pope, he determined to be crowned at Collen, especially
the Bishop fauouring him: but the inhabitants refusing him, he was enforst to be
consecrated at Bona, while at length *Lewis*, opposing his wisedome to *Charles*
his youthfull heat, was taken out of the world in the yeare 1347, leauing the place *An* 1347.
vacant. Some say he dyed of poyson, othersome say of an Apoplexie: But cer- *Paulus Langius in Chron. Citizens. de an.* 1347
tainely the most famous men of that age highly commend this Prince, who, to

the accumulation of all vertues beſeeming a noble and renowmed Prince, was in nothing defectiue, but in his mild and ſoft proceeding with the Popes: In the meane while *Clement* publiſhing a Bull in fauour of *Charles*, wherein he enioyned the Princes of Germanie to receiue him, as the faithfull child of the Church, extorting this fruit from all his labour and ſtudie imployed, *That from that time forward none was to be reputed Emperour whom the Pope, Chriſts Vicar, did not approue of; and to beleeue otherwiſe was a moſt pernitious hereſie.* And for the ſurer obligation of them to theſe poynts, he vrged them to an oath, which part of the Princes ſhrunke from, and ſome verie openly oppugned: *For* (ſaid they) *doth that ſeruant of ſeruants ſo ſwell and inſult in pride and arrogancie, as that openly with a ſhameleſſe countenance he contends to ſurmount the vices and inſolencies of all the moſt cruell tyrans we haue euer read of?* From words therefore they came to blowes: for when *Charles* heard of *Lewis* death, he came to Ratisbone, the Conſuls themſelues giuing him entrie into the citie; and when the people heard of the Popes pretences, they ran violently to armes, himſelfe was ſcarcely exempted from their furie, ſo as of neceſſitie he muſt needs depart the citie. From thence going to Nuremberg, and being honourably entertained by the Senat, the people againe expelled him, and ſent for *Lodouikes* ſonne: All this proceeding from a deteſtation of thoſe articles impoſed by *Clement* vpon *Charles*; as alſo from the forme of a Commiſſion granted to the Biſhop of Bamberg, for the vrging of ſuch to a reconciliation to the Church, who had followed *Lewis* partie: which ran in this manner, *They ſhall ſweare, hereafter to hold the Catholike Faith* (but marke wherein it muſt conſiſt) *to be faithfull to the See Apoſtolike, to beleeue nor fauour no heretike: That it is a condemned hereſie, to thinke that the Emperor may depoſe the Pope, and create another: That the Emperor is to be eſteemed no Emperor, except he be firſt approued by the See Apoſtolike: neither were they to cleaue or adhere to the progenie or children of the ſame Lewis, except they were reconciled to the Church: And laſtly, That they ſhould obey Charles king of Romans, approued and confirmed in the throne*; otherwiſe they were not to be abſolued from theſe cenſures and penalties. *Charles* was aduiſed, not to publiſh this forme, if he meant to be louingly entertained of the people: But the Biſhop fearing the Popes diſpleaſure, durſt not abſolue any of the Interdict, vnleſſe hee would performe this manner of abiuration; which many reſiſted, and namely at Baſil, *Conradus Burneueld*, Burgomaſter, who when *Charls* entred the citie, he proteſted before a publike Notarie in behalfe of the whole citie, *My Lord of Bamberg, vnderſtand, that we will neither beleeue nor confeſſe that our Soueraigne Lewis, Roman Emperor, was euer an heretike: and whoſoeuer the Princes Electors commend vnto vs, or the greater part of them, for king of Romans, or Emperor, for the ſame we will take him, though he neuer ſeeke to the Pope, neither will we performe any thing which may be in any ſort repugnant to the royalties and iuriſdictions of the Empire.* Yet the Biſhop was counſelled to remoue the Interdict, and *Charles* by ſtealth left Baſil, comming by water to Strasbourg, where he met with the like, and yet more bitter diſtaſts; as alſo preſently after at Spire, and other cities, where much ſedition & ſtrife grew about this forme, which he was driuen to moderat and qualifie. At Wormes the Biſhop was conſtrained to abſolue the Interdict, without any oath taken, or conditions at all. *Charls* was receiued into Magunce, with this prouiſo, That he ſhould not eſtabliſh *Gerlac*, conſtituted their Archbiſhop by the Pope, nor ſuffer any patent to be publikely read in his behalfe: *In many places*, this *Gerlac, minding to depart, all his people garding before his lodging in armes, the hoſts not being payed for the charges of his traine, and kitchin, hee was detained, and namely at Wormes, vpon the complaint of a publike*

publike executioner: And hauing no other meanes, hee was enforc to pawne his Patent, or collection Warrants, to pay his hoſts. And all this, out of doubt, not properly out of any hatred to *Charls*, but to the Pope & Pontificiall exactions.

But the Princes yet attempt further; for aſſembling in the greateſt part at Reinſey, vpon the Rhine, vnder the caſtle of Longſtein, they conſulted about the depoſing of *Charles*, and chuſing Emperour *Edward* king of England, *Lewis* his neere allie; to whom, by embaſſadours they ſolemnely offered the Empire: but, after many thankes giuen, he excuſed himſelfe by reaſon of the warre hee had in hand with the French men. Then they betooke themſelues to *Henrie* Marqueſſe of Miſnia, *Lodouikes* ſonne in law, but for a ſumme of money hee yeelded his right to *Charles*. At laſt they reſolued on *Gunther*, Count of Swartzburg, as renowmed a gentleman for martiall proweſſe as was in that age: who accepted of it on this condition, That in a ſolemne aſſembly of the Princes to be conuocated at Franckfort, the vacancie of the ſeat were confirmed by the greater part; which was effected in the yeare 1349: So much they grudged to receiue an Emperour from the Popes hands. But being ſicke (as our Author *Albertus* ſayes) *one maſter Fridanck, a famous Phyſitian, miniſtred to him a potion, which Gunther commanded him, though greatly againſt his owne will, to aſſay and taſt of in his owne preence*; and preſently after his aſſay *Gunther* himſelfe tooke ſome: but the Phyſitian, who incontinently *began to diſcolour in his countenance, within the ſpace of three dayes died, and Gunther might ily ſwelling, grew to be weake and vnable of bodie, ſo as it was thought this Phyſitians ſeruant had put in ſome poyſon.* By reaſon of this bodily indiſpoſition *Gunther* was the readier to come to accord, being alſo excited thereunto by diuers of the Princes his friends, who looking into this diſcommoditie, meant to aduance their owne intereſts, both by benefits and affinities with *Charles*. It was therefore couenanted betwixt them, *That for the right of his election* accepting of 22000 markes of ſiluer, and two Imperiall townes in Turingia, he ſhould renounce his title for terme of life. But within a moneth after *Gunther* died, & *Charles* remained peaceably inſtalled; but this was by ſiniſter meanes, and to the irrecouerable dammage of the Empire: For in him, and by his baſeneſſe, the proceſſe was ended, to the Popes benefit, commenced anciently by *Gregorie* the 7, called *Hildebrand*, for confirmation of the authority of their Sees, againſt the liberties of the Empire, being wholly exhauſted of treaſure; and therefore to appeaſe the townes & States, who were prouoked by his moleſtations, and to be acknowledged in them, *Charls* was conſtrained to acquit them of the greateſt part of his taxes & ſubſidies, in ſuch ſort as the Maieſty of the Empire was ſcarce able euer after to recouer it ſelf again.

By the ſame meanes the German Emperours loſt all their authoritie in Italie, while *Lewis* the fourth was at variance and ſtrife with the Popes, partly becauſe Popes ordained Magiſtrats in the cities Imperiall, and out of the Vicariate which they arrogated to themſelues in the Empires vacancie, they appointed the principall of the Guelphiſh faction to be their ſubſtitutes: and partly alſo in that the Emperour being employed in Germanie, to retaine ſtill ſome authoritie and power, he conſtituted the more illuſtrious perſonages of his partie (who were tearmed Gibellines) his deputies & vicegerents in thoſe cities that remained vnder his ſubiection. And thus it came to paſſe that many of theſe Vicars and Subſtitutes grew at laſt to be Lords and proprietaries of the places. Many cities likewiſe ſhaking off the yoke of ſubiection, redeemed their libertie. And ſo amidſt theſe great agitations and diſturbances, the more mightie and potent deuoured and ſwallowed vp their weaker neighbours. For thus we ſee that *Clement* by authoritie Apoſtolicall,

call, made *Lucino Viconte*, and *Ioan* his brother, his Vicars in Milan, with absolute authoritie and power ouer all the places they held in their hands. In like manner he appointed *Mastinus de Scaliger* to be his Vicar at Verona, *William Gonzaga* at Mantoa and Rhegio, *Albert o Carrara*, at Padua, *Opizo d'Este* at Ferrara, Modena, and Argento: All which places, did vndoubtedly formerly belong to the Empire. The same course *Benedict* the twelfth entred into, which, beeing preuented by death, he could not accomplish and finish. As also *Lewis*, out of his imperiall authoritie, placed *John de Vico*, his substitute at Viterbo, *Galeot Malatesta* and his brethren at Rimini, Pesara, and Fano. *Antonio de Montefeltro* at Vrbin, *Gentile de Varano* at Camerino, *Guido di Polenta* at Rauenna, *Senabaldo Ordelaffi*, at Furli and Cesena, *John Manfredi* at Faenza, and *Lewis Alidosio* at Imola: places no question pretended to be Papall. Now the Venetians amiddest these tumults, apprehending opportunitie, found meanes to rise by the ruines of the Empire: As also, during these dissentions, one *Nicholas Laurentius* notarie or Chauncellour of the Capitoll at Rome, attempted to expell the Senators out of Rome, to inuade the Capitoll, to summon the people to recouerie of libertie; to whom such multitudes flocked, that all Italie was onely attentiue on him and his proceedings, nay diuers forrainers visited him by Embassadours: he enstiled himselfe *Nicholaus Seuerus*, and *Clemens* the Tribune of libertie, peace and justice, and the famous deliuerer of the Roman Common-wealth. And *Petrarch* speaking of his beginnings with great admiration, by and by reprehends him, because he flattered the worser sort of people, *Where is now become*, saith he, *thy redeeming spirit? Where is that same consulting genius of good actions, with which thou wert supposed to haue daily conference? for it seemes such things could not be performed by a man, and it is verie wonderfull, how this man desisted from his commendable initiations.* But distrusting the issue of his innouations, hee stole priuily out of Rome, and went into Germanie to *Charles* the fourth, to haue some treatie with him; who being of a base disposition, sent him bound to Auignion to the Pope, condemned to perpetuall imprisonment: where the Popes yet remained as it were in an hired and borrowed habitation. When *Robert* King of Sicilie dyed, he left *Ioane* his neece by the brothers side, his heire, to whom by Testament, he allotted *Andrew* his cousin for her husband: But *Ioane* being married a little while, grew into great detestation of him, and thereupon caused him to be slayne in the Citie of Auersa, and then she chose *Lewis* of Tarento, another cousin of hers, to be her husband. *Lewis* king of Hungarie, came to bee reuenged of *Andrew* his brothers death; but *Ioane*, not daring to attend *Lewis* presence, consulted of flight, and so she and her husband retired into Prouence, committing her selfe to the Popes protection; who through the intercession of *Guido* Cardinall of Porto her kinsman, made her peace vpon this condition, That he might be restored to the kingdome; That *Lewis* her pretended husband should lay downe the stile of king, and be contented vnder him, with that of Prince, and that the king of Hungarie after her death, should to succeed al her rights & titles. And that you may not suppose the Pope laboured herein in vayne, behold the reward of his arbitration: *The Citie of Auignion, together with the Countie, a part of her fathers enheritance, was graunted to the Pope, but yet this vnder a certaine shew and color of sale, as if the sale of the Citie, had not counternailed the Tribute which Ioan was yet to pay out of her kingdome, since her obtaining the dignitie. Blondus* speaks verie plainely out of *Petrarch*. *The Pope did not all this meere gratis, for he enioyed the citie and countie of Auignion, her fathers Patrimonie, and the payment of money was changed into the payment of a Fee, or Recognition, which*

Blondus Decad. 2. l. 19.

Machiavel. l. 1. Hist. Florent.

Pandolf. Collenucius l. 5. Blondus Decad. 2. l. 10. Matt. Villani & Annal. l. 1. Jac. Card. Papiensis in Epistolis.

which Ioane, formerly crowned, had promised for her kingdome. Mathew Villanus writes indeed, that it cost him three hundred thousand florins, whereof the discharge of the sayd pension and arrerages was a part. He at would but know what valuation on the Court of Rome made of this purchase, let them read the Epistle of *Iames* Cardinall of Pauia, about this matter; when a motion was made of restoring it againe to the house of Anjou, *We must prouide by all meanes*, saith he, *that the Roman See, loose not her patrimonie beyond the Alpes. It is a refuge to distressed Popes, an hard bit in the mouthes of the Italians, to curbe them from too licentiously disturbing the Church: If we cannot be quiet here, in threatning onely to transferre our selues to that Citie of ours, we worke our owne peace.*

Henricus Rebdorff. in Annalib.

Boniface, as formerly you haue heard, had ordayned the Iubilie to be celebrated euerie hundreth yere, promising many great indulgences: and *Clement* knowing what profit it turned him to, would needs haue one also in his time: wherefore in the first yeare of his Pontificat (let the Reader obserue his zeale) he brought it to euerie fiftie yeare, so as himselfe being absent, it might be celebrated at Rome, and this was done the better to reconcile the Romans to him, who should be greatly enriched hereby. And because it concernd him so nerely, he sent thither foure Cardinals, his Legats, with plenarie power if need required, vpon this occasion, to reforme the state of the Citie of Rome. His drift was indeed vnder this pretext to haue put downe the Senators; but though the Romans mouthes watred at the gaine and lucre of a Iubilie, yet could hee obtayne no further of them, but that in the election of Senators, contrarie to the auntient custome, there should be this addition, *A Papa declarabuntur*, they *shall be declared by the Pope*. In the Records of many famous Cities, there is yet at this day, a Bull extant, which he publisht vpon the proclamation of the Iubilie: wherein these clauses are expressly set downe, *Whosoeuer by way of pilgrimage determines to come to his citie* (he means Rome) *the same day that he goes out of his Inne, onwards on his iourney, he may chuse a Confessor or Confessors, both on the way and in any other place whatsoeuer, to which Confessours by our authoritie we giue full power to absolue all Papall interests, as if we were there in proper person. Item, we graunt, that if being trulie confest he dye in the way, that he be absolutely freed and discharged of all his sinnes. And no lesse we expressly commaund the Angels of Paradise, that his soule, being quite set at libertie out of Purgatorie, they immediatly conuey it into the glorie of Paradise.* But the Parisian faculties of Diuinitie, condemne the Pope of intollerable errour, and temeritie. There are that referre such an other, as you haue heard to *Clement* the fift. Questionlesse all Authors exclaime of wonderfull Symonie in his time, and vnusuall reseruations of Benefices, throughout the whole Church; some of which he reuoaked, onely to auoyd publique scandall. But, gentle Reader, while thou seest him here thus commaunding ouer Angels, why doest thou not listen to the Apostles prediction in the second to the Thessalonians 2, where he speaks of the man of sinne, bearing himselfe as God, equall to God, and extolling himselfe aboue all that is called God; in so manie ages after succeeding, to whom may it fitlyer be applied than to him?

Legitur hæc Bulla in Tractatu de materijs indulgentialibus Ioan. Phefleo Professore Friburgensi. anno 1472.

Opposition.

The oppositions declared throughout this whole Progresse against the Papall Tyrannie, may seeme sufficient, without adding any other: because we see him to haue beene euer mightily oppugned, by all the famous men of those ages; as also

also by most commendable and vertuous Princes: yet for the Readers better satisfaction, we will not thinke it amisse to annexe some thing else. The imperiall Decree publisht in the yeare 1338, against the acts of *Iohn* the two and twentieth, as you heard, was approued by *Edward* king of England, who also was present at the digesting it: For the flanckering and seconding of which, the Emperour *Lewis* dimulged another Edict, whose principall heads it will not be altogether impertinent here to insert. *Lewis the fourth Emperour, and by Gods grace Cæsar Augustus, to all Christians health: S. Peter and S. Paule, the first Embassadours from the eternall Maiestie, declared and foretold long time before, seriously informing vs, That after their times there should arise false Prophets, audatious and subtile, and that Priests should become lying messengers; plainely deciphering their workes vnto vs: In the Temple of God,* said they, *that is the Church, they shall sit as gods, and be exalted aboue all that is reuerenced or worshipped by any Nation, as God. That those things are most true, which the true Prophets of God, and the interpreters of his secrets, did denuntiat, by manifest experience it is confirmed: and except we be dull and senceless, wee cannot but perceiue and euen feele the same. We cannot denie but that men now are too superstitious to oppose the abuses of the times; though in hipocriticall fraudes & delusions, wherewith the ignorant vulgar are many times taken and ensnared, they are most wittie, and craftie; brasen-faced to vphold customes and rights receiued, and herein abusing the simple credulitie of sillie fooles, whereof the number is infinit. But it is my part to detect and refell such impostures and digressions, to the end they may not affront Christian integritie, and plainly mock & deride diuine veritie. Men gather not grapes from thorns, and the Prophet of God receiues no bribes or rewards. Christ commanded his messengers, that whosoeuer amongst them, sought to be highest should be lowest: And the Kings of the earth beare domination and rule ouer people, but you are the seruants of my flocke, that is to say, Shepheards you are & not Lords. Notwithstanding all these things are most true and euident, yet Pharisies, and pernitious Antichrists, sustaine, That an Emperour chosen by voyce and custome imperiall, and by the suffrages of Princes, cannot be Emperour, except the high Priest, who is Lord ouer all, and possessor of both powers, allow and confirme him.* And here he refuted this proposition, as being flatly opposit both to the sacred Scriptures, to the auntient Laws and Canons, and to the customes of all ages: further adding, *For these reasons, well, rightly, and wisely I appeale, from the enemie of the Christian Common-wealth, to a future generall Councell of all Christendome to be held, whereof he is but a member and no head: for as S. Ierome sayes, The church of the whole world is greater than that of the Citie &c.*

Clement persueuering in this his rage and furie, *William Ockham* incessantly defended *Lewis* right, especially because (through his plot and deuise) *Charles* came to be nominated Emperour: and in a booke which he publisht vpon this subject, *He taxed Clement, with the note of an heretike, calling him verie Antichrist, an hater of Christian powertie, an enemie of the Common-wealth, a mortall foe to the Germans, a most Christian Nation, and a follower of Clement the fift, and Iohn the two and twentieth, false Popes, and most deuouring Wolues: Charles* also, *he accuseth of periurie, treason, parricide, and of impietie towards his grandfather, and nere kinseman, in breaking the oath, wherein he stood bound to Lodouick, and perfidiously infringing the Lawes of Constans, Franckfort, and Longstreine, promulged by the Dyets Edict: and terming him a vile seruant to the Priests of Auignion, of whom, he bought the Diadem imperiall. Leopald* also, Bishop of Bamberg, and *Ockhams* Collegues doe no lesse, in a Tractate entituled, *Vindex pacis Christianæ, wherein they affirme, That the Pope except he had rather take vpon him Antichrists pride, than emulate Christs and his Apostles*

Auent. Ly.

Apostles powertie, was but a seruant to the meanest Christian, much more to soueraigne and supreame power; so farre from reason it was, that to the singular preiudice of the Christian Commonwealth, he should domineere and rule, doe whatsoeuer he thinkes good, and requiring not onely to be called, but to be beleeued a god. Indeed *Conrade* of Magdeberg laboured hard in the answer of these men, but seuen yeares after *Ockams* death, who dying *anno* 1347, and was honourably buried at Franckfort, in the Franciscans Colledge, together with other two of his companions, *Bona gratia de Bergamo*, and *Michael de Cesena*. Some few yeares also before *Vlric Hengherohr, Lodouikes* Chancellor, and Secretarie to the Empire, deceased, who fearing the *Auignion Antichristians* reuenge (so he tearmed them) he gaue order in his last Will and Testament, to be buried without the Church, least they should haue persecuted him in his verie bones.

But no man shewes vs more plainly than Florentine *Petrarch*, what opinion all the renowmed men, of those troublesome seasons, held of the Pope and of the Court of Rome, who was Archdeacon of Parma, the verie light of that age, and greater had beene if he could haue soothed and flattered the Popes, of whom he might haue obtained any thing. And so much the rather, because he writ for the most part as one exempted from the heat and spleene of those present contentions and partialities. I omit to set downe how liuely in his Poems he deciphers the Roman Court, many times calling her the Babylonian Harlot, the Schole of all errour, the verie Forge of deceit, and the Temple of heresie. But here it may be sayd, That Poets haue euer beene permitted to speake broadly: Let mee request the Reader therefore but onely to read his Latine Epistles, full of grauitie, zeale, and learning; wherein he sincerely explaines his opinion. In the eighth of those Epistles which are called *Sine titulo*, where he describes the Court of Rome vnder the nomination of the Occidentall Babylon: *Know* (saith he) *in briefe, that neither mine nor Ciceroes penne himselfe, if he were aliue, would suffice to decypher it: Whatsoeuer we read of the Ægiptian, or Assyrian Babylon, whatsoeuer of the foure Laberinths of the mouth of Auerne, of the groues infernall, or of the marish of Sodome, being paraleled with this hell, they are all but fables and bables. Here is tower-topping and blaspheming Nemrod: Here is Symiramis and her quiuer: Here inexorable Minos, and Radamant: Here is all-deuouring Cerberus, Pasiphae prostituted to a Bull; and here is the mixed kinds, and prodigious progenie of Minotaurus: Here are the execrable delineations of variable and wicked Venus: To conclude, whatsoeuer confused, hideous, or horrible forme was euer poetically imagined and fained, may here be really seene and discerned. Surely thou hast heretofore beene happie for thy vertues, but now thou art much more happie in thy absence and remotion. Take you this to be the same citie that you saw it sometimes heretofore to be? Fie no, it is sure another, farre vnlike to the same. Questionlesse that then was verie bad, and those times most defiled and polluted, but this moderne Rome is not a citie, it is an habitation for spirits and diuells; and to speake in a word, the sinke of all sinne and licentious nesse, and that same hell and gulph of the liuing, described by the mouth of Dauid, so long time before it was founded or knowne. Ah how often doe I call to mind that same father lie voyce, and healthfull admonition, when vpon my departure thou saydst vnto me, Whither goost thou? What doest thou intend? What headlong ambition makes thee so vnmindfull of thine owne safetie?* Questionlesse hee that hee writ to, whom he calls *Father*, must needs be a man of some eminent note in those times. In his ninth Epistle to the same partie he subscribes himselfe *an exile from Ierusalem*, amongst and vpon the riuers of Babylon; alluding to the hundred thirtie and seuenth Psalme, where the Psalmist deplores the state of the Church, and his own con-

Petrarch. Epist. 8.

Epist. 9.

condition, in the Babylonian captiuitie. And in his tenth Epistle he layes open his reason: *You maruell* (saith he) *at the subscriptions of my letters, and not without cause, in that you haue onely read of two Babylons, one in times past amongst the Assyrians, where Symiramis liued with so great renowme, and another amongst the Ægiptians, which flourisheth still in this our age: But cease to admire* (saith he) *for this part of the earth hath also her Babylon(Auignion) for where, I pray you, may the citie of confusion be better seated, than in the quarters of the West? By whom it was built is verie uncertaine, but by whom it is inhabited is manifestly knowne, by people certainely, who in all right may giue her this name: And, if you please, beleeue me; Here dwells puissant Nemrod on earth, the strong and mightie Hunter, conspiring against the Lord, and with his ayrie towers aspiring vnto heauen: Here also abides a more furious Cambyses than he of the East, nay than the Turke himselfe. Doe but consult with Catholike Authors, but especially with Saint Augustine, and you shall find, what this name of Babylon meanes, which hauing read, you will then say it belongs no lesse to Rodanus, than to the riuers of Euphrates and Nilus. You may also peraduenture greatly wonder at the fiue Labyrinthes, when amongst other writers you find no mention made but of foure; this fift being the worst and most inextricable, whether it then were not, or as yet was not knowne. Whosoeuer would truely view and peruse it, let him come hither, here wants no horrour of imprisonment, no errour of palpable darkenesse, no fatall Vrnes, shuffling together the lots and destinies of mankind: and to conclude, no Impetuous Minos, no tearing Minotaures, nor lasciuious pourtraitors of damned Venus, are rare and scarce. All hope of saluation lyes in gold, the cruell king with gold is pacified, the prodigious monster by gold is subdued; for gold the web of saluation is wouen, onely for gold the hard thresholds of this gate are sbowne; for gold barres and stones are broken, with gold the grizlie Porters mouth is stopt, for gold heauen lyes open: and what needs many words? Christ himselfe for gold is sold.* And in the eleuenth Epistle protesting what danger hung ouer his head for
Epist. 11. speaking truth, *Euen as* (saith he) *without the kingdome of vertue veritie was alwaies feeble and weake, being destitute of any aid or helpe, what must needs happen, doe you suppose, where vertue lyes cleane extinguished, and deepely buried? There veritie, no question, is a most capitall crime, and onely of it selfe sufficient to acquire many mens hatred, where one mans loue shal be sought with many obsequies & flatteries, &c. Where no faith, no charitie, no pietie remaines, but rage, enuie, excesse, and auarice, raigne with all their artes and falsifiers: where euerie bad man is exalted, the greatest thiefe extolled to heauen, and the iust poore man flatly oppressed: Where simplicitie is called madnesse, and malice sapience: Where God is contemned, and money adored, lawes troden vnder foot, and good men laught at, so as now there are almost no more left for them to laugh at. I would willingly exempt one from this deluge of impietie here, and I confesse he would well deserue it, but then me thinkes it would be ridiculous to cut off so solid and generall a rule for one nownes exception. And therefore here no Noah, nor no Deucalion, shall float vpon the water: and suppose that Pyrrha made no more happie naufgation and escape than the rest, for a mightie floud of obscene sensualitres did ouer flow the citie, a wonderfull rage and tide-gate of feminine delights, together with a foule and vncleane shipwracke of chastitie, without any exception at all of virginitie and modestie. This little, of a great deale more, Truth dares relate.* Then he concludes, *To this Epistle I haue neither set to my hand nor my seale, neither time nor place, you know where I remaine, and can vnderstand mee well ynough by my words.* Then in his twelfth complaining in his heart to God for the
Epist. 12, 13. miseries of the time, in the thirteenth he does particularize the same: *That renowmed Court of Christ* (saith he) *that famous Propugnacle of diuine worship in times past (our sinnes being the occasion thereof) being now destitute of heauenlie aid and protection, is*

A *is become a denne of vncleane theeues: And the originall of all these euills proceeds from one onely fountaine, though many other lesser heads and springs rise out of the same, from whence a raging floudgate of all manner of miseries breakes in, wherein we cannot but perish and be ouerwhelmed in the surges of extreamest mischiefes: and if the mercie of heauen preuent not humane transgression and enormitie, the Church doubtlesse is like to suffer a most lamentable and fearefull shipwracke. How different are liues and manners, and how discrepant the minds of some that build, and others that ruine and plucke down. The Almightie God prouide speedily for the safetie of his holie house. Certainely I plaine-*
B *ly discerne a farre off, yet dare no wayes meddle nor disturbe, and therefore if I could would not see at all, the cruell and infamous treacheries, by which that same Ecclesiasticall Dionysius seekes to molest and deface our Syracusa.* In regard of the Church, comparing the Pope to that monstrous tyran of Sicil. *I see with what a Myter, though counterfeit, Symiramis adornes her head, by what artes she inchaunts the eyes of the beholders, and being polluted with incestuous imbracements, treads vnder foot men of constant dispositi-*
C *on and manners;* alluding to the Harlot in the Apocalyps. *I perceiue by what artes and stratagems our Pericles defends himselfe, that he may not be vrged to render the account he is not able iustly to giue vp; as also his Alcibiades, that runnes violently headlong into all wicked deuises and practises. Wherefore he confounds and turnes all things topsie turuie, and for what cause may you suppose? Why questionlesse, that like a Iugler or Mountbanke, with an haire or small thread, not seene, or a counterfeit wound, hee may the more artificially delude, his owne fraud and deceit lying couered and hid vnder the gloomie shadow of a tumultuous Commonwealth. And surely for the scope and end of his determinations, he vseth stratagems that are neither new nor strange: for the Fowler*
D *loues the woods, the Fisherman troubled waters, and the theefe darkenesse: and for vs, what could I wish to happen vnto vs more base or abiect, than alwayes to remaine, like to our selues, before a vigilant adulterer, blowing and puffing ouer the cup, being ignorant, I must needs confesse, whether his impudence or our patience is more seruile and dejected.* Epist. 14.
Then in the 14. *What hath a vertuous man to doe with bad places, or what commerce hast thou with Babylon? We read, that the more magnanimious and valiant Romans vsed to*
D *shun and auoid Baia in Campania, though a verie healthfull and pleasant place, but where little honestie, many pleasures and delights offered themselues, all other respects laid aside; so bent and intentiue they were on the studie and prosecution of vertue. If this be so, who would not flie Rhodanus? Who, I pray you, will not shun Babylon, the dolefull habitation of all vices, toyle, and miseries? Whereof, me thinks, you should haue some experience: I speake of things seene with mine eyes, not heard of with mine eares, &c. Pietie there is none, nor charitie, nor faith, no reuerence nor feare of God, nothing iust, nothing equall, nothing vp-*
E *right, nor so much as ciuile and humane. Loue, modestie, seemelinesse, and true honestie, are from thence exiled: Of veritie I may well be silent, for what place can truth haue there where all parts are replenished with lyes, the ayre, the house, the turrets, the villages adiacent, the Courts, the streets, the porches, the lobbies, inward chambers, the rafters,*
E *the creuises of walls, the windings and passages of the edifice, the secretest parts of the Temples, the seats of the Iudges, and the Popes throne, and in briefe, mens mouthes, beckes, gestures, words, countenances, and hearts?* Then he delineats their hypocri-
sie to life It selfe, propounding many examples and instances thereof: *But my singular louing Father (conuerting now my stile to thee) I pray, beseech, entreat, and euen coniure thee no otherwise than by thy selfe, to whom if thou beest deere, or still reuen coniure thee no otherwise than by thy selfe, to whom if thou beest deere, or still re-*
ter into thy heart to goe thither, from whence neuer any returned by example bettered, but innumerable multitudes depraued and corrupted. In his fifteenth Epistle he concludes,

Epist. 15. cludes, *That God was no lesse angrie with them than with Ægipt and Pharaoh, and that* A
he would lay vpon them, the plagues of his indignation, wrath, displeasure, tribulati-
ons, and the emission of euill Angels; finally, That Daniels imprecation could not more
aptly be applied to any than to them: Let them be like dust before the face of the wind,
and the Angell of the Lord driuing them: Let their wayes be darke and slipperie,
and the Angell of the Lord persecuting them: vnlesse therefore God take him from
Epist. 16. *thence, who can escape?* In the sixteenth, he heartily congratulates with a friend, his
departure from the Popes Court, *If there be any presagements true, then Gods re-*
uenge must needs be nere at hand; God giue, and retribute plentifully to the proud do-
ers, for it is his owne iustice and reuenge, &c. I cannot but call to mind, what, many
yeares past, I sayd to a friend of ours, which of all that wicked number, might well be B
reputed the best; to whom you were tyed in consanguinitie, and I onely in familiaritie:
That the fatall day of this mans ruine drew neare, wherein, the patience both of God
and men, being wearie of supporting his pride and insolencie, he should perish and fall:
when he with a smile, mixt & tempred with choler, wisht vnto me rather Tiresias blind-
nesse than his gift of prophesie; answering me with that saying of the Gospel, Symon, I haue
prayed for thee, that thy faith may not faile: and I freely replyed, That I spake not of the
defect of faith, but of their ruine that were the ouerthrowers of the same; whereby faith
would rather be augmented: and then turning towards me with a serious and knit brow,
Be silent, said he, and though this be true, let not vs be the Authours thereof. At
length he concluded, *All things will they, nill they, retourne againe to their proper* C
place and center: and no question, the end of lung and perpetuated deluision, is at hand,
which, if I may but see, I shall thinke I haue liued long enough. And euen so all the
godlie in those times, with sobbes and sighs, groaned after the Churches resta-
Epist. 17. ration, and Babylons ruine. In his seuenteenth Epistle, the same friend, notwith-
standing his owne admonition to the contrarie, would needs enter into the like
discourse, concurring then with him in the same judgement, that the infernall
riuers there had their course, and whatsoeuer wickednesse had euer beene in the
world, it ran and fell thereinto, as into the center and gulfe of such innundici-
ties: wherefore, that he might not perish therein, *If*, saith he, *thou worshippest*
Christ, which you alwaies most religiously haue done, let the beholding of his enemies im- D
pietie lend an hand to thy zeale, and be as a spur to thy faith: For thou obseruest a people
not only aduerse and contrarie to Christ, but, which is far worse, seruing vnder his verie
colours and yet are rebellious vnto him, standing for Sathan, being filled and swolne
with Crists blood, and saying, Our lips are our owne, who is our Lord? An hard hear-
ted, and wicked people, proud, beggarlie, thirstie, of a puffed vp countenance, sharpe
teeth, hooked talentes, slipperie feet, stonie brest, hearts of brasse, leaden willes, and mel-
lifluent tongues: A people with whom, not onely that of the Euangelist and Prophet fit-
ly concurs, This people honoureth me with their tongues, and their hearts are farre off
from me; but retaining also that propertie of Iudas Iscariot, who, when he betrayed his
Lord, kissed him, and sayd, Aue Rabbi, *God saue thee Master: and cladding him in* E
purple, and crowning him with thornes, they buffet, and spit vpon him, with most
bitter skornes and derisions, and with bended knees worship and salute him, Aue, *King*
of the Iewes: whom as a King they neither reuerenced with diuine or human honors, but
contrarwise, out of a carnall and corrupt iudgement denounce him a blasphemour and
guiltie of death, worthie of all contumely and punishment. For I pray you, what other
thing is performed among st these enemies of Christ, and the Pharisies of these our daies?
The same Christ whose name both daie and night they exalt with high praises, whom
they clad in gold and purple, whom they lade with gemmes, salute and adore; the same I
say

A *say, they buy, sel, and make merchandise of vpon earth; the same as if his eies were blinded*
and that he could not discerne, they crowne with the thorns of their wicked wealth, & de-
file him with the spit the of their vncleane mouthes: & as far as in them lies, being poore,
naked, mocked and scourged, they hale him often along to mount Caluarie, and with their
blasphemous censure, fasten againe to the Crosse. Doubtlesse, saith he, in the same E-
pistle, *if Iudas should bring into this Court the 30 pieces of siluer, the price of bloud, he*
wold be admitted, & poore Christ wold be driuen out of doores. That thus it is, no Christi-
an can be ignorant, there is no man but laments, and yet no man doth reuenge. And thus
while one lookes vpon another, impunitie of euill, as you see, doth gather strength; and
that euill which in the beginning was medicable, is now with time growne rotted and
B *putrified. In deed, I confesse (and so much we haue receiued from our progenitors) that*
this filthie vlcer, before our times, began to swell and enflame, but distemperature hath
augmented the maladie, so as this pestilence is now altogether mortiferous. Hereunto
he adds the testimonie of a great man in that age, who with sighs was woont to
say, *Two of our Clements in a few yeares haue more spoyled and defaced the Church,*
than seuen of your Gregories were able to restore in many ages: neither do I my selfe, or a-
ny man else, as I thinke, doubt thereof. Then in the eighteenth, *describing the French*
Babylon (for so he called Auignion, whether the Roman Court was transferred)
The hope, saith he, *of the life to come sounds in thy eares but as a mere fable, and all*
the relations of hell thou takest to be ydle dreames, the resurrection of the flesh, the end
C *of the world, and Christs comming to iudgement are accounted but old wiues tales. As*
farre as in a few lines was possible, I haue expressed vnto you the state of that sacred
citie, which you cannot so well read at this day, in these letters, as you may plainely dis-
cerne it in mens fauours and countenances, whose liues, no stile nor wit is able liuely
enough to explane and relate. Thou art, saith he, addressing his speech to her, *that*
famous, or rather infamous harlot, which committest fornication with the Kings of the
earth; the selfesame strumpet thou art, which the sacred Euangelist saw in the spirit;
she, the selfesame, I say thou art, and no other, hauing thy seat vpon many waters: the
people, Nations, and Tongues are the waters, on which, being an harlot, thou sittest:
obserue thy habit; a woman, girt about with silke and purple, dawbed with gold, preti-
D *ous stones and pearles, hauing a golden cup in thine hand, full of the abhominations and*
vncleanenesse of thine owne fornications. Doest thou know thy selfe Babylon? except
peradauenture thou maist mistake in this, because it was written on her forehead
Great Babylon, and thou art but little Babylon; little in deed in respect of the circuit of
walls, but in vices, in the compasse of minds, in infinit concupisences, and the verie
accumulation of all euils, not onely great, but most great, nay and immense: and certaine-
ly what followes, onely fits thee and no other; Babylon the mother of fornications, and of
the earths abhominations, a wicked mother, of worser progenie, seeing whatsoeuer is adul-
terous, or abhominable vpon earth, came forth from thee; and euer when thou bringest
E *forth, thy wombe swelles, is big, and replenished with such impieties. And if thou dissem-*
blest, heare the rest: And I saw, saith he, *a woman drunke with the bloud of the Saints, and*
with the bloud of the Martyrs of Iesus: Why art thou silent? either shew some other
drunke with this bloud, or if thou canst not, denie not thy selfe to be this drunken strum-
pet. For the Euangelists and Apostles vision, must needs be true, who admiring with
such extraordinarie wonder, when he but beheld thee in spirit, into what an admira-
tion may we iustly be driuen, that see and discerne thee with open eyes? Of all the for-
nications which the Nations and Kings of the earth haue drunke, and of all the ab-
hominations, what other end dost thou expect, but the same prophesied by Iohn, Great
Babylon is fallen, is fallen, and made an habitation for Diuels? it is well knowne what

followes: For thou art now truely become ſuch an one, and how much better is a per- A
nitious and moſt wicked man, than a diuell? A verie habitation, may a kingdome of di-
uells thou art growne, who with their diuelliſh arts and ſtratagems, though cloked in a
humane ſhape, raigne in thee. But thou my deere friend, with the ſame Apoſtle heare ano-
ther voyce ſpeaking from heauen, Come out of her my people, and be not partakers of her
iniquities, that ſo you may receiue none of her ſtripes: for her ſinnes are mounted vp in-
to heauen, and God remembreth her iniquities. Afterwards he exclaimes againſt the diſordinat luſts euen of the Elders in the Roman Church. *Deuaſtations, whoredoms,*
rapes, inceſts, and adulteries, which now (ſaith he) *are the ſports and May-games of Pon-*
tificall fire & luſt; I, baniſhing the husbands of raviſhed wiues, not only from their fathers
ſeats, but from their countries confines: and which of all contumelies is the moſt grieuous B
and inſupportable, they conſtraine the husbands to receiue againe their violated wiues, be-
ing great with ſtrange ſeed, and after their deliuerie to reſtore them againe to be further
abuſed by other mens luſts. And he propounds many fearefull examples of theſe things. *Now* (ſaith he) *vnder theſe mens conduct, doe but ſuppoſe whether Chriſt can*
be fauourable to this people, or proſper the Commonwealth. In the nineteenth Epiſtle he congratulates with his friend, becauſe he ſaw him departed ſafe out of the Roman
Epiſt. 19. Court. *Such a man* (ſaith he) *was a faithfull, but an vnprouident perſuader of me to*
make choyce to liue and dye in Babylon: but why, I pray you, or to what end? That I may
ſee good men ſuppreſſed, and euill erected? Eagles to creepe, and Aſſes to flie? to ſee Foxes
in chariots, and Crowes on turret tops, and Dones on dung-hils, Wolues at libertie, and C
Lambes in bonds? and in briefe, Chriſt an exile, Antichriſt a Lord, and Belzebub a Iudge?
I am prouoked to theſe ſpectacles, but I will not heare: I can neither humor them, nor they
me. O cruell and wicked ſect of men, louing nothing, nor any bodie, but themſelues, and
that moſt peruerſly and wickedly. Who ſhall releeue the oppreſſed world? Who will redeeme
the afflicted citie? Who will reforme manners corrupted? Who ſhall call together the diſ-
perſed ſheepe? Who will correct erronious ſhepheards? Who ſhall reduce and bring them
backe againe vnto their proper ſeats? Will there be no meane of the licentiouſneſſe of ſin?
Shal the holie Ghoſt thunder out in vaine by the Prophets? Theſe things thou diddſt, and yet
I held my peace, thou wicked wretch ſuppoſing that I was like vnto thee: but I will con-
uince thee, and ſet my face and countenance againſt thee, &c. D

Theſe poynts *Petrarch* roundly touched to his familiar friends: from whence we may collect, that many were of the ſame opinion, being terrified with the horrour of thoſe monſters; and ſome there wanted not, who were euen ouercome
An. 1351. with zeale, as *Albertus Argentinenſis* in his Chronicle, *anno* 1351, *A certaine preaching Carmelite making a Sermon vpon the Popes Maſſe, ſo reprehended both him and*
Albertus Argent. in Chronic. *the Cardinalls, of their enormious vices, that all who were preſent were wonderfully aſtoniſhed: and for this he was diſgraded.* He alſo addes, *A cloſed letter was faſtened on*
a Cardinals doore, directed to the Pope and Cardinalls: which being opened, they found
there written, That Leuiathan, the Prince of darkeneſſe, ſaluted the Pope his Vicar, and E
the Cardinalls his ſeruants, by whoſe endeuour he hoped to ouercome Chriſt, labouring to
exalt the poore and humble againſt the Commonwealth of this world: and ſo bringing in
the Prophets, he ſets them forth with all vices. Afterwards, *And your mother Pride,*
and your ſiſters Auarice and Luxurie, ſalute you, &c. who reioyced, that by their aſſiſtance
they were verie well. With many other things. And it was ſubſcribed, Giuen in the in-
fernall Centre, before a multitude of diuels. And the Pope being mightily ſtirred vp
with this Paſquill, laboured what he could to find out the Author: but preſently vpon it he
fell into a daungerous infirmitie, whereof notwithſtanding he recouered; but the writer of
this letter could neuer come to be knowne. Albert, it ſeemes, had reference to that Epiſtle

A ſtle of *Lucifers*, a little before mentioned; but that ſeemes to haue beene written at Paris, and that with the conſent of the better and more learned ſort, becauſe it was printed together with that Tractat of *William* of Paris, *De Beneficiorum Collatione*. And many writings of this nature came forth at the ſame time. Not long before which, in the yeare 1345, *Haitabalus* a Franciſcan preached publikely many *An.* 1345. times at Auignion, and plainely ſaid, That he was commaunded from God to declare the Roman Church to be the Babylonian Harlot, the Pope and his Cardinalls to be true Antichriſt, and that *Benedict* and *John*, his predeceſſors, were damned; with many other things pertaining to this purpoſe. And being brought be- *Henr. Eyford. in Chron.*
fore the Pope, he conſtantly auerred, That this was expreſly commaunded him
B by God in a viſion, and that out of office and duetie he was bound to preach it. And here the Author doth not cleerely ſet downe what was decreed of him.

For matters of doctrine, though we haue ſpoken more copiouſly hereof in another place, yet by the way let vs here note, That the article of Free juſtification through faith in Chriſt, the principall Baſe and foundation of Chriſtian religion, began in theſe times to riſe as it were out of darkeneſſe: For *Thomas Brandwardine*, who was vulgarly called *The profound Doctor*, taught the ſame in his publike Lectures, not onely in England, but alſo in the Vniuerſitie of Paris. And there is yet extant a booke written by himſelfe of this ſubiect, at the intreatie and perſuaſion of many godlie men, diuided into three parts: Wherein he complaines,
C That the ſame had happened to him, which ſometimes fell out with *Elias*, when the eight hundred and fiftie Prophets of *Baal* roſe vp againſt him, in this cauſe: *How many, O Lord* (ſaith he) *contend with Pelagius at this day, for Free will, againſt free*
grace, and againſt Paul the ſpirituall champion of grace? How many at this day reiect
free grace, and onely declare free will to be ſufficient vnto ſaluation? Or if they make any
vſe of grace, they ſpeake of it but for forme ſake onely. And ſo he extends himſelfe at large in the explication of this doctrine, agreeing herein with *Auguſtine, Ierome, Fulgentius, Proſperus, Bernardus*, and many other auncient writers: *In ſuch a conflict* (ſaith he) *not being lightly afraid, I was long time perplexed, but with my whole heart I*
had refuge to diuine ayd, and ſo being preſently comforted with the ſpirit of fortitude, I
D *grew to haue great hope: for it was not my cauſe, nor my warre, but the cauſe of the God*
and Lord of ſcience, of armies, and of powers: but vnder him I maintaine his right.
Whoſe countenances or high lookes need I therefore to feare, or whoſe rage and furie, be-
ing garded and enuironed with the ſafe protection of ſo mightie a Patron? Whoſoeuer
therefore belongs to the Lord, let him ioyne with me, or rather let vs both be ioyned to the
Lord, let vs ſtand ſtoutly to it, for who can be againſt vs? For I know the man with whom
the Lord is, will be able to ſuſtaine the charge of a thouſand enemies, and twelue thouſand
he ſhall profligate. Theſe things he properly deliuered againſt the ſcholers of thoſe times: he preaching alſo vnto his diſciples, That the dayes would come, and they were not now farre off, when their falſe doctrine ſhould be plainely detected, and
E themſelues contemned amongſt all the godlie. But I would not willingly range beyond the bounds of our hiſtorie. *Raphael Volterranus*, and *John Picus Mirandola*, who had peruſed his bookes, make mention of him, with ſingular prayſe and commendation: alſo *Gregorius Ariminenſis*, of the Order Heremeticall, a man of great fame among ſcholers, who flouriſhed at this time in Paris, in his Commentaries vpon the ſentences, calls all them that thought otherwiſe Semie-pelagians, *Thomas, Scotus*, and others. There backed him in this his opinion, *John Buridanus*, and *Andreas de Caſtello*, men at that inſtant of great renowme. This was the firſt poynt wherein the Church was likely to haue recouered her former ſtate. And

yet *Conradus Hager* of Wirtzberg, proceeded somewhat further, and taught, That A the Masse was in no sort a sacrifice, neither profitable for the liuing, or for the dead, and therefore not at all to be celebrated: That money bequeathed by men on their death-bed for Masses, could not be receiued without sacriledge. And many in that dioceſſe for the ſpace of foure and twentie yeares, he had confirmed in that doctrine: Wherefore being caſt into priſon by the Biſhop, hee freely confeſſed theſe things, not denying himſelfe alſo to be the author and meanes that many abhorred and left the Maſſe.

59. Progression. B

Clement dying at Auignion, Stephen Albertus, a Lymoſine, was choſen, by the name of Innocent the ſixt. Charles is crowned Emperour at Rome, where he makes no ſtay, but returnes into Germanie.

Clement dying at Auignion, *Stephen Albert*, a Lymoſine, ſucceeded him, being nominated *Innocent* the ſixt. He preſently commaunded euerie Biſhop to be reſident in his proper dioceſſe: but in ſtead of retiring himſelfe to his owne, hee diſpatched a Legat into Italie, *Giles de Carilla*, a Spaniard, with all ample commiſſion to confirme vpon him abſolute authoritie and power. *Iohn de Vrſini*, and *Peter Colonna*, were both by the Popes and peoples conſent ordained Senators at Rome, till the ſixt yeare of his Pontificacie, when *Franciſco Baroncelli* inuading the Tribunall with open violence, enſtiled himſelfe, *Scribe to the Senat, by the grace of God ſecond Tribune of the citie, and Roman Conſull*: vnderſtanding herein *Nicholaus Laurentius*, formerly mentioned, who was the firſt. When *Innocent* had notice of this, he looſſed *Nicholas* out of priſon, and gaue him authoritie to ſuppreſſe *Baroncelli*, which by the aſſiſtance of the Nobilitie, and the greateſt part of the people, he eaſily effected: But afterwards exceeding the tearmes of his commiſſion, he was enforced priuily to ſlinke away, and being diſcouered in his flight, hee was ſlaine. Such was the ſtate of the citie of Rome, and of the chaire committed, as they ſay, vnto *Peter*, being abandoned by her Biſhops. The Emperour *Charles* on the other ſide laboured nothing elſe but to ſet on his owne head the Imperial Diademe: to this end therefore he going into Italie, he was preſented with an yron crowne at Milan, and then he went forward to Rome, where two Cardinals were enioyned by *Innocent* to impoſe it on him; but expreſly vpon this condition, for the adding of ſomewhat to his predeceſſors attempts, *That he ſhould conuocate no aſſemblies at Rome, nor enact any ordinance in any thing that concerned the Romans, without the Popes aduice and counſell. Item, That he ſhould neither reſide at Rome, nor in Italie.* And indeed he preſently departed; for taking his journey through Tuſcan and Lombardie, he returned into Germanie. And hereupon grew that grieuous complaint of *Petrarches*, to *Nerico de Furli*, his familiar friend: *I cannot by any meanes* (ſaith he) *conceale thus much, that I know the Emperours deſtinies, and that they might raigne more happily in the Weſt, in the South, or any where elſe, than in the North, all things are there ſo cold and frozen: there is no noble vigor, no vitall heat of royall Empire. Fortune, if the Fates denie vs Romulean Caſars, yet ſend vs at leaſt ſome Theodoſioes out of Spaine, or Seueroes out of Africke. Ah, what would then the great Architect of this Monarchie ſay, when he ſhould ſee his ſucceſſor contend in humilitie with a ſimple Prieſt, calling to mind that ſuperbious Prince in times paſt of the Gaules, who comming*

Blondus Decad. 2. l. 10. Albertus Argent. in Chronic.

C D E

A *ming ſubmiſſiuely into the campe, as Florus ſayes, layed downe his quiuer and arrowes at Cæſars feet, ſaying, Take theſe, thou being moſt valiant haſt vanquiſhed a valiant man. Many obſeruations of this kind offer themſelues to be conſidered, &c. By things paſt I coniecture of things to come, I am not therefore ſo much moued, that the Legats horſe ruſhed againſt Cæſar, as that I diſcerne the minds and courages of men to be daunted and cruſhed: and I know that all eminencie and dignitie is impatient of a companion.* He adds further, *If auntient examples doe not ſuffice to teſtifie thus much, I am affraid this late occurrent will furniſh vs with too true an one: For as it is reported, the Roman Prieſt hath forbidden the Roman Emperour to reſide at Rome: And the Pope doth not onely enioyne the Emperour to be content with the mere Diadem and Title, but further* Petrarch. apud Blondus Decad. in 2. l. 10.

B *he rules and commaunds him: and permitting him to be enſtiled Emperour, yet he will in no wiſe ſuffer him to ſway and gouerne.* And writing to *Charles* himſelfe, *I know not*, ſaith he, *what you haue promiſed and vowed by oath to the Pope, that he ſhould by the ſame as by a ſtrong wall and vnpaſſable mountaine, prohibit you acceſſe to the citie; what manner of pride is this, the Roman Prince, being the Patron of libertie, to be depriued of libertie himſelfe? that he ſhould not be his owne, whoſe all things elſe are?* Then in his Booke *De vita ſolitaria*, he cannot almoſt moderat himſelfe, *This our Cæſar*, ſaith he, *euen ſnatching, as it were, the Dyadem, preſently departed into Germanie, contenting himſelfe with the lurking holes of his own Countrie, and with the title of the Empire, whoſe remoteſt members he embraceth, and takes no care of the head;* Petrarcha de vita ſolitaria. l. 2. ſect. 4. c. 2.

C *looſing that abſolutely, which we hoped he wold haue recouered, not daring to preſerue his owne: but flying away though no bodie purſues, he reiects the ſweet embracements of his ſpouſe, and the beautifull aſpect of faire Italie, as if there were any thing fairer than it vnder heauen. I confeſſe, that raſh and ſubtile faith reprehends him, in that, wherein ſhe preſumes to blow and thunder againſt the higheſt; and he excuſeth himſelfe by ſaying, he tooke an oath to the Church that he would continue at Rome no longer than one day. Oh infamous day, Oh reproachfull oath, O God obſerue this oath, this Religion, this pietie, the Roman Pope hath ſo forſaken Rome, as he will not yet haue it frequented by another! And of this he capitulates with the Roman Emperour. I know not what I ſhould here ſay, and though I know, yet it is wiſedome to be ſilent. One thing there is which*

D *though I would conceale, the matter it ſelfe would vtter: ſurely, he that driues out of the Citie the naturall enhabitant, would bring in the Boore and ſwaine if he could: and whether he doth this well and iuſtly let it be duely conſidered.* In the meane while, Cardinall *Carilla*, the Legat, reduced vnder due ſubjection Romania, reaping there his golden harueſt, whoſe whole crop lay at Furli, and was afterwards conueyed to Auignion: I call it an harueſt, becauſe theſe are the verie Authours words, *He had at Furli a Treaſorie, which might rather be called a barne of gold and ſiluer, for the Muletters laded it vpon their Aſſes, neither more nor leſſe than if it had beene graine, carrying it daily to Furli.* This was the cauſe that *William Griſan* a Lymoſine, who was called *Vrban* the fift, about the yere 1362, being ſucceſſour to *Innocent* *An.* 1362.

E the 6, to whom, Cardinall *Adrian*, Abbot of the Ciſtercian order, had not done ſo painefull and induſtrious ſeruice; he reſolued once againe, to ſend the ſame *Carilla* into Italie, who made ſuch a way for him, as he determined in the yeare 1366 *An.* 1366. to ſee Rome againe: whether *Charles* the Emperour with the Empreſſe came to ſalute him, and then againe to remoue all ſuſpition, three moneths after hee departed out of Italie. One onely thing *Charles* performed in this journey, for hee cauſed the Pope to ſeeke for *Peter* and *Paules* heads amongſt the old ruines and rubbiſh, *which*, ſaith our Authour, *beeing by Gods fauour and ſtheraunce found*, hee put them in an eminent place in Saint *Iohn Laterans Church* adorned

adorned with much siluer, gold, and many gemmes. Let the Reader but marke A
well this impostur, what probabilitie or likelihood there is, That after the reuo-
lution of a thousand and three hundred yeares, they could be discerned or distin-
guished from other sculls. The Pope during all this was not idle, for besides *Ca-*
rillaes erecting of cittadels in all the strong places of Romania, *Vrban* particular-
ly bent his whole studie to build palaces at Oruietto, and Montefiascone, for the
Cardinalls Transalpines thither to retire in time of immoderat heat; least, com-
plaining of distemperature of ayre, they might make this an occasion to depart
farre from the citie, whither he meant to haue reduced them, but that in his re-
turne into France he died at Marselles. These things occurred in the yeare 1371,
when *Peter Beaufort*, a Lymosine, and nephew to *Clement* the sixt, was created B
Pope, by the name of *Gregorie* the eleuenth. At which time Rome was gouerned
by a Senator, who by the Popes order was to be changed euerie sixt moneth: and
the gard of the citie was committed to certaine Banderets, which is to say, to di-
uers captaines of seuerall wardes, or quarters, so tearmed of certaine Banners or
Colours, which euerie one had. And this order tooke place since vnder *Vrban* the
fift, certaine noble strangers being preferred to the dignitie Senatoriall, as *Rubeus*
Tiscius, a Florentine, a Guelph, out of Prato, and Bolsena, and *Boniface*, and *Richard*
out of Pistoria: which I deliuer to this end, because the Banderets to the yeare
1400 possessed the greatest part of the Roman State. Italie moreouer was euerie
where tumultuous with factions, but especially the Florentines made some signe C
of affecting libertie, whither many cities from all other parts sent their ayd, and
not being able to maintaine themselues, they forraged all ouer the territories of
the Church. The Popes could not digest the Emperour neither at Rome nor in
Italie: and therefore *Gregorie* determed to reduced againe at length his See to
Rome. *Blondus* relates, That a Bishop being admonished by him to repayre into
his owne diocesse, he made this answer, *And you, holie Father, why goe you not to your*
owne Church? Others say he did this being perswaded in reuelations, by S. *Briget*,
and *Katherine* of Sienna. But when he saw this was displeasing to the French Car-
dinalls, and also to his neere kinsmen, he caused a number of Tryremes to be pri-
uily built vpon the Rhodan, and so with such as he made priuie to his resolution, D
he was in them first conueyed to Genoa, from thence to Coruette, and so in the
yeare 1376, in the moneth of Ianuarie, he came to Rome by land. Thus after se-
uentie yeares continuance, his seat at Auignion came to an end. But *Gregorie* not
long after dying, there began the most grieuous schisme that euer was in the Ro-
man Church. And at his first accesse *Gregorie* was entertained by the Romans with
great applause, they supposing, that together with him wealth and riches would
enter into their citie. But when *Gregorie* seemed to terrifie the whole world with
his thundrings and excommunications, that he sent forth neere at hand, & among
the rest excommunicating the Florentines, by the meanes of *Bernabo Visconti*, they E
drew thither one *John Haucut*, and English captaine, a man of great fame for his
martiall prowesse, with his forces, and nothing respecting the Popes interdict, but
contemning his censures, they enforced the Priests to celebrate sacred offices:
and the Genowayes themselues permitted the vse of all holie functions to those
Florentines which were fled into their citie, though they were generally interdi-
cted whersoeuer they liued; they therefore called likewise vpon themselues the
Popes interdict. And *Bernabo*, whom he held for a friend afarre off, comming nee-
rer hand, draue *Gregorie* into some suspition and jealousie, least, vnlookt for, hee
might procure him one disturbance vpon another. Now therefore he began to
repent

A repent himselfe of his returne, and being at poynt of death in the yeare 1378, he *An.*1378.
aduised the Cardinals, that they should no more giue any credit to reuelations,
seeing he, being deceiued by the persuasions of S. *Briget*, and *Katherine* of Sienna,
returned into Italie with such disastrous and ominous successe. Amongst other
Doctors, *Gerson* notes this in his treatise *De examine doctrinarum*. *Machiauel* is the *Machiauel. l.3. de Historia Florentino.*
Author that writes, how this *Cregorie*, while he liued in Auignion, *gouerned Italie*
by Legats, who through their wonderfull auarice and pride ouerthrew many cities: one of
which had his seat at Bologna, who abusing to his owne purposes the famine and dearth of
B *an hard yeare, attempted to make himselfe Lord of all Tuscan, and namely of Florence,*
by reducing them to such an extreame miserie and famine. From whence sprung the
originall of that warre aboue mentioned: All which his designes notwithstan-
ding fell to the ground. For other matters, these good Popes were euer hamme-
ring of some deepe mysterie; for *Innocent* the sixt instituted a feastiuall day in me- *Gerson, in Tractat. de examin. doctrinarum.*
moriall of the launce and nailes wherewith our Lord was pierced: and by the
same Theologie, I pray you, why may not *Caiphas* and *Pilate* be put into the Le-
gend of Saints? And Pope *Vrban* the fift consecrated that Sonday which is cal-
led *Latare Rosa*, which hymne was first sent to *Ioan* queene of Sicilia, that famous
harlot, who killed her husband. Then after him all his successors continued the
custome euerie Lent to gratifie one Prince or other with this donatiue, *Aurea illa*
Rosa, With that golden Rose, which they consecrated in a Masse with wonderfull
C pompe, diuers prayers, annoynted ouer with Balsamum, scattered with powdered
Muske, sprinkled with holie water, and lastly, fumed with Frankencense: in signe,
say they, both of triumphant and militant Ierusalem, in the name of the Father,
of the Sonne, and of the holie Ghost. For Antichrist (Christs Ape) must needs
haue his Sacraments apart, which *Ierome* foresaw would come to passe. At the
same time also came forth those Sigillaries, certaine Formularies in the Roman
Church, called *Agnus Dei*, which are vsually hallowed of the Popes in the first
yeare of their Papacie, and are also renewed in the seuenth yeare; the prayers by
which they are consecrated being altogether execrable and accursed: *By their ve-*
neration and honour blot out the sinnes of vs thy seruants, let the spots of our offences be
D *cleansed, pardons obtained, graces conferred, and at length let them deserue to enioy eter-*
nall life together with thy Saints and elect. Of Christ the true Lambe of God what
could be spoken more deuoutly, or diuinely. Wee read that *Vrban* the fift sent
three of these Agnus Deies to the Emperour of Greece, with these verses vnder- *Ceremoniale Romanum l.1. p.32.33.37.38. 39. Impress. Venetijs. An.*1516.
written, which described both their forme and efficacie, as they would haue it.

Balsamus & munda cera cum Chrismatis vnda
Conficiunt Agnum, quod munus do tibi magnum
Fonte velut natum, per mystica sanctificatum,
Fulgura de sursum depellit, omne malignum
E *Peccatum frangit, vt Christi sanguis, & angit*
Prægnans seruatur, simul & partus liberatur
Dona defert digna, virtutem destruet ignis
Portatus mundè, defluctibus eripit vndè.

Where the Reader heareth blasphemie, which can come forth from no other
place but the deepe pit of hell, That this little Idoll thus framed and enchaunted
by the Pope, *doth breake and wipe away sinne like the blond of Christ, the immaculat*
Lambe of God. If it be so, what need haue we any more of the Lambe himselfe?
and

and yet the booke of Pontificall ceremonies dedicated to Pope *Leo* the tenth, affirmes thus much, the which I requeſt the Reader to peruſe, that ſo he may ſee how full of abhominations and blaſphemies they are.

A

Opposition.

Neither wanted there in theſe times ſuch as diuerſly oppoſed themſelues to the Popes: *Vnder Innocent the ſixt* (ſaith *Froiſſart*) *there was at Auignion a certaine Franciſcan Frier, endued with ſingular wit and learning, called Iohannes à Rupeſciſſa, whom the Pope kept in priſon in the caſtle of Baignoux, for wonderfull things which he affirmed ſhould come to paſſe, eſpecially vpon Eccleſiaſticall Prelats and Gouernours; that is to ſay, by reaſon of the wonderfull exceſſe and ambition they were giuen to. The like alſo to happen to the kingdome of France, and the mightieſt Princes of Chriſtendome, becauſe they ſo miſerably oppreſſed the poore people. This Iohn offered to proue all his aſſertions out of the Apocalyps, and the auncient bookes of the holie Prophets, which were reuealed to him by the grace of the holie Ghoſt: ſo as he affirmed many things very hardly to be beleeued. Diuers euents were obſerued to happen at the ſame time, by him foretold. Neither ſpake he any thing as a Prophet, but out of the auncient Scriptures, and through the grace of the holie ſpirit, which had imparted vnto him the knowledge of explaining all the old Propheſies, by ſetting downe to all Chriſtians both the yeare and time wherein they were to be fulfilled. And many bookes he wrot, grounded vpon deepe and great learning: in one of which, written in the yeare of our Lord 1346, he comprehended ſuch admirable poynts, as no man could hardly beleeue them, but the effects of many of them are now euidently ſeene come to paſſe.* In another place, after he had deplored the ſtate & condition of the Church vnder the ſchiſme of *Vrban* the 6, and *Clement* the 7, to which the Chriſtian Princes had no eye nor care, he makes mention of the ſame Frier *Iohn* in theſe words: *In my youth* (ſaith he) *Pope Innocent raigning in Auignion, he detained in priſon a certaine Franciſcan, being a maruellous learned man, whoſe name was Frier Iohn à Rupeſciſſa: this Frier (as the Pope ſayd, and as I haue heard it reported in many places priuatly, but not publikely) had and did propound many notable authorities, and collections, eſpecially of ſome aduerſe and ominous euents, which came to paſſe both in his owne time, and afterwards alſo in the kingdome of France. He plainely foretold Iohn the French kings captiuitie, and expounded many things conſonant and agreeable to reaſon; which was, That the Church had yet much to ſuffer, for the enormious exceſſe and exorbitancies which he diſcerned in thoſe which held in their hands the ſtaffe of Eccleſiaſticall policie and gouernement. And at the verie ſame time when I ſaw him ſtill kept in priſon and durance, an example thereof was related to me in the Popes palace, which he had recited to the Cardinall of Oſtia, who was commonly called of Arras, and to the Cardinall of Auxerre, who went to ſee, and confute him in his words and ſpeeches.* In concluſion, That the ſame happened to the Church which in times paſt fell out to a goodlie faire bird, who being hatched hopeleſſe of feathers, and therefore could not flie, her life was wonderfully in danger: but other birds pitying her, would haue couered her with their feathers (Kings, I meane, and Princes, conferring vpon the Church many goodly inheritances and patrimonies of their owne, had enriched and honoured her aboue meaſure:) but when this bird ſaw her ſelfe ſo fledged and growne, as if ſhe wanted nothing, ſhe began to beare her head high and wax proud, fluttering and ſtriking at the others with her beke and clawes; (that was, I ſay, when the Church vndertooke warres and enmities with the Emperours) and then the birds redemanded their feathers againe (euen as, no doubt, Prin-

Froiſſart. vol. 2. c. 212.
Froiſſart. vol. 3. c. 24.

B

C

D

E

A Princes will one day withdraw their gifts and benefits, ſo as at length the Church ſhould be conſtrained to craue pardon: which if ſhe did not, but returned to her former pride, the Emperour and Chriſtian Princes would at laſt take away all.) And here *Froiſſart* himſelfe demaunds, *Why read you not* (ſaith he) *the life of S. Syluester Pope of Rome, &c. how and vpon what conditions the Emperour Conſtantine gaue goods to the Church? Out of queſtion S. Syluester ietted not all ouer the world, being garded with two or three hundred horſe, but contained himſelfe humbly at Rome, leading a ſober and moderat life onely amongſt his Eccleſiaſticall aſſociats.* Then the Frier admoniſhed them, that this change would not be long a comming: *And this in ſuch a manner, as the Cardinalls were greatly amazed, and wondered at him. Faine they would*
B *notwithſtanding haue taken away his life, if they could but haue inuented and found out any colourable cauſe of death: but ſure there was none at all to be found, and therefore they ſuffered him to liue as long as he could, but they durſt not let him out of priſon, becauſe he propounded ſuch profound arguments, and ſearched out ſo deepe and myſticall Scriptures, as he would peraduenture haue led the world into ſome errour. In the meane while queſtionleſſe many things came to paſſe* (as many affirme that obſerued his ſpeeches more preciſely than I did) *which he foretold and writ of during his impriſonment. And whatſoeuer he vttered, he would alwayes confirme it out of the Apocalyps: and the true proofes wherewith he was armed for his defence, preſerued him many times from being burnt. Some Cardinals alſo there were, who ſtroke with commiſeration and pitie, were not ſo ri-*
C *gorous and ſeuere towards him, as they might haue beene.* And ſurely that Apologicall ſimilitude of his of the bird, by him recited, was moſt expreſſly taken out of the Apocalyps, *cap.* 17. where it is ſaid, *The Kings gaue vp their ſtrength and power to the Beaſt:* At length, *They ſhall hate this Strumpet, this Beaſt, leaue her deſolate, naked, and forſaken, her fleſh they ſhall eat, and conſume her with fire.* This Franciſcan writ a propheticall treatiſe in priſon, the title whereof was, *Vade mecum in tribulationem;* wherein hee auerred, That Antichriſt raigned in the Papacie, and hee preſaged the Churches reformation. Some there are, who ſay he was burnt at laſt.

Apoc. 17. 13. 16.

Petrus Premonſtratenſ. in Chron. quod inſcribitur Biblia Pauperum.

Vnder *Vrban* the fift liued one maſter *Nicholas Orem*, a Doctor of Diuinitie, who in the yeare 1363, on Chriſtmas eue, before *Vrban* the fift and his Cardinals
D made a ſermon, which we may yet read whole and entire, but wee will here onely deduce ſome principall branches and clauſes of the ſame: his text was, *Iuxta eſt ſalus mea, vt veniat, & iuſtitia mea vt reueletur, Eſay* the 56: where after hee had ſhewed that the text had reference to Chriſts comming in the fleſh, hee proceedeth to his comming in judgement, when he would puniſh the corruption of the Chriſtian Church; whereunto he expreſly applied the place of *Ezechiel cap.* 16. *In die qua natus es, vidi te conculcari in ſanguine tuo*, vnderſtanding martyredome in this, *& multiplicatas & grandis effecta, & mundani ſanguinem tuum ex te*, when perſecution came to be ſomewhat mitigated, *Et dedi coronam decoris in capite tuo, &c.* which he applies to the more happie times of the Church vnder Chriſtian
E Emperours. Then at length, *Et habens fiduciam in pulchritudine tua, fornicata es in nomine meo*, Thou haſt communicated thy ſelfe by all meanes, by ſimonie, by abuſes, by ſacriledges, forgetting the dayes of thy youth, thy firſt and former ſtate: *Where* (ſaith he) *it ſeemes rather an hiſtorie, than a propheſie of the Churches proſperitie. Preſently after followes the puniſhment: And behold, ſaith the Lord, I will yeeld thee into the hands of them that hate thee, and they ſhall deſtroy thy brothelrie, thy ſtones ſhall be demoliſhed; that is to ſay, the place where thou didſt exerciſe thy vnlawfull courſes: they ſhall ſtrip thee of thy garments, and take away the veſſels of thy glorie, and ſo they ſhall leaue thee naked, full of reproach and infamie. Behold* (ſaith hee) *you may eaſily diſcerne*

An. 1363.

what

what shall become of the Church. And the Chapter of the propheſie addes, ſaying, Thy ſiſter A
Samaria (which was the Iſraelitiſh Church) committed not halfe thy ſinnes: thou haſt
ſubdued her in thy wickednesse, wherefore beare thine owne confuſion. By the ſame
meanes he applies to this argument the 23 chapter of the ſame propheſie, 2. *Hoſea*,
3. of *Nahum*, and many other places of *Eſay*, *Ieremie*, and the reſt of the Prophets.
And thus he concludes, *Becauſe the Prelats did not ſticke for price, entreaties, and de-*
praued actions, to defame the venerable chaſtitie of the Primitiue Church, that therefore
God would one day reueale his primitiue iudgements vpon this Church. It remained to
expound whether the time were neere at hand or no, becauſe his text was, *Iuxta*
eſt, &c. And although (ſaith he) *it belongs not to vs to iudge of times, yet peraduenture*
by ſome infallible ſignes, which I will demonſtrat, ſome things to this purpoſe may iuſtly B
be coniectured: As firſt of all *I collect out of the Apoſtle to the Theſſal. 2. cap. 2. where*
he ſayes, Except a departure and falling away firſt come, the man of ſinne, the ſonne of per-
dition ſhall not be reuealed (Antichriſt he meanes) *which Ierome in the laſt queſtion, ad*
inquiſitiones Ianuarij, *allegorically expounds of the deſolation of the Roman Empire, be-*
tweene which and the perſecution of the Church by the preſence of Antichriſt, he makes
no interpoſition. Now what the preſent ſtate of that Empire is, eſpecially compared with
the originall Maieſtie thereof, let any man iudge. The ſecond ſigne was, *That the*
Church ſhould be of worſer manners and cuſtomes than euer the Synagogue was. Our Sa-
uiour (ſaith he) *reprehended the Phariſies of auarice, becauſe they permitted doues to be* C
ſold in the Temple; and becauſe with their lips they onely honoured God, and what
they ſayd and profeſſed they performed not, but were hypocrites. Doe but therefore exa-
mine whether it be not worſe to ſell benefices and Sacraments, than to permit doues to bee
ſold in the Temple? Here be ſome men that doe not onely, not honour God with their lips,
and not onely performe no good operations, but they doe not ſo much as preach or perſuade
the ſame: Dumbe dogs, not able to barke; ſhameleſſe dogs, being neuer repleniſhed. The
ſhepheards themſelues haue no vnderſtanding, euerie man enclines to his owne wayes, eue-
rie one to his auarice, from the higheſt to the loweſt. When he comes to his text againe. So
are there alſo many, whoſe malice and inſolencie, like fire, is ſpred and kindled ſo farre, as
the cloke of hypocriſie can no longer couer it: but they are become immodeſt, and braſen D
faced; to whoſe Church, by way of reproach, it is ſayd, Thou haſt put on an harlots brow,
thou wilt not bluſh, nor be aſhamed. The third ſigne *is taken from the proportion of two*
great inequalitie, becauſe one hungers and ſtarues, when another is drunke and full gor-
ged, contrarie to all iuſt harmonie and ſymetrie, &c. Some Prieſts are greater than the
Princes of the world, and others more abiect than the baſe vulgar. In an humane bodie,
if nourriſhment defuſe it ſelfe ſuperfluouſly to one member, and the reſt pine and weare a-
way for want of the ſame, that bodie cannot long liue. And to this purpoſe hee doth
produce ſome other places of the Prophets. The fourth ſigne is, *the pride and in-*
ſolencie of Prelats, &c. For by a natural right & proportion it is proper for Prieſts to hold
and enioy ſo much as wherewith to liue more liberally than the popular ſort, and that the E
Prelat ſhould be maintained better than the pariſhioner: but yet for all this, they are not
permitted any ſuperfluous equipage, or pompe and magnificence in their families, which
can hardly be tollerated without pride, nor be ſuſtained with integritie of iuſtice. Such
pompe and ſolemnity in the Church of God eſpecially, as is now vſed in theſe dayes, not only
ſtirres vp but few to true reuerence and deuotion, but rather the contrarie, many to indig-
nation and offence; and diuers it inuites to the aboue named abuſes, who would thinke
themſelues to haue ſacrificed vnto God, if they could but rob and pillage ſome fat chopling
Prieſts, eſpecially of thoſe that haue neither nobilitie of birth, nor any ſcience to make ſhew
of, but rather meere lying, ſeruile, and fraudulent men, to whom the Lord ſpeakes in the
fourth

A *fourth of Amos, You ſat Oxen of Samaria, that offer contumelies to the needie, and e-*
uen breake the hearts of the poore, Behold the day ſhall come &c. The fift ſigne was,
The tyrannie of rulers and gouernours, which being a thing violent, could not long be
permanent: Wiſe. 6. The propertie of a tyrant, is to ſeeke not the good of his ſubiects,
but of his owne: Such are thoſe ſhepheards, that feed not the Lords flocke, but themſelues,
to whom it is ſayd in Ezechiel 24, Mich. 3, You hate good and loue euill, You violently
flea the skin ouer their eares, and teare the fleſh from their bones: and ſo they haue eaten
the fleſh of my people, and ſtead the skins from off their backes: The ſame ſaith Ezechiel
cap. 34, I will cauſe them to ceaſe from feeding any more my flocke, for I will deliuer
them from their mouthes, and they ſhall be no longer their baſt and food. The ſixt ſigne
B was, *The promotion of men vnworthie, and contempt of the better ſort: According to*
Ariſtotle, theſe things are the ſpecialleſt cauſe of the diſſolution of any politicall gouerne-
ment: and oftentimes in a ſecular welfare it happens, that the diſhonour of men famous
and meritorious, and the exaltation of the baſe and inferiour ſort, breeds great mutine
and ſedition: For both in this reſpect, and becauſe of ſome of the premiſed reaſons, wee
doe not onely read in Bookes, but further haue ſeene with our eyes, diuers kingdomes to
haue beene almoſt ruined and defaced, &c. But this hath alwayes beene the incredulitie of
humane obſtinacie; that though they doe not onely heare, but alſo ſee it with their eyes,
yet will they not beleeue others perſhed through ſuch and ſuch vices, except they feele
it by experience in the deſtruction of themſelues. The 7 ſigne was, *The tribulation & af-*
C *fliction of temporall policie, with the commotion and rebellions of people, which is alreadie*
come to paſſe in diuers parts. And becauſe, as Seneca ſaith, euils skorn to come vnaccompa-
nied or alone, it is to be feared, that after this, the Eccleſiaſticall policie alſo, will not one-
ly ſuffer and be repleniſhed with theſe perturbations outwardly, but alſo inwardly, with-
in the verie bowels of the Church, which is prefigured in the 3 of Ieremie, Deſolation
ſhall ſuddenly come in vpon deſolation, my Tabernacles are waſted and ruined. In the 7
of Ezechiel, Tumult vpon tumult, terrour vpon terrour: and the Law ſhall faile in the
Prieſt, and counſell in the Elders. The eighth ſigne was, *The refuſall of correction, and*
amendment: when that comes to paſſe, in the principall Prelats of the Church, which
was writen by Ieremie, cap. 7, They would not attend nor harken, but made their hearts
D *of Adamant, leaſt they ſhould heare the words, which the Lord in the ſpirit vttered vn-*
to them, by the mouthes of his Prophets: As alſo by Eſayas, Lying children, children
that would not heare the Law, who ſay, ſtop your eares to the words of truth; ſpeake
vnto vs things pleaſing and acceptable. And this ſhall then be fulfilled, when the Pre-
lats do maligne learned men and reuealers of truth, euen as it is written of them in the
5 of Amos, They hated him who reprehended them at the gates, and abhorred him
that ſpake truly; and therefore to the Church of Hieruſalem, the Lord ſpeakes in the 4 of
Oſee, Becauſe thou haſt reiected knowledge, I will reiect thee, ſo as thou ſhalt not exe-
E *cute thy Prieſtood to me, for thou haſt forgotten the Law of thy God, therefore I will*
change the glorie of thy ſonnes into reproach and ignominie, and euen as the people are ſo
ſhall the Prieſt be. And ſo obſeruing well the forementioned ſignes, you may eaſily iudge
whether the preſent times be ſecure, and whether thoſe doe not now take place, which
the Lord deliuereth in the Text, Iuxta eſt juſticia mea, vt reueletur. He could not
in more plaine and expreſſe notes, haue deſcribed the Congregation, that was
to entertaine Antichriſt. It then remayned onely for him, to aunſwer certayne
objections, which he omits not. *There are a ſort of men,* ſaith he, *too confident, and*
affirming, that the Prelats are the Church, which the Lord will alwayes keepe and pre-
ſerue, not leauing the ſame, euen as he promiſed them in the perſons of his Apoſtles, he
ſaying in the 28 of Matth. I remaine with you, euen vnto the end of the world. But
this

this is to be vnderstood in respect of faith, which shall remaine for euer, continuing al- A
wayes in some few, though charitie and zeale wax cold, amidst all worldlie disturbances,
the which the same our Sauiour often times presaged and foretold. And because none may
suppose themselues secure from tribulation, by being of the Church, the Lord refells this
opinion, when he sayth in Ierem. 7. *Trust not to the words of lying and vntruth, saying,*
The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, &c. which shall no wayes profit you. There
is another opinion of those that prorogue and protract Gods iudgements, for they grant,
That the Church indeed shall be disquieted and molested, but not so quickly, because many
reasons haue beene heretofore touched, and other signes were made manifest; seeing not
long since the Prelats were reprehended by the Doctors, Gregorie and Bernard, for receiu-
ing of bribes, for their pompe, for promoting the vnworthie, and for sundrie other vi- B
ces which then raigned in the Church, nay more than now; and yet by Gods grace it still
remained in prosperous estate. God most fitly preuents all these debatements, in an exam-
ple in Ezech. cap. 12. *saying, Sonne of man, behold the house of Israel, who sayd, The vi-*
sion that this man saw, he hath prophesied of long time agoe: Thou shalt therefore tell
them, saith the Lord, My word shall no longer be protracted, but I will performe it in your
dayes. And in Esay 3. *We haue seene things come to passe in our dayes, which before see-*
med incredible: and the like hath otherwise happened. Others say, *Come what come will,*
we will conforme our selues to this age, we will temporize like those which said in Wis-
dome 2. *Let vs enioy those good things that are, and repleniſh our selues: Such are very*
preiudiciall, especially to good men in the Church of God. And if Ecclesiasticall Prelats C
were so base as to retaine these bad cogitations, they could not be too deepely plunged in hel,
&c. for herein they incurre the temporall danger, which they most feare, the Lord spea-
king thus vnto them in the first of the Prouerbs, *You haue neglected all my aduertise-*
ments and counsels, and therefore I will returne to your destruction, when tribulation and
anguish shall euen violently rush in vpon you. Some distrust altogether, and it seemes that
no due remedie in this case can be applied: but euen as other things and former kingdoms
haue had their periods, according to that of Mathew, *they haue a time in the irreuocable*
reuolution of ages: and so this gouernement of the Church must likewise haue an end, the
gouernours iust deserts and obstinacies requiring the same; as it is in the eighth of Iere-
mie, *There is none that repents, euerie one returnes to his owne course, like an horse that* D
violently presseth into the battell. If an Æthiope can change his skinne, or a Leopard his
spots, then you may doe good, hauing learned nothing but euill: and in the seuentenith
chapter of Iuda, which implies the Church, The sinne of Iuda is written with an yron
penne, with the point of a Diamant; as if he should say, it is indelible. But all these things
pretend not impossibilitie, but onely difficultie, because the peruerse are hardly corrected
or reformed: For in the third of Ionas *it is sayd, Who knowes whether he may be conuer-*
ted, and acknowledge God. It is therefore said in the 26 of Ieremie, *Doe not withdraw*
the word, for it may be they will heare, and euerie one may be conuerted from his euill
way. At last he concludes with a serious exhortation to repentance, conuersion, E
and amendment of life. This is that *Nicholaus Oremus*, who by *Charles* the fift his
persuasion, our king, and surnamed the Wise, turned the whole Bible into the
French Tongue. Many copies of the same are to be found at this day in the libra-
ries of the noble families of this land, but especially there is one in the kings li-
brarie, wherein *Charles* testifies by his owne hand writing, That this Bible was
translated by his commaundement.

And here we may fitly set downe, That *Charles* the Sage was the Author of a
booke written by *Alanus Charterius*, his Secretarie, whose title was, *Somnium Vi-*
ridarij, The Gardens Dreame, printed at Paris aboue an hundred yeares since, a-
gainst

A gainst the Papall tyrannie, both spirituall and temporall. That booke stifly main-
taines, and so consequently our king *Charles*, That the Roman Church, from *Con-*
stantines dayes, had obtained prioritie through a silent and voluntarie consent of
the Churches, not that it had any authoritie properly ouer them; as also because
there did reside in that place many famous men, who out of their charitie were
verie carefull to admonish brotherly the other faithfull, and these men againe em-
braced their admonitions, as the rules and precepts of learned men: which see-
med wonderfull beneficiall and profitable. They also were subiect to their cen-
sures, to preserue the vnitie of the faithfull: and this their voluntarie obedience
was in stead of a formall election, though no wayes, by any diuine or humane
B lawes, they were no more tyed to the commaunds and institutions of the Roman
Church or the Pope, than the Pope himselfe was to him or his Churches. And
the reason hereof certainely was, because they had not yet ouer them any supreme
Christian Prince to comprehend and keepe them within order and vnitie: the
which is most plaine and perspicuous, because we cannot gather out of any place
of the holie Scriptures, That by the commaundement of Christ, of any one of
the Apostles, or of any primitiue Councell, that the Churches or Bishops in
generall were subiect to the Church or Bishop of Rome, no not in those things
that appertaine to rites Ecclesiasticall: Which, in no apparance, Christ and his
Apostles would haue omitted, if it had concerned the saluation of the faithfull,
C much lesse in that which concernes *iura coactiua*, lawes of constraint, not onely o-
uer Clerkes, but ouer secular Princes themselues: the which the Popes take vp-
on them, against the expresse precepts and iniunctions of Christ and his Apostles.
And therefore the Church and Bishops of Rome obtained prioritie out of the
commendable ends aboue mentioned, from *Constantine* the first Christian Empe-
rour, which afterwards they persuaded the world, but most falsly, that they held
ex iure diuino, by law diuine; further extending the same ouer all Kings and Prin-
ces, as also, that they are to gouerne during a vacancie in the seat Imperial. Which
the later Popes haue presumed to ratifie by many Decretalls, by which, out of a
plenarie power, they pretend to create or depose kings, and they not obeying
D their Decree in this poynt, are subiect to interdict and excommunication. All
which propositions are sharpely refuted in that booke, the Pope being reduced to
these tearmes, That both he and the Church of Rome had no further authoritie
ouer other Churches, than what by the same Churches was voluntarily confer-
red vpon them. Hereunto let vs annex, That *Edward* the third, king of England,
after he had oftentimes complained in vaine to the Popes, of the exactions where-
with the Churches of England were continually pressed, hee at length determi-
ned to free England from that iurisdiction which the Pope vsurped in England:
Wherefore in the yeare 1374 he ordained, That the Bishops afterwards should *An.* 1374.
E be created by himselfe, and so other inferiour Ministers by the Bishops; and there-
upon not long after it came to passe, that the Pope lost the tenthes, which before
time he vsed, without checke or controll, to impose vpon the Clergie. As also it
was prohibited vnder grieuous paines, That for the obtaining of any benefice in
England, no man should repaire to the Pope whersoeuer he were, and the *Peter*
pence which were yearely payed to Rome, were quite put downe. The which
when *Gregorie* the eleuenth vnderstood, he was mightily vexed, and exclaimed,
That this was nothing else but to diuide the Christian Church, to annihilat Religion, and
to cut off all lawes both diuine and humane: Wherefore he first dealt with Edward to re-
uoke this law: but after this Popes death, schisme arising in the Church (saith *Polidore*) *Polidorus l. 19.*

there was no other of his ſucceſſors that minded this matter, till Martine the fift wrot A
letters of great vehemencie and perſuaſion to king Henrie the ſixt; but both the one and the other receiued a like anſwer, which was, That the Decree of a Councell, or Parliament (that is of England) could not be abrogated without the authoritie of another Councell, or Parliament, which he would preſently cauſe to be ſummoned: the which notwithſtanding was neuer performed.

At this verie time S. *Bridget* and *Katherine* of Sienna were celebrated for Saints, both ſuppoſed to haue receiued diuine reuelations from aboue, and therfore they were canonized; both of them notwithſtanding conceiuing verie well what manner of monſter the Pope was. And *Bridget*, being borne in Scotland, and maried in Suethen, came to ſee *Vrban* the fift, who was then at Montefiaſcone, neere B
Rome, ſuppoſing by her journey to haue gained great Indulgences. And yet in her reuelations ſhe calls the Pope *a murderer of ſoules, the diſperſer and deuourer of Chriſts ſheepe, more abhominable than the Iewes, more deſpightfull than Iudas, more vniuſt than Pylat, worſe than Lucifer, and that his ſeat ſhould ſinke like a weightie ſtone,* (the Apocalyps ſayes, like a mill-ſtone) *and that his aſſiſtants ſhould burne in a ſulphurous and inextinguiſhable fire.* Afterwards ſhe reprehends the Biſhops, and other Prieſts, that through their default the doctrine of Chriſt is cleane neglected, and almoſt aboliſhed, the diuine wiſedome and knowledge was by the Clergie conuerted into wicked and vaine ſciences; That they were leapers, and dumbe men, turning all Gods commaundements into one onely ſaying, *Da pecuniam*, giue C
money: To conclude, *ſhe affirmes that ſhe ſaw the bleſſed Virgine ſpeaking thus to her ſonne, Rome is a fertile and plentifull field; when Chriſt made anſwer, So indeed it is, but of Cockle and Darnell.* But yet ſhe ſaid, ſhe was admoniſhed in a viſion to go to Rome rather to remoue, than confirme the opinion ſhe formerly conceiued of it. *Katherine* alſo gaue the like cenſure of the ſtate of the Roman Church, nay, and if we may beleeue *Antoninus*, ſhe preſaged, That euen then the Churches confuſion was at hand, and that preſently a reformation would enſue. When ſhe heard of the Perugians rebellion againſt the Pope, *Begin not your lamentation* (ſaith ſhe) *ſo ſoone, for you ſhall haue weeping too much: for this you now ſee is but milke and honie* D
in reſpect of thoſe miſeries to enſue. Thus doe the Laitie, and preſently you ſhall ſee the Clergie will doe worſe, for they ſhall giue a generall ſcandall to the whole Church of God, which like an hereticall peſtilence ſhall diſturbe and diſſipate the ſame. It ſhall not properly be an hereſie, but as it were an hereſie and a certaine diuiſion of the Church and all Chriſtendome. This (ſaith *Raimond*, who writ her Legend) we ſee accompliſhed in the ſchiſme that followed vpon *Gregories* death: For when the ſchiſme began, *Raymond* told her, That what ſhe had propheſied was now come to paſſe; and ſhe replied, *Euen as then I told you, that the preſent moleſtations were but milke and honie; ſo I ſay vnto you, That this you now ſee and behold, is but childrens ſport in compariſon of* E
future miſeries, eſpecially in adiacent and bordering Prouinces. Which we haue ſeene come to paſſe (ſaith he) ouer all Italie and Sicilia: whereunto wee may worthily annex France, which neuer felt a more ſharpe and terrible warre than at this inſtant. Then *Raymond* againe proſecutes: *Being curious* (ſaith hee) *to demaund of her what would follow after this wonderfull agitation and reuolt (becauſe it manifeſtly appeared that ſhee entertained celeſtiall reuelations;* (ſhe replied, *God ſhall purge his Church from all theſe tribulations and miſeries, by a meanes altogether inperceptible and vnknowne vnto men: and after this ſhall occurre ſuch a wonderfull reformation of Gods Church, and a renouation of ſacred and holie Paſtors, that through the cogitation thereof onely my ſpirit euen reioyceth in the Lord. And as otherwhiles I haue many times*

A *times told you, the ſpouſe that now is deformed and rent, ſhall then bee adorned with goodlie and precious iewels, and all the faithfull ſhall exult for being honoured with ſuch holie Paſtors.* *Antoninus* addes further, *what this ſacred virgine foretold of ſchiſmes and tribulations, we haue ſeene them cleerely and euidently come to paſſe: but for that ſhee denounced touching good Paſtors, and the Churches reformation, that hath not yet beene effected.* And yet he wrot in the yeare 1450, after the ſchiſme extinguiſhed, and the diſſolution of the Councels of Conſtance and Baſil; the which, as it ſeemes, he thought had not ſufficiently prouided for the reformation of the Church, conformable to this virgines predictions; neither can it any wayes be perceiued in the Church of Rome, or in the Popes, whether you conſider do-
B ctrine, or manners: ſo as this propheſie may verie well be applied to that reformation that began not long after, which purged both the errors of doctrine, and the abuſes of diſcipline, through the diligence and zeale of thoſe godlie miniſters which God ſtirred vp in the age following, *by a meanes* (as ſhe ſaid) *inperceptible of men*, the which was then a preparing before his death.

In Bohemia mention is made of one *Militzius*, a famous Preacher of Prage, whom *Iacobus Miſnenſis* tearmes *renowned and venerable*. This man declared, how againſt his will he was enioyned by the holie Ghoſt to ſearch out of the holie Scriptures the comming of Antichriſt, whom he found to be now alreadie come: the ſame ſpirit conducting him, he was conſtrained to go to Rome, where he prea-
C ched publikely, and afterwards before the Inquiſitor he confirmed, That the great Antichriſt, of whom the Scriptures doe propheſie, was already come. The ſame man ſaid, That in the Church Idols ſhould be erected, which would deſtroy Ieruſalem, and make deſolat the Temple, but that they were couered with hypocriſie: That many knew the truth, and yet through iniuſtice ſuppreſſed it, and therefore in this ſilence they renounced Chriſt, and durſt not touch his truth before men. He alſo inueyed particularly againſt many abuſes, as we may ſee in *Iacobus Miſnenſis* his treatiſe, *de Aduentu Antichriſti*, which he wrot about the yeare 1410. We *An.* 1410.
find alſo a Bull of *Gregorie* the eleuenth directed to *Iohn* Archbiſhop of Prage,
D wherein he is commanded to excommunicat and perſecute *Militzius* and his auditors, who were taught and inſtructed by him, That the Pope and his companions were Antichriſts, That there was no truth amongſt them vnderprated. So as it is manifeſt, that the Church in Bohemia came to haue ſome reformation, and ſo much the rather, becauſe the Waldenſes, as we formerly ſaw, fixed here their habitations long time before.

In theſe verie dayes, about the yeare 1460, one *Iohn Wikkliffe*, a man of *An.* 1460.
ſingular vnderſtanding, began to lift vp his head, who was trayned vp at Oxford in all learning and ſcience, being both a famous Diuine and Philoſopher, who was for thoſe parts highly honoured and eſteemed of: all the Faculties and Degrees in that Vniuerſitie. This man queſtionleſſe charged the Roman Church
E on euerie ſide verie ſtoutly: for not ſatisfying himſelfe in ſhewing the Pope *to bee an Hereſiarch, the Antichriſt deſcribered in the Scriptures, the abhominations of deſolation, in abſtracto, in abſtract, brought in by Sathans guile, and their Churches impoſture*: and that he convinced him to be the ſame both by the Scriptures, the courſe of all hiſtories, diuers prevalent reaſons, and his owne proper actions; but further he aſſaileth the inward poynts of his doctrine, taxing it with Vanitie, ſuperſtition, and idolatrie, reprehending the ſeruice of the creator conuerted to the creature, to mortall men, to Saints, to reliques, to images: That the Sacrifice of the Redeemers Paſſion was turned into the fooliſh ſpectacle and

mummerie of a Masse; the benefit of the death and passion of Christ the sonne A
of God, into dispensations, absolutions, pilgrimages, and indulgences, the bene-
fits or rather inchauntments, not of a pure, but most impure man: The people
were fallen away from the incomparable merits of Christ our Sauiour, to their
owne workes; from the firme tuition and defence of Christs crosse, to the shaken
reed of their owne demerits: To conclude, from God the generall creator, to a
ridiculous host which must bee worshipped as God, though it were knead
and made with mens hands. And for the furtherance of this so high a worke of
Gods, he translated the whole Bible into the vulgar Tongue: all those heads of
doctrine he deliuered to the learned in Latine, and to the ignorant in the vulgar
Tongue. In publique lectures at Oxford, he was a Doctor, in ordinarie Sermons B
of the Church a Pastour, putting on a brasen forehead against the shamelesse
strumpet, and a breast of Diamant against the power and violence of the whole
Clergie, thundring the like euen into the eares of *Edward* the third then raigning
in England, and he drew vnto himselfe the attention of all the great men in the
Land, which then flourished either in letters or armes: obtaining so far by his
diuine labour and zeale, that truth from his mouth was harkened vnto, by many
embraced and receiued, and happily preached for many yeares: so as that light
of the Gospell reuiued by his operations and endeauours, no puff or whirle-wind
could extinguish, but rather it kindled vnto vs another fire all Europe ouer. I for- C
beare to speake of the learning & incomparable solidities of his writings, all which
being duely wayed, especially in so tenebrous an age, amiddest so fearefull sta-
shings and lightnings, whereat the greatest Princes of the world stooped and
trembled; I thinke no man can justly make any doubt but that his spirit receiued
illumination, courage and confidence from aboue, that God wrought in and by
him, and in the weakenesse of a wretched and abject man, in respect of the world;
he intended the ruine of Sathans Empire, of that same plenarie power, so much
boasted of, and so long time affected by the Popes: In so much as *Luther* seemes
to haue spoken most worthily, *The bodies of the Saints rise againe when there is a*
resurrection of the Gospell of Iesus our Sauiour, so as these pettie desperat Bishops are D
able to preuaile nothing at all against them, with their Herods and Pylats.

All the Clergie out of doubt he wonderfully amazed and astonisht: For *Tho-*
mas Waldensis, in his Epistle to *Martine* the fift, spares not to tell, how he wonde-
red and admired *at his irrefragible assertions, at the perspicuous authorities, and inuin-*
cible reasons which he produced. And the Chronologers of those times seeme
greatly to complaine, that both king *Edward* and all his chiefe Counsellors gaue
attentiue eare to him: as also, that the king was woon by him to enact by Parlia-
ment, That the Bishops from thenceforth should be confirmed by their Metro-
politans, as in times past, and not be tied vpon this occasion to goe personally to
Rome. But *Waldensis* mentions some particular men that in England entertay- E
ned his doctrine; certaine Diuines and Masters of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, *Ro-*
bert Rigg Chauncellour of the same Vniuersitie, together with the two Proctors
and many others, whom he seuerally nominates. In the Court, the king himselfe
and the Prince of Wales his son, were his auditors, *John* Duke of Lancaster, *Lewis*
Clifford, *William Nenill*, *John Klenbow*, *Richard Struny*, *Thomas Latimer*, *John Monta-*
cute, who defaced Images throughout all his jurisdiction, *John* of Salisburie, who
being at poynt of death, rejected the Papisticall Sacrament, with diuers others of
the chiefest Nobilitie. Besides, *John* of Northampton, the Major of London, and
sundrie other notable Citizens and Burgesses, who many times disturbed the Bi-
shops

Thom. Waldenf. in Epist ad Martin. 5. Thom. Walsingham in Rich. 2. Gulielm. Caxtonius in Chron. Anno 1371 & 1372. alias fructus temporum

A shops assemblies and conuenticles, which were called for the suppressing of *Wick-*
liff. But so on the other side, he wanted not many potent and mightie aduersaries
among the Bishops, Prelats, Monkes, but especially the Mendicants, who after
Edwards death, obtained of *Richard* the second, that *Wickliff* should be expelled
England: he therefore repairing into Bohemia, brought a great light to the do-
ctrine of the Waldenses; when *John Hus*, being yet but a young man, had diuers
conferences with him about diuine matters. But at length beeing recalled home
againe from exile, about the yeare 1387, the last of December, he meekely in *An.*1387.
his Countrie yeelded vp his soule to God, and was buried in the Church of Lut-
terworth within the Countie of Leicester: not without a singular miracle shew-
B ed herein, notwithstanding the implacable rage and furie of his aduersaries: al-
though in the yeare 1428, by Pope *Martine* the fifths order, he was by the Pre- *An.*1428.
lats in England disinterred and burnt. But God in his good time will re-demaund
the bodies of his Saints of all the elements, to whom, he will then most gratiously
communicat his hapinesse and glorie, Amen.

Here we may also adjoyne the principall heads of *Wickliffs* doctrine, as they are
set downe by *William Wydford* his aduersarie, who inuents many of them out of
his owne braine, the more to stir vp enuie against him: but in a word, wee may
boldly affirme that they are no other in substance then such as are receiued into
the confessions of our Churches, as may euidently bee seene in many treatises
C which are extant, both in Latine and English. Touching the Pope, besides the
points by vs premised, he taught, That in the Apostles time there were two only
orders of Clerks, those were *Priests and Deacons*, for other degrees they proceeded
from the pride of the Papacie: That the Pope who counterfeitly professed him-
selfe to be the seruant of Gods seruants, in the worke Euangelicall, was of no
place or degree, but Sathans speciall Atturney and procurator, that he might per-
petually proiect and practise treason against Christ; also, that he was pointed at
throughout all the Scriptures for Antichrist, not his person simplie, but the
chaire and Papall dignitie, from whence, by meanes of the creeping in of all ex-
cesse and sensualitie, confusion hath inuaded the Church; how it was a most pal-
D pable heresie to beleeue that euerie militant Church in Europe depended on his
See and authoritie, That no man could ground out of the Scriptures, how such a
Vicar entred into the Church, and therefore must needs haue come in otherwise
by worldly courses and Sathans subtilties, That Christ had neuer any mea-
ning to constitute a *Cæsarian Pope*, one that should be both Pope and Emperour
at an instant. And therefore it belonged to Princes seriously to ioyne both their
hearts and hands, for the prohibiting of such a Sathan to beare rule in the church.
His principall Disciples in England grew verie famous, both by edition of books
and for Martyredome, as *Walter Bret*, *John Aston*, *John Aswaly*, *Nicholas Her-*
ford, *John Purues*, *Richards Wits*, *John Oldcastle*, *Peter Clarke*, *William Taylor*, *William*
E *With*, whose workes and labours *Bale* cites out of the auntient monuments, the
seed whereof, brought forth afterwards the fruits into England which we both
haue and daily see. *Thomas Walsingham* specially notes, that when the Archbishop *Thomas Wal-*
of Canterburie had sent *Wickliffs* condemnation to *Robert Rigg*, Chauncellour *singham in Ri-*
of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, to be diuulged, he appointed them to preach that *charde 2.*
day whom he knew to be the most zealous followers of *Wickliff*, in contempt
(saith he) of the Archiepiscopall precept: and among others, he ordayned one
Philip Rippinton, a Chanon of Leycester, to preach on *Corpus Christi* day, who
concluded his Sermon with these words, *For speculatiue doctrine* (saith he) *such*

as is the point of the Sacrament of the Altar, I will set a barre on my lips, while God hath otherwise instructed or illuminated the hearts of the Clergie. The same Author sayth,

*An.*1378. That in the yeare 1378 Pope *Gregorie* the eleuenth his Bull being presented and read at Oxford, and seconded with expresse letters both to the king, the Archbishop, and all other the chiefest and principallest Bishops, wherein he vsed to them great reprehension for the slight care they had taken in the suppressing of *Wiclifs* doctrine: Those of the Vniuersitie were long time in suspence, *Whether they should receiue the Popes Bull with honour, or reiect it with reproach*: and at last verie small account was made of it.

60. Progression.

The contention betweene the Romans and the Frenchmen, about the election of the Pope. Of the diuision in the Popedome betweene Vrban the sixt and Clement the seuenth. Of the Practises of Vrban to aduance Charles Duras to the kingdome of Sicilia, and of the treacheries towards Ioan Queene of Naples, and Otho Duke of Brunswick, her husband. Of the Iubilie begun by the said Vrban, but ended in the time of Boniface the ninth.

THe Church of Rome, as we haue seene, is marked in Histories with many schismes, of which some of them lasted for many yeares: And now we enter into the six and twentieth, so quoted by their Authors, and the longest of all the rest, for it continued for fiftie yeares, Pope against Pope, the States of Europe and all the Churches of Christendome diuided, or rather rent and torne asunder, whiles they repeale the Acts one of another, and condemne each others ordinances, curse and excommunicat the one the other, and openly pronounce the one the other to be Antichrist; and that in bookes published, and yet extant concerning that matter. Whereby many (euen in despight of their teeth) open their eyes to know them for such as they are; insomuch that many detesting openly their hypocrisie, forsake their Synagogues, and the others are made at least so much the more vnexcusable of their enormities. In the yeare then 1378, *Gregorie* the eleuenth being deceased, the Cardinalls enter into the Conclaue at Rome, and the Romans requested that they would create Pope, if not a Roman, yet at least an Italian, least if he were a Frenchman, he should withdraw his seat to Auignion; yea not content with prayers, they make a tumult about S. Peters, by the instigation, as it was thought, of Cardinall *Vrsino*, who affected the Seat. But the Frenchmen on the other side being desirous to haue the Seat with them, left nothing vnattempted to the contrarie, though wearie of the Lymosine Popes, who for many yeares had transported the Myter ouer from one to another. Notwithstanding in the end, partly for feare, and partly by bribing, *Bartholmew* Archbishop of Barrie, a Neapolitan, is created Pope, and called *Vrban* the sixt, the Frenchmen in the meane time complaining that they had beene forced in their suffrages. And here some Authors note, That *Vrban* had promised by oath to renounce the Popedome whensoeuer they should require it, though the Cardinals signified by letters his election to the Christian Princes, as lawfull, and themselues adored him. Three moneths then being past, and the weather waxing verie hot (for he had beene created in March) the French Cardinalls, for change of ayre, request leaue of him to depart to Anagnia, which *Vrban* graunteth; and they assigne

Theodor. à Nyem. l. 1. de Schism. inter Vrban. 6. & Clement. 7. Platina in Vrban. 6. Blondus Decad. 2. l. 10.

A signe their place of meeting at Fundi, whither they come, and to make their partie the stronger, they entice thither three Italian Cardinalls, with promise to each of them secretly, to make him Pope, if he came thither; and then they chose for Pope the Cardinall of Genoua, by the name of *Clement* the seuenth, against *Vrban* the sixt. It is obserued, That when *Vrban* was requested not to returne into France, these words chanced to escape from him, *That he would euer abide at Rome*; and that he rebuked the Bishops openly, for that they resided in Court, whereas they ought to be in their Dioceses: which the Cardinall of Pampelone tooke verie grieuously against him. *Platina* adderh, That these Cardinals had pilled the former Popes after their death, and feared to be called in question for it.

B And let the Reader hence iudge, with what goodlie and lawfull reasons matters were gouerned in these Conclaues. Each of them then laboured which could draw more Princes and States of Christendome to their obedience: and to *Vrban* obeyed all the Italians, and the Florentines themselues, being absolued from the excommunication of his predecessor, so that there onely wanted to him the Earle of Fundi, *Francis de Vico*, who held Viterbe, and *Ioan* Queene of Naples, whom he had lost onely by his peeuishnesse: and of strangers, the Germans, Englishmen, and Portugals. To *Clement* obeyed the kings of France and Spaine. And some there were which acknowledged neither the one nor the other, whence they were called *Newters*.

C Let vs come to *Vrban*: in him was manifestly verified the prouerbe, *He which maketh a Pope knoweth not what he doth.* For *Theodoric à Nyem*, his Secretarie, who wrot this historie, telleth vs, That before his Popedome he was *an humble and deuout man, and withheld his hands from all bribes, an enemie and persecuter of simonie, and zealous of chastitie and iustice.* And out of that which followeth may easily be judged, whether he were an hypocrite, or whether the infection of the Seat did not change his habitude. This good Queene of Naples *had reioyced exceedingly at his promotion to the Popedome, and for many dayes in Naples had caused bone-fires of ioy to be made, to honour him, and besides other things, had sent vnto him in gift 40000 ducats, part in gold, and part in siluer*, for his first expences. *Otho* also, Duke of Brunswick, her husband, had held him verie deere before he was Pope, and wonderfully reioyced of his Popedome; but hee notwithstanding was the first that felt his pride, for one day *presenting drinke vnto him in his collation, in presence of many Cardinalls, he out of pride stayd a long time before he would take the cup out of the hands of the great a Prince kneeling before him, till one of the Cardinalls said vnto him, Holie Father it is time to drinke.* And some such like actions helped forward the schisme not a little. The Author adderh here of his master, *That this saying as then sayled not in him,*

Asperius nihil est misero cum surgit in altum.

None's more proud than the wretch that's high aduanced.

E And also, that *Cor de flat inflato, pauper honore dato*; *A poore man aduanced to honour, hath his heart puft vp with pride*: But likewise verified that saying of the Wise man, *His heart shall be hard with euill in his latter dayes.* Notwithstanding *Otho*, before the schisme brake forth, omitted nothing that he could to reconcile him with the Cardinalls, yet receiueth no better vsage from him; for hauing requested him to approue the mariage of his cousen, the Marquesse of Montferrat, with *Marie* heire of Sicilie, whereunto all the Barons of the kingdome consented, he flatly refused him, hauing an intention by any meanes to make the kingdome of Sicilie fall into the

Theodor. à Nyem. l. 1. c. 1.

L.1.c.12. the hands of *Francis Pregnan*, his brothers ſonne. And this is that humilitie which *Theodorick* commended in him before his Popedome. When he ſaw the Cardinalls fall away from him, he remained aſtoniſhed, and would haue returned to humilitie, yet gathering courage to himſelfe, he thought he ſhould not want ſome ambitious, to take the Cardinals hat at his hand: wherefore in one day he created twentie ſix, three Romans, the reſt Neapolitans, his countreymen. The chiefe ſtrife was for the poſſeſſion of Rome, and alreadie he ruled there: but the *Vrſines*, that held for *Clement*, and the Frenchman captaine of the caſtle S. Angelo, who ſhot off thence vpon his people, made the citie dangerous vnto him: therefore with the forces of his confederats he beſieged him, and conſtraineth him through famine to yeeld. He woon vnto him alſo the fauour of the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, and of *Lewis* king of Hungarie, by giuing them hope of great matters, and by their helpe got vnto himſelfe the obedience of Lombardie and Sicilie. Hence therefore taking courage, he ſeriouſly bendeth his thoughts on the promoting of his nephew, and ſendeth for *Charles Duras* out of Hungarie, againſt his promiſe by oath (That he would neuer attempt any thing againſt the daughters of king *Lewis*) and crowneth him king of Sicilie, on this condition, That hee ſhould giue the dukedome of Capua and of Melſe in the realme of Naples, and many noble earledomes in Sicilie, to his nephew, though he were a man *effeminat and vnprofitable*. And becauſe this *Charles* had no money, he ſold to the Roman citizens *the proprieties and rights* of many churches of Rome, to the ſumme of eightie thouſand Florins, & more, *alſo gold & ſiluer Chalices, croſſes, and other pretious ornaments of the ſaid Churches and Monaſteries, he tooke away in great number and value; and he coyned many ſiluer Images of Saints into money*, for to pay wages to the armie of *Charles*. And here againe let the Reader weigh *that deuotion* which our Author had attributed vnto him *before his Popedome*.

His other conditions were found to be no better. *Charles*, led by his naturall pride, marcheth to Naples, and through the treaſon prepared by *Vrban*, is receiued by his partakers into the citie; for he had bound vnto him the beſt families by his Cardinals hats. But Queene *Ioan* was retired into the new caſtle, and *Otho* Duke of Brunſwick with his armie beſieged the citie. He then counterfeited the ſeale of Queene *Ioan*, and forged a letter as from her to *Otho*, whereby ſhe intreated him to come vnto her with ſix onely of his deereſt and moſt faithfull friends, for to reſolue together in ſo great extremitie, what was beſt for them to be done. *Otho* ſuſpecting nothing, taketh his journey thitherwards by night, accompanied with the Marqueſſe of Montferrat his couſen, *Balthaſar* Duke of Brunſwick his brother, ſonne in law of the Earle of Fundi, and three captains, in whom he greatly truſted: but they fall into a deepe pit prepared for them, with their horſes, in which was hid in ambuſh fiftie men, who kil the Marqueſſe and the three captains, take the Duke *Otho* and his brother *Balthaſar*, and caried them priſoners to *Charls*, who commaunded *Balthaſars eyes to be put out in the publike market place, where the innocent young king Conradine, by the commaundements of Charles the firſt, had beene beheaded:* and he keepeth *Otho* full three yeares vnder cuſtodie. Queene *Ioan*, when ſhe heard that her husband was taken, hoped that in yeelding the caſtle, which beſides was in diſtreſſe for want of victual, ſhe might at leaſt redeeme her life; but he ſenging her preſently priſoner into a certaine caſtle of Abruzzo, *in the chappell whereof, as ſhe was kneeling at prayer before the Altar, by his commandſhe is ſtrangled by ſome Hungarian ſouldiers*. All this was done by the counſell of *Vrban*, whoſe Legat *latere* was euer by him, the Cardinall of Sangro, who thought he offered to God good

A good ſacrifice, when hee deſtroyed them that had been faithfull to Queene *Ioan*, as well of the Clergie as Laytie, eyther depriuing them of their goods, or depoſing them of their Eccleſiaſticall dignities, without any reſpect of age, condition, or merit: inſomuch that in one day at their coſt, he created thirtie and two Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and many Abbots, all Neapolitans and followers of *Charles* his part. He addeth, that they vſed the enchauntments of a certaine vagabond, well knowne to the Author, who named himſelfe a Knight, and a little after was burned, by commaundement of *Lewis* Duke of Anjou, whom he would haue deceiued.

Neither was *Clement* in the meane time idle, *A man* (ſaith the Authour) *of a*
B *large conſcience and of great experience, verie needie*, whom *Gregorie* the eleuenth, by reaſon he could not otherwiſe maintaine his prodigalitie, had appointed Legat in the *Marca de Ancona* and in Lumbardie, *more perhaps, that he might by that* Idem.l.2.c.21.
meanes haue wherewith to liue, from the inhabitants of thoſe regions, vnder pretence of his Legation, than for any quiet or ſafetie that hee might procure vnto them. Of which he bringeth vs ſome examples. Neuertheleſſe he is couetous, or rather a greedie griper, by reaſon of his prodigalitie: For *Otho*, Duke of Brunſwick, hauing taken Verſeil and fortie Caſtles in thoſe parts from Vicount *Barnabo*, then
C commaunder of Milan, who had deliuered them to *Gregorie*; *Clement*, beeing at that time Legat, ſold them all to *Barnabo* for readie money, who exerciſed againſt them all ſorts of crueltie, and exacted from them the money he had diſburſed to *Clement*; And being come to the Popedome, he retayned ſtill the ſame humour, granting in fee for a very ſmall yerely reuenew without any difficultie, the Lands and demeſnes of Cathedrall Churches and Monaſteries, for to bind great men vnto him; and *giuing* (ſaith the Authour) *large thongs of another mans leather*, that he might recouer money at any price whatſoeuer. And when he ſaw that *Vrban* had at his pleaſure created a King of Apulia, he reſolued to giue him a competitour; this was *Lewis* Duke of Anjou, whom he crowned and ſent into Italie, with an armie of ſixtie thouſand men: ſo that *Vrban* determined to leaue Rome, and to goe into the kingdome of Naples, whom *Charles* commeth to meet not
D farre from Auerſa, and did vnto him the office of a groome or yeoman of his ſtirrop. And the ſame Authour, being an eye witneſſe of this meeting, noteth, Lib.1.c.29.30. 31.32.
that *many Countrie people came and kiſſed the ſayd Vrbans feet, but before they did ſo, they had thrice kiſſed the ground or earth*. But *Charles*, vnder colour of ſhewing him the Caſtle of Auerſa, kept him priſoner, ſuſpecting ſome euill of *Vrbans* iourney into Apulia, and ſo much the rather, for that hee had not fulfilled his promiſe in putting *Pregnan* his Nephew in poſſeſſion of the Duchie of Capua and of Melſe. But ſoone after, at the entreaties of the Cardinals, and vnder certaine conditions, he ſet him at libertie and bringeth him to Naples. That *Preg-* Lib.1.c.33.34.
E *nan* was a man giuen to all vices, and of whom notwithſtanding he was ſo exceeding fond, that when his peculiar looſeneſſe was told him, he was woont to anſwer, *He is young*; and yet was he then fortie yeares old. It happened among other things, that he violated and raviſhed by force a certaine profeſſed Nunne and recluſe of the order of S. Clare of the Monaſterie of S. Sauiour at Naples, and deſcended from a Noble houſe; her hee kept certaine dayes with him: The people is moued with that wicked fact, whereupon the guiltie perſon ſuddenly ſaueth himſelfe in a Church, vnder the protection of his vncle; the king according to Law hauing conuicted him, condemneth him to die; the Pope conteſteth againſt it, that he is a ſuperiour Lord, in whoſe preſence the king cannot puniſh

a

a nobleman of his kingdome. Thereupon he fortifieth the gates of his palace, A
and gathereth his partakers about him; ſo that this ſo infamous a crime remaineth
vnpuniſhed, *becauſe it ſo pleaſed the Pope*; yea, which is worſe, that peace might be
made betweene the Pope and the king, it is agreed vpon, by the Cardinals pro-
curement, That *Pregnan* ſhould marie the daughter of the Lord chiefe Iuſtice of
the realme, the kings kinſwoman; and that the king, for ſo long time as the duke
of Anjou ſhould remaine in the countrey, ſhould pay vnto *Pregnan* euerie yeare,
in ſtead of the reuenewes of thoſe dukedomes, ſeuentie thouſand Flouins. Of
Idem t.40. his owne accord he gaue him alſo the caſtle of Lucera, *with the appurtenances*, be-
ing betweene Naples and Saleme, whither he with the Pope his vncle retired him-
ſelfe, a place verie pleaſant, and ſafe for their perſons, being lodged in the caſtle, but B
the towne was not ſo, which was appointed for the Cardinals and courtiers, who
in a ſtate ſo troubled betweene two Princes in warre together, had many great al-
L.1.c.42. armes, and yet could not make him reſolue to depart thence. Wherefore at the
inſtance of Cardinall *Reatine* it was treated amongſt them, out of the opinion of
many Doctors, *If a Pope were too negligent, or vnfit to gouerne, and leaned ſo much to
his owne wit, that he brought thereby the whole Church into danger; or were ſo vnbri-
dled, that without the aduice of the Cardinalls he would doe things after his owne fanta-
ſie and pleaſure, Whether it were not lawfull to ſubſtitute, by the election of the Cardinals,
a Curator, or ſome fit Curators, by whoſe counſell and aduiſe the Pope ſhould be held to diſ-
patch all the affayres of the Church*: which was concluded to be lawfull. But *Vrban* C
being aduertiſed hereof by the Cardinall of Manupello, when the Cardinalls of
dutie came to viſit him, he kept ſix of them, whom he moſt feared, priſoners, whoſe
goods, without any order of law, he preſently confiſcated, and by that means ter-
rified all the reſt: yea a few dayes after he gaue their hats to certaine vnworthie
perſons of Naples, who knowing their owne vnworthineſſe, were aſhamed to
Idem l.1.c.45. weare them in publike. His cruelties was ſuch, that he caſt them into a dungeon,
commonly called the old Ciſterne, and without any reſpect of age, infirmitie, or
qualitie, put them to the racke, and all manner of tortures, his nephew *Pregnan*
being preſent, and urging the tormentors; ſo that here *Theodorick* moueth all to
compaſſion: neither yet, whatſoeuer theſe do teſtifie and proteſt, could he euer be D
mollified, not towards the Cardinall *Sangro*, a man broken with old age, and be-
fore his legat in the realme, who, to pleaſe him, had exerciſed ſo many cruelties,
and now acknowledged that he was juſtly puniſhed by himſelfe. But when *Preg-
nan* was ſo proud and audacious as to ſeiſe vpon the caſtle of Sciarri, three leagues
diſtant from Lucera, and was preſently beſieged by the kings ſeruants, and forced
to yeeld, *Charles* reſolued to beſiege *Vrban* himſelfe within Lucera, who, feeling
Idem l.2.c.45. himſelfe extreamely preſſed, led by a German called *Lutz* of Swene, fled through
50.51.52.53. by-wayes of the mountaines, and ſo ſaued himſelfe at Salerne, where he is recei-
54.55.56. ued of certaine gallies of Genua, prepared for him; and cauſed the captiue Car- E
dinalls through theſe incommodities to accompanie him euer by his ſide, guided
with halberdiers; and when the Biſhop of Aquila, broken with tortures, was not
able to follow him, he commaunded his hangman to kill him, and left his bodie to
the fields without buriall. Then directing his courſe into Sicilie, which was yrkſo
his obedience, he arriued at Palermo, where hauing made prouiſion of things ne-
ceſſarie, he put to ſea againe, and came to Genua, where he continually kept with
him thoſe Cardinalls in bonds, all except one Cardinall *Adam*, a poore Monke,
whom he gaue to *Richard* king of England on condition that he ſhould quet lowe
a certaine Clerke of his chamber watching ouer his actions. At Genua he recei-
ueth

A ueth great gifts from *Iohn* Duke of Milan, *Perhaps* (ſaith the Author) *that he ſhould
abſolue him from the fault he had committed, for that whileſt Vrban remained at Naples,
the Duke had taken his vncle Lord Barnabo, the daughter of whoſe conſen german hee
maried by diſpenſation from the Pope, and ſtrangled her in a caſtle neere Milan*: and a
while after he impoiſoned *Barnabo* himſelfe. In the end, being readie to depart
from Genua, to rid himſelfe from the cumber of thoſe fiue Cardinals, hee made
them all in one night be beheaded, others ſay, caſt into the ſea, and others, burnt
in his ſtable. *Collenucius* ſaith diſtinctly, That foure were ſowed vp in a ſacke and *Collenuc.l.5.*
caſt into the water, and three beheaded, whoſe heads dried in an ouen, were layd
and carried vpon his ſumpter moiles; and ſo by his reckoning there ſhould haue
B beene ſeuen: but out of *Theodorick* his Secretarie this at leaſt is cleere, That they
were neuer ſeene more. And yet this is he whom before his Popedome he deſcri-
beth vnto vs to be *zealous of iuſtice*. In the laſt yere of his Popedome, being mind-
full of the great gaine that the Iubilie had brought to *Clement* the ſixt in the yere
1350, againſt all reaſon he *abreuiated* the ſame, namely to euerie thirtie three yeres, *An.*1350.
yet ſo, *as that it ſhould begin at Chriſtmas in the yeare of our Lord* 1388, *and ſhould con-* *Theodor.à Nyem.l.1.c.68.*
tinue a yeare incluſiuely: but, being preuented by death, he ſaw it not, and ſo left *& 69.*
that fruitfull field to be reaped by his ſucceſſor *Boniface*. For being departed from *An.*1388.
Genua to goe to Perouſe, by the fall of his mule vnder him he was bruiſed in ma-
ny parts of his bodie: and neuertheleſſe hauing ſtill an intention to returne into
C Sicilie, he is carried to Rome, where after ſome few dayes he died, ſome ſay of poi-
ſon. It is here worth the noting, That when *Elizabeth* Queene of Hungarie had
cauſed the head of *Charles Duras*, king of Naples, to be cut off, as he was drinking
in a banquet at Buda, whereunto ſhe had inuited him (notwithſtanding hee had
yeelded vnto her all the rights of the kingdome) and had ſent to *Vrban* to gratifie
him, the ſword, yet bloudie, wherewith his head was ſmitten off: The hiſtorie tel- *Collenuc.l.5.*
leth vs, that *Vrban* receiued it with ſo great a pleaſure, that hee could not ſatisfie
himſelfe with beholding it. And thus much for *Vrban*, him of the two, which by
Platina, *Onuphrius*, and others, is put in the Catalogue of Popes, as the more law-
full. For full encreaſe of his good deeds, he cauſed a booke to be written by one
D *Iohn de Therano*, his Chamberlaine, the beginning whereof is, *Giue vnto Cæſar the
things that are Cæſars, and to God the things that are Gods*: wherein he affirmeth, That
theſe words of Chriſt haue place onely for a time, namely vntill his aſcention; but
that from the time of his aſcention they ſhould be of no moment, ſeeing that hee
himſelfe ſaith, *Ioh.* 12. *When I ſhall be taken vp from the earth, I will draw all men vnto
me*; that is, all kings and kingdoms vnder the Empire of the Pope, whom he there-
fore concludeth to be King of kings, and Lord of lords: not fearing in ſo weigh-
tie a matter to abuſe the ſacred word of God, worſe than the verie Paſquils. As
for *Clement*, hee was the firſt author (as *Gaguin* witneſſeth) of expectatiue graces
and Annates: yet becauſe he is held for an Antipope, whoſe acts therefore were
E the leſſe firme, the honour of them is attributed to *Boniface*, ſucceſſor of Vrban, by
whoſe care, in his obedience, they were receiued. But *Nicholas de Clemangis*, Arch-
deacon of Baieux, who liued in the time of this ſchiſme, in his booke *de Corrupto
Eccleſiæ ſtatu*, of the corrupt ſtate of the Church, deſcribeth *Clement* vnto vs in few
words: *After* (ſaith he) *that by the inſupportable burden of our ſinnes, the furious euill
of ſchiſme hath crept into the Church, to omit the miſchiefes done through the errour of
ſuch as follow the falſe Pope, a man wholly defiled with all impuritie: Was there euer man
more miſerable than our Clement while he liued? Who ſo made himſelfe a ſeruant of ſer-
uants to the Princes of France, that the threatnings and contumelies daily caſt vp-
on*

on him by the Courtiers, were hardly fit to be ſpoken againſt the baſeſt ſlaue? He gaue place A
to furie, to the time, and to the importunitie of troubleſome demanders; he fained diſſem-
bled, promiſed largely, draue off from day to day: to theſe he gaue benefices, to thoſe words:
he chiefely laboured to pleaſe all flatterers & ieſters in the Court, and by benefits to deſerue
well of them, that by their helpe he might win the fauour of their Lords; and therefore
on theſe neat and trimme young men, in whoſe companie he chiefly delighted, he beſtowed
almoſt all the vacant Biſhopricks, and other chiefe dignities. Laſtly, That he might the
more eaſily obtaine and continue the good will of the Princes, hee gaue them verie many
gifts, conſented vnto whatſoeuer exactions they would require of the Clergie, and often
of his owne accord offered them vnasked. In this miſerable ſlauerie he paſſed more than B
three luſtres, or twelue yeares, with incredible waſt of the Church. Moreouer there is
extant horrible Bulls which theſe Popes publiſhed the one againſt the other,
Paulus Æmilius in Carolo Sapiente. wherein they called each other *Schiſmatike, Heretike, ſower of tares, theefe, traitor,*
tyran, Antichriſt, ſonne of Belial. Iohn de Lignizaco wrot in fauour of *Vrban*, and the
Abbot of S. Vaaſt of Arras, Counſellor of king *Charles* the fift, in fauour of *Cle-*
ment.

After the deceaſe of *Vrban*, the Cardinals that were his followers elected
Pope, *Peter de Thomacellis*, a Neapolitan, who was called *Boniface* the ninth, igno-
rant (ſaith the Author) of writing and ſinging; and ſo vnfit for adminiſtration
Theodor. à Nyem. l. 2. c. 6. of the affaires of the Court of Rome, that whileſt he liued *he hardly vnderſtood the*
propoſitions made before him by the Aduocats, in his Conſiſtorie, in ſo much that in his C
time, Inſcitia ferè venalis facta fuit in ipſa Curia, *Ignorance was welnigh ſet to ſale in*
the Court it ſelfe. And yet in all kind of ſimonie he ſo farre excelled all his prede-
ceſſors, that he promoted not any Cardinall or biſhop without extorting a great
ſumme of mony from them. And ſuch a one indeed had *Vrban* the fixt found him
out to be, who for his goodlie ſtature, of a vagabond Clerke had made him Car-
dinall; but after he diſcouered him to be ſo open an arch-ſimoniack, that it is like-
ly he would haue taken his hat from him, if death had not preuented him. Of his
inuention then, as *Theodorick* his Secretarie teacheth vs, are *the Annates*, which hee
reſerued to himſelfe of all the vacant Cathedrall Churches and Abbies; ſo that
they which were promoted vnto them, *were forced beforehand to pay all, before they* D
could get the poſſeſſion of the ſame. Vſurie alſo, whereby they which came to the
Court might find money, at any rate whatſoeuer, which *was no more accounted a*
ſinne, yea rather was oft exacted before their Iudges and Officials: that the ſaying of the
Pſalme might be veried, Both vſurie and guile wanteth not in their ſtreets. The Dates,
as they call them, to wit, *the prioritie of the time of graces, which they ſold to ſuch as*
gaue moſt; and that with ſuch impudencie, that this ſo open a buing and ſelling be-
came a mocke among the people. *The Expectatiues*, which did tread vnder feet
thoſe graces, commonly *Cum clauſula Anteferri*: And innumerable ſubtile deceits,
extortions, filthie and vnhoneſt pillages, which the Author deſcribeth in the 7, 8,
9, 10, 11 chapters of his ſecond booke, and would be too long for vs here to recite. E
Out of which may be judged, what manifeſt proceedings forward, this Romiſh
robbing had made vnder this Pope. But the moſt vile of all was that of the Iubi-
Theodor. à Nyem. l. 2. c. 68. lie by *Vrban* appointed; *For innumerable ſtrangers, out of the diuers kingdomes and*
Prouinces of his obedience, came to the citie, and exceeding great offerings were giuen to
the Churches and Temples of the citie, the greater part of which came to the hands of Bo-
niface, and of ſome others. But Boniface himſelfe not content with theſe offerings, al-
though they amounted to an exceeding ſumme (for he was an inſatiable gulfe, and in co-
uetouſneſſe none like vnto him) ſent his money-gatherers, or chapmen, into diuers king-
domes,

A *domes, for to ſell the ſayd Indulgences to ſuch as offered ſo much as it would coſt them to go*
to Rome to fetch them: theſe extorters or chapmen alſo ſubtilly extorted verie great
ſummes of money from ſimple and barbarous people: ſo that by ſuch ſales they ſometime
brought away out of one kingdome, or one Prouince, more than an hundred thouſand
Florins, becauſe they remitted all ſinnes to all, confeſſing them euen without penance, for
mony diſpenſed of all irregularities, ſaying, that they had all the power ouer the ſame that
Chriſt had giuen to Peter of binding and looſing on earth. And by this meanes theſe
chapmen being fatted well, returne vnto the citie with many faire horſes, and a decent fa-
miliе, and make an account of theſe their collections to Boniface, &c. which he moſt ſe-
uerely required of them, and many taken in fraud he put to death. Thus *Vrban*
B had ſowed the yeare of Iubilie, which in his ſtead *Boniface* reaped. But the teſti-
monie of *Theodorick* ſhall not be heard alone, though, without all exception, the
Platina in Bonifacio 9. greater, becauſe his Secretarie: *Platina* himſelfe ſaith, *Indulgences, yea plenarie,*
were ſold euerie where, in ſo much that the authoritie of the keyes and Apoſtolicall let-
Krantzius in Metrop. l. 11. c. 10. & 12. *ters were in contempt, &c. and many wickednеſſes were done by ſimonie.* And *Krantzi-*
us, Vnder his Popedome were made many and often tranſlations of Biſhops, many and of-
ten giuings of Indulgences, euen to the breeding of loathing in mens hearts: Hee gaue
graces and Indulgences vnheard of; and what he eaſily gaue he as lightly reuoked, ſtirring
vp a report throughout all Chriſtendome, that he could not be filled with gold. The Ro-
mans had hitherto retained the chiefeſt authoritie in the citie, which was the
C cauſe that the Popes abhorred to abide there. This Pope taking occaſion by
their diſcords, dealt ſo with them, that in the tenth yeare of his Popedome he got
to himſelfe alone the temporall domination, *in alto & baſſo* (ſaith the Author)
high and low, in all and through all: and to maintaine the ſame, he ſpared no ſub-
ſidies nor tributes exacted from the Clergie. He reedified the caſtle of S. Ange-
lo, and the Capitoll, and therein placed a garriſon: And this truely hee obtained
by a verie notable ſacrilege. He greatly deſired the comming of the yeare 1400, *An.* 1400.
to celebrat the great Iubilie, notwithſtanding the other that *Vrban* had interſer-
ted. *Boniface* a little before departed to Aſſiſium, making a ſhew to ſtay there:
Whereupon the people fearing leaſt by reaſon of his abſence who ſhould giue
D the bleſſing, the Iubilie would not be celebrated at Rome with that ſolemnitie,
they come humbly with great pompe to entreat him to returne vnto them: But
he, the more he is intreated, the leſſe he is moued, and vpbraideth them of their
euill behauiour towards him, and ſeemeth to loath the citie: That ſince the later
yeares of *Vrban* they had not receiued any Senators from without, but I know not
what Conſeruers of the chamber, men vnſufficient, who had ſuffered all things to
be done at the pleaſure of the Banderets. Wherefore the Romans were brought
to that paſſe, being deſirous of gaine by that faire, that they bought his bleſſing
with the price of their libertie, conſented that authoritie ſhould bee taken away
from the Banderets, receiued from his hand a ſtranger Senator, *Malateſta de Pi-*
E *ſaro*, & admitted alſo, for his ſafetie, a garriſon into the citie; in which from thence-
forth he ruled as abſolute Lord all his life time. And hereby taking more bold-
neſſe, he eſtabliſhed the law of Annates in all nations, which till then he had pra-
ctiſed onely in Italie, where he might: *That by the ſame* (ſaith *Blondus*) *hee might*
make the Roman Biſhops, his ſucceſſors, no leſſe Lords of all Chriſtendome than of Rome;
for in the law ſet forth he ordained, That it ſhould be lawfull for no man promoted to a be-
neфice, to poſſeſſe the ſame before he had payed ſo much money into the Popes treaſurie as
the firſt yeares reuenues thereof might amount vnto; and the Engliſhmen alone obeyed
the law in the Cathedrall Churches, but in the ſmaller benefices they contemned the Popes

commaund. Now in this Iubilie he ſold Indulgences to the moſt giuer, as hee had done in the former, and though the peſtilence grew hot at Rome, yet hee would nor depart thence, *Yea for feare leaſt he ſhould loſe in the meane time the temporall dominion of the citie, he remained there alſo in the Sommer time; neither gaue hee any almes to ſicke pilgrims in that dangerous ſeaſon, although he then abounded in all things, for he was accuſtomed to catch away, and not to communicat any thing of his prey to the needie.*

Theodor. à Nyem. l. 1. c. 28.

Now betweene the two Iubilies died the Antipope *Clement*, at Auignion, who in his obedience was in nothing leſſe diligent than *Vrban* and *Boniface*: To him ſucceeded *Peter de Luna*, a Spaniard, *Benedict* the thirteenth: He being vrged by the king of France (who by the aduiſe of the Vniuerſitie of Paris had receiued him onely on condition, That hee ſhould indeuour the vnion of the Church) ſent his Nuntioes to *Boniface* and his Cardinalls, to requeſt him, That they might meet together in ſome place ſafe to both parties, for to take counſell for the concord of the Church. *This hee propounded indeed diſcreetly and diligently, though (as it thought) fraudulently.* And thus alſo did the Cardinalls of *Boniface* ſeeme to take it. But *Boniface* anſwered *not verie gently, affirming, That he was Pope, and the ſayd Peter an Antipope; and the like words, making little or nothing to the cauſe. Whereat the Nuntioes being angrie, ſayd in his preſence, That their Lord was not a Simoniack; noting Boniface to be one.* At which words being greatly moued, he commaunded them to depart the citie; and when they anſwered, *That they had ſafeconduct from himſelfe and from the people of Rome, and had ſome time yet left vnexpired, which they would enioy; he was ſo immoderatly chafed with anger, that his diſeaſe of the ſtone beginning to torment him, he went to bed, and the third day after dyed.* Yet neuertheleſſe (ſaith *Krantzius*) *that hee might obtaine by the meditation of the mother of God, the vnion of the Church, hee publiſhed by his Buls the feaſt of the Viſitation of Marie, inſtituted by his predeceſſor.* Let the Reader judge with what faith, in ſo wicked an intention. Neither is it here to be omitted, That *Francis Pregnan* the nephew of *Vrban* the ſixt, for whoſe aduancement he ſo much laboured, when he had a long time beheld a dancing, entred into his chamber, and gaue himſelfe many blowes with a ſword, and by them that ranne in at his crying out he was hindered of finiſhing his purpoſe. But the iudgement of God, which purſued him, ſtayed not long; for whiles he was going to Venice with his mother, his ſonne, his daughter, and eighteene ſeruants, men and maids, his ſhip was caſt away neere Brunduſium: *And ſo* (ſaith the Author) *all the poſteritie of Vrban the ſixt was extinguiſhed, the waues of the ſea requiring vengeance*, to wit, for the Cardinals whom he ſo wretchedly had caſt into the ſea. And thus are we come to the yeare 1404, when *Boniface* died; for this ſchiſme is longer than can be at once declared.

Krantzius Saxon. l. 12. c. 13.

Opposition.

The onely hiſtorie of theſe Antipopes, deſcribed by ſuch as were neere about them, and inward with them, the iudgement alſo which they gaue the one againſt the other, the one no better nor more lawfully being created or raigning than the other, might ſuffice, without ſeeking any other Oppoſition: for what can we haue of greater proofe than this, That ſuch as were in moſt eminent place amongſt them, being maliciouſly bent one againſt another, haue related how rudely they vexed and annoyed each other? Yet is it worthie our paines, to ſee what was the opinion

A opinion of the better ſort of them, which may eaſily be gathered out of their writings and by the Acts of thoſe times, *I know*, ſaith *Froiſſard*, *that in time to come men will wonder by what meanes the Church could fall into ſuch troubles, and to ſticke in them ſo long; But this was a wound inflicted by God, for to admoniſh the Clergie in what great exceſſe and ſuperfluitie they liued. But no man tooke heed thereof, beeing blinded all with pride and arrogancie, whereby each man would be equall one to another: wherefore all things became worſe, and if our faith had not beene ſtrengthened by the hand and grace of the holie Ghoſt, who inlighteneth the hearts of them that goe aſtray, and confirmeth them in vnitie, without all doubt it had fainted and fallen.* Therefore, if we beleeue *Froiſſard*, it is but ill grounded on Popes. He addeth, *For the Princes of the earth, from whom in the beginning came the wealth of the Church, giue themſelues wholly to playes and ieaſts, whileſt I write this Chroaicle in the yeare* 1390, *whereat a verie great number of the common people exceedingly wondered, that ſo great Princes, eſpecially the Kings of Fraunce and Germanie, thought not vpon any remedie or counſaile.* So then after his opinion, remedie is rather to be expected from the Princes, than from the Popes, who are themſelues the diſeaſe of the Church, and the principall peccant humour in the bodie thereof. And there he ſheweth at large, that euerie Prince tooke part with the one or the other of them, according as ſtood beſt for the wiſe gouerning of their affaires. But he commeth to this, that the pride of the Church is ſuch, that it muſt of neceſſitie be chaſtiſed and purged; and to this purpoſe he bringeth that ſtorie of Frier *John de Rupeſciſſa*. The Vniuerſitie of Paris had approued *Clement*; That of Oxford and Prague on the contrarie, *Vrban* the ſixt. In this they all agreed, as by their writings on both ſides publiſhed doth appeare, That the Pope and Cardinals exerciſe a tyrannie ouer the Church of Chriſt; That the Emperour hath the right of the patronage ouer the Church of Rome; That the Pope with his Cardinals may erre, and verie often haue erred; That the election of the Pope belongeth not to the Cardinals by diuine right, but to the people, as alſo to the Emperour the confirmation of the ſame: And that before *Gregorie* there were no Cardinals. Moreouer there was puliſhed in Germanie an Epiſtle, from the part and authoritie of the Emperour *Wenceſlaus*, though he were but weake, wherein he grauely exhorted the Church to free themſelues from the ſeruitude of the Pope, *By thoſe Princes* (ſaith he) *of Prieſts, the Church is prophaned, the Prieſthood defiled, all order confounded, and whatſoeuer is of religion is corrupted; what is of the Law, of life, of manners, of faith, of diſcipline, is deſtroyed and confounded: inſomuch that although the bleſſed ſonne of God hath ſuffered many & grieuous things by men of the Synagogue, yet now he ſuffereth much more grieuous things of princes of Prieſts.* There is alſo recited there a viſion of a certaine holie man, concerning the ſtate of the Church: Seeing her apparelled as a Queene, he thought ſhe had beene the bleſſed Virgin *Marie*, but ſhe expreſſly told him, *I am not her whom thou deemeſt, but the figure of her for whom thou ſo often ſigheſt and prayeſt, namely of the Church, whoſe dolour is wonderfull, and corruption deſcending from the head throughout all the limmes euen to the feet: and that thou maiſt ſorrow with me, behold a gument of ſorrow; and taking off her head her moſt glorious Crowne, ſhe bowed her head vnto him. And he ſaw the vpper part of her head cut into foure parts in forme of a Croſſe, and wormes breaking forth of her braine, and ſores running with corrupt matter; and ſhe ſayd vnto him, Behold, by theſe which thou ſeeſt in my head, thou maiſt iudge of my corruption and griefe in the other members: and hauing ſaid this ſhe vaniſhed from his eyes.* Neither is it to be omitted, that in this Epiſtle honourable mention is made of *Marſilius* of Padua, and *John de Iandano*, who

Froiſſard. vol. 3. c. 24.

Epiſtol. Vniuerſit. Pariſ. Oxonienſ. Pragenſ. de tollendo ſchiſmate edita per Huttenum. An. 1520.

Epiſtol. Wenceceſlai. Imperat. de eodem.

who (as we haue aboue seene) had defended the Emperour *Lewis* of Bauiere a- A
gainst the wicked enterprises of Popes.

Johannes Petrus Ferrariensis in Practica vtriusq; iuris in forma libelli actionis confessoria, si verbo plenam, &c.

With the same mind wrot *John Peter* of Ferrara, a famous Lawyer of Pauia; That it is a thing ridiculous to be spoken, and abhominable to be heard, that the Pope hath superioritie ouer the the Emperor; That he cannot by any right haue temporall dominion, or possesse Prouinces & cities, & that he doth so is of meere violence; That the temporall sword must bee taken from him, that otherwise Christendome will neuer be quiet; That it is by the foolishnesse of Princes, that they are made the slaues of the Clergie; That the Pope in absoluing men from their oath, maketh them perjurers; And that Clergie-men carrie their consciences in their coules, which being layed aside, their conscience is no more to bee B
found. And in another place he crieth out, *That there may arise a good Emperour a-*

Idem in forma libelli de substitutione.

gainst them, which in time past through deuotion drew the world after them, and now by reason of their couetousnesse and rapine, haue destroyed and brought to nothing the state of the Empire and of all the Laitie; Not without cause, seeing that *John Andreas* surnamed *Speculator*, that great interpretour of the Canon law, was wont to say, That *Rome hauing beene first founded by theeues, hath returned to her first estate*. But the fathers of the Councel of Trent in their Indexes in Spaine and Ant-

Index Expurgat. Hispan. fol. 115. & Antuerpian. p. 116.

uerpe, commaund these places to be raced out. At the same time was set forth
An. 1404. the Dialogue of *Peter* and *Paule*, the title whereof was, *The golden Mirrour*, in C
the yeare 1404. In the Preface is this, *All the Court of Rome, from the sole of the foot to the crowne of the head, is manifestly blinded with errours, and the same hath with the poyson of their errours made drunke almost all the parts of the world, as if the Pope could limit the infinit power of the creator*. Then he diuideth his matter into three points; *First*, saith he, *I will discouer the most grieuous errours of the Court of Rome*; *Secondly, I will confute the writings and sayings thereof as erroneous, and lesse Catholike*; *Thirdly, I will declare out of most true grounds, that the Court of Rome is wholly erroneous and sick in the state of damnation, &c.* And he handleth each of these in order. At last after many complaints, despairing that it would suffer reformation, and much lesse, that from it selfe any were to be expected; *The onely sonne of God*, saith *Paul*, *vouchsafe to reforme his Church himselfe*. And to shew that it was not his opinion D
alone, he plainely saith in his Preface, *All men truely doe inwardly murmure, but none crie out*. And the Doctors themselues that sat nere *Boniface* the ninth, seeing this so manifest corruption, partly could not dissemble it, and partly were diuided in opinions concerning the remedie thereof. *Theodorick à Niem* saith,

Theodor. à Niem, l. 2. c. 32.

Many also skilfull in the Law, by reason of the continuation of Symonie in the Church of Rome, in the time of the sayd Boniface, would publiquely argue and hold, That the Pope could not commit Symonie, yea in benefices and goods Ecclesiasticall, by interuention of gaine or couenant of money. What will they not say, as that harlot in the Apocalyps, *I sit as Queene, neither can be a widow*, I cannot erre; And what readier way is there vnto all mischiefe? The Authour addeth, *Which seemed vnto me verie* E
vniust, seeing that at least it is vnciuile and against good manners, if that which ought to be giuen gratis to persons worthie, be gaunted for vile gaine of money to the vnworthie; and that the Pope, who is ouer all and from whom others ought to take example of life, should be so defiled with such a crime, not being able to punish another for that wherein himselfe offendeth; for it is a shame for the Doctor that the fault should rebuke himselfe. For this cause euen among the common sort, the Popes authoritie is abased, blamed and defamed; namely in this, saith he, *that dispensations, which should bee done with great deliberation of his brethren, he did them in his Chamber after the ma-*

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A *ner of Merchants; being himselfe* Bullator, scriptor, & forsan numerator, *the maker of the Bulls, the writer, and teller of mony*; But he also addeth, *In his life time some Doctors in Diuinitie, and others learned in the sciences, grieuing that Symonie was so commonly and openly committed in the Court, and that many Iurists and others obstinately affirmed, that it might be so done, arguing to the contrarie, determined conclusions which they reduced into volumes, yet with great feare; That the Pope, in selling Ecclesiasticall benefices by bargaine made, was a Simmoniack*, that is, the successour of *Simon Magus* not of *Simon Peter*; *because he is not established for to sell them, but to bestow them freely on persons worthie*. But in all Nations there arose vp some that passed further: *Vincent* at Venice, about the yeare 1400, a great Preacher and fa- *An.* 1400.
B mous for holinesse, who freely condemned all the Roman Hierarchie, affirming *That religious persons that ought to be the way of lyse vnto soules, are throughout the world become vnto them the way of perdition; That Priests sell for honours, but not for manners*; That the bishops (none excepted) haue no care of the soules of their Dioceese; That they sell the Sacraments for money: yea he passeth so farre as to pronounce the Pope to be Antichrist himselfe. In a certaine Epistle also printed at Paris, entituled *The Epistle of S. Vincent*, he saith, That Antichrist is alreadie in the world, whom he expected not to come from the Iewes, or from auntient Babylon, but alreadie beheld him raigning at Rome. In Bohemia, *Mathias Parisiensis* wrote a great volume *de Antichristo*, where he proueth that he is come by this,
C That fables and humane inuentions beare sway in the Church, That images are worshipped, Saints are adored in Christs stead; euerie Citie and each person choseth out some one of them for to worship as their Sauiour, whom by consequent they place in Christs seat; That our Lord himselfe had fortold, *Loe here is Christ, loe there*; That the Monkes themselues haue left him, and haue sought vnto themselues other sauiours, in whom they boast, as *Francis*, *Dominick* and others; The word of God being neglected, they bring in their Monkish rules; That such like hypocrites raigning in the Church, are those Locusts of which the Apocalyps speaketh; Neither is it to be doubted but that Antichrist is come, who hath seduced all the Vniuersities and all the Colledges of learned men, so that
D they now teach nothing sound, neither can they any more giue light to Christians by their doctrine; But God hitherto as seed raised vp godly Doctors, who inflamed with the spirit and zeale of *Elias*, both refuted the errours of Antichrist, and discouer him to the world. And he inferreth in his Booke, the opinions of many famous men, nere to those times, concerning this matter; amongst whom he extolleth the Diuines of Paris, who perceiuing the tares of the begging Friers to grow, brought to light againe and published the booke of *William de S. Amour*, *Of the perils of the last times*, which before time *Alexander* the fourth had laboured to abolish. *These Doctors* (saith he, in his Preface) *faithfull*
E *in Christ, &c. whose multitude was then the health of the world, acknowledging partly that most wicked Antichrist and his members and his labre, and partly propheseying for the time to come, haue openly and nakedly reuealed these things, for the holie Church and her gouernours to take heed of.*

In England, *John Purney* Disciple of *Wickliff*, wrote many bookes in defence of his doctrine, but among others a Commentarie vpon the Apocalyps, the Title whereof was *Ante centum annos*; There he openly saith, *Seuen yeares are passed, since generally the Pope of Rome was published to be that great Antichrist, by the Preachers of the Gospell, namely from the yeare* 1382. And behold how God worketh in our infirmities his owne glorie, *I neuer had written such like things a-*

Prophetię editę Parisijs in 8. ex variis authoribus collectæ & ibi Epiſ. S. Vincentij.

gainst Antichrist and his, if they had not imprisoned me, for to make me hold my peace. A
And then it was God insused his spirit into him so much the more, that beeing deliuered, he might speake so much the more boldly, although by force of torments he had beene constrained by the Archbishop of Canterburie to abiure. This booke was since set forth in Germanie, in the yeare 1528, where he applieth that famous prophesie in the Apocalyps, from point to point, to the Church of Rome; and out of the 10 and 11 chapters it is manifest that he wrot the same, lying fettered with yrons in prison. Lastly, the Waldenses in this time euery where for the testimonie of the truth submitted themselues to the fire: for in Saxonie and Pomerania in the yeare 1490, there were taken of them foure hundred and
An. 1490. more, and examined, who testified, That this had been the profession of their B
ancestors, and that their Doctors were come vnto them out of Bohemia, namely from those first who many ages before, as we haue shewed, setled themselues in those parts. And it is cleere by the Acts of the Courts wherein they were judged, that they were of good manners, graue, modest, abhorred lying, periurie, and other vices, which the aduersaries themselues, to their great commendations, doe
Walsingham in Hypodeigmate Neustriæ, & in Henrico 2. Idem in Richard. 2. testifie; as also doth the writer of the English historie, in the yeare 1401, speaking of the persecution of the Lollards, imputeth to them the same doctrines as to the Waldenses; howsoeuer others malitiously disguise the same: and by that name were especially called the disciples of *Wickliffe*, who had drawne many after them from the yeare 1389. *Moreouer, their Priests* (saith he) *more Pontificum, after the ma-* C
An. 1401. *ner of Bishops, created new Priests, affirming that euery Priest had as much power of binding and loosing, and to administer other Ecclesiasticall things, as the Pope himselfe giueth, or can giue.*

61. Progression.

Of Benedict the thirteenth, and Innocent the seuenth, and of the faith they promised before they entred the Popedome, & how they afterward performed the same. Of the contentions betweene the Pope and the Romans. The solemne oath taken by Gregorie the twelft, to D
procure the vnion of the Church, and how he performed the same: And of the sundrie shifts of the said Gregorie, to auoid the meeting of Benedict, touching the vnion. The Cardinals call a Councell at Pisa, and with the helpe of Princes depose Benedict and Gregorie from the Popedome. The prepostrous and prodigious entrance of Iohn the 23 into the Popedome, and his most infamous departure.

TO *Boniface* in his obedience succeedeth *Cosmarus* Cardinall de S. Cruce, named *Innocent* the seuenth; but before they proceeded to election, the Cardinalls tooke a solemne oath, That whosoeuer were chosen Pope, for the better effe- E
cting of the vnion of the Church, should renounce the Popedome, whensoeuer he were requested thereto, on condition that *Peter de Luna*, called *Benedict* the thirteenth, created in Auignion, did yeeld to performe the like oath. Thus haue we here two riuals, *Benedict* the thirteenth, and *Innocent* the seuenth. *Benedict* when he was Legat in Spaine, before the Kings, Princes, Prelats, Clergie, and people, blamed openly *Clement, to the king of France and Vniuersitie of Paris*, protesting in
Theodor. à Ny. l. 2. c. 33. his sermons, and publike acts, That if he came to succeed him, he would leaue nothing vndone pertaining to the same: which was the cause that many Princes vpon

A on this hope promoted his dignitie with the Cardinalls; who neuertheless being admonished to fulfill his promise, he flatly refused to doe it: so that by the kings commaund certaine noblemen of France are driuen to besiege him in his palace of Auignon, kept him prisoner the space of three yeares, and openly renounced his obedience; whiles the Princes of Germanie, by counsel taken among them, labour greatly the same with *Boniface*, no more resolued to leaue the Popedome than the other: Which the Frenchmen perceiuing, set *Benedict* at li-
bertie, and againe acknowledged him. *Innocent* the seuenth on the other part, suc- *Platina in Innocent. 7.*
B cessor of *Boniface*, who before his Popedome was wont to say, That it was the fault onely of the Popes, that this schisme so pernitious to all Christendome, was not extinguished: but after he was aduanced to that dignitie, cannot endure to heare the least word spoken of that matter; yea being requested by the Romans to take away this schisme, and to quench the seditions, especially considering the king of France promised to put to his helping hand, and *Benedict* at his instance repugned not the same, he sent the Romans to *Lewis* his nephew, lodged in the hospitall of the holie Ghost, *tanquam ad certum carnificem* (saith *Platina*) *as to a certaine hangman*, who cut the throats of eleuen of them, and cast them out at window, saying, That by this and none other meanes the schisme and seditions were to bee taken away. Thus they performed the faith they promised afore their Pope-
C dome.

Boniface, as we haue seene, had spoyled the Romans of their libertie, with the hope of profit by the Iubilie, who not long after made them feele his cruell tyrannie. *Innocent* being come to the Popedome, tooke the same course. The chiefest and most honourable of the people, being willing to returne to their auncient libertie, entreat *Innocent* to restore vnto them the state of the Commonwealth, and namely to put into their hands againe the Capitoll, Ponte Miluio, and the castle S. Angelo: and in this they were borne out by the *Colonni*. On the contra-
rie the *Vrsini*, their aduersaries, disputed, That it were better the citie should be go-
D uerned by the Pope; and thereupon arose sedition, combats, and slaughters, in the middest of the citie, and whatsoeuer violences are woont to be done in ciuile dissentions. The *Colonni* bring in *Ladislaus* king of Hungarie and Naples, into the citie: The Pope on the other part one *Muschardo*, a great captaine of the Church, and both of them with great forces. But when he saw himselfe to be the weaker, he fell to capitulation, and released Campania to *Ladislaus* for certaine yeares, to the people and the *Colonni* the Capitoll, and the gouernement of the citie, on condition, That the officers should be approued and allowed by him: and vpon this *Ladislaus* departed the citie. And scarcely is he returned into his kingdome, but the Pope continueth his former cruelsie by his nephew, so that the fire encreased so much in the citie, that *Innocent* goeth to Viterbe, whence notwithstanding a while *Theodor. l. 2. c. 34. 35. 39. 48.*
E after he is called backe by the people, who were wearie of so many and so great disorders, stirred vp by the factions euer and anon, and feared least by the flight of *Innocent*, *Ladislaus* would take occasion to inuade the citie; and hauing there strengthened his affaires, he sent forth his thundering Bulls against *Ladislaus*. But as concerning the vnion, *Benedict* being solicited by the Frenchmen, dealeth with *l. 2. c. 38.* *Innocent* to grant a safeconduct to some of his, to treat with him about the vnion. *Innocent* suspecting that he went about some guile, refuseth to doe it: Whereupon *Benedict* excusing himselfe, often saith, That there is no want in him; and in his Epistles published, casting all the fault on *Innocent*, who could hardly saue himselfe from blame. *Theodorick* noteth, though verie fauourable to him, That hee made

made question of it at Viterbium, *whether he were held to make the said vnion, calling then into doubt* (saith he) *that which, when his election was in hand in the Conclaue, was sayd to be altogether expedient; whereby no little suspition against Innocent arose among them of the Court, murmuring and saying one to the other, That indeed he would not make the vnion.* And he could hardly appease them, but that when he was fallen into a palsie, they said it came *by the iudgement of God* vpon him. Neither proceedeth hee any further in this businesse, being preuented by death in the yeare 1406. L.2.c.41.

An. 1406. *Angelus Corrarius*, a Venetian, succeeded him, being Cardinall of S. Marke, named *Gregorie* the twelfth: *Theodorick* calleth him euerie where *Errorium*, as being created by errour; *Inke, paper, and time* (saith he) *would be wanting to him that should from point to point describe the frauds, practises, deceits, guiles, hypocrisies, and subtilties, by which he was elected by the Colledge of Cardinals, by which he with Peter de Luna deferred to make an vnion in the whole Church, and excused themselues from doing it, mocking and deceiuing all Christendome, and also the collusions, crafts, and clokings, treating one with another by some third persons: But this is cleere, that they haue their consciences seared with a hot yron, making a shew to be simple, but are indeed filled with the craft of the diuell.* Which he saith he hath treated of more particularly in his booke intituled *Nemus vnionis*, The Forest of vnion. *Notwithstanding* (saith he) *many Kings and Princes doe yet cleaue vnto them, damnably fostering them in their obstinacie, schisme, and heresie, and vphold them in errour by making them their Idolls, &c. As if there were no God in heauen, or as if all the saluation of soules and bodies depended on these two Elders of Babylon, Errorius and Peter, from whom hath proceeded, and doth proceed, into all the earth, greater iniquitie than hath euer come before our times, from any other contending for the Popedome. And* (proh dolor) *these things are so notorious and manifest, that by no tergiuersation they can be hid; for the Catholike faith is thereby obscured, all religion suffereth shipwracke, Christians are confounded in discords, warres, and other calamities doe grow, the feare of God, and loue of men, and vertues, are departed farre from the rulers, and from inferiours of all estates, &c. Many Archbishops which gouerned the people, forsaking for the most part the loue of religion and honestie, conforme themselues to Lay men in their habit, manners, and follies.* And here speaketh a Popes Secretarie, who hath set forth a whole booke of this historie, referring the rest to his *Nemus* aboue said. But we will abridge these things in few words, least wee should be ouer tedious to the Reader. Theodor. l.2. c.42.

This *Gregorie* then when his election was in hand, did himselfe first propound the solemne oath of the vnion: neither would he receiue the Crowne before that in a most frequent assemblie he had ratified the same; and which is more, he had made a sermon concerning this matter, on this text, *Prepare yee the way of the Lord*, exhorting the Cardinalls to take paines in so necessarie a worke; so that hee was commonly thought to be the man *by whom saluation should be wrought in Israel.* The summe of the oath, made first in the Conclaue, and after confirmed in the chappell before God, the Virgine *Marie*, the holie Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, and taken vpon the holie Gospell, was this, That he that should be chosen Pope, should, being requested thereto, leaue the Popedome, prouided that the Antipope did the same likewise: That he and the Cardinals should presently after the election admonish all Princes to set to their hands to this necessarie worke: That in the meane time they would create no Cardinals, and would faithfully procure by all meanes, that within one yeare this schisme should be ended. These things were so done, that none of them could bee absolued from that. And we shall see by the proceedings, Theodor. à Nyem. l.3.c.1.& 2.

dings, whether these men were touched with any feeling of God, who called God for witnesse of their oath in so solemne a forme and manner. *Gregorie* writeth to *Benedict* in this sence, and *Benedict* the like to him againe; and they seeme in these letters to deale in good earnest. But the Author noteth, That whereas it had beene decreed, that they should send these letters by some notable person, *Gregorie* sent them, *per quendam conuersum Ordinis Prædicatorum, By a certaine Frier conuertite of the Order of Preachers*: and the letters also that he wrot to the Princes, he sent *per Lollardos seu begardos, By certaine petie Friers whom he loued*: When in the meane time *this notable hypocrite* euer protested, *That hee would goe to the place assigned, though he should iourney on foot with a staffe*; neither would hee grant any beneficiall graces, especially expectatiue, that he might make all men beleeue that his mind was onely bent vpon the vnion. It had beene agreed vpon, That *Gregorie* should send his Legats into all parts, within three moneths, and namely to *Benedict*; but he stayeth of purpose till the last day but one, of the three moneths, and then made his nephew *Anthonie* chiefe of the embassage, and committed the businesse vnto him. There then is concluded with *Benedict*, That both the Popes should meet at the feast of S. *Michael* next, or of all Saints at the furthest, in the citie of Sauona, which place, by reason of the commoditie of the sea, seemed fittest. This was approued with great applause of all the Princes: and the Genowayes, to take away all scruple from *Gregorie*, by their embassadors offer vnto him *their citie, and all they had*: but then so much the more doth *Gregorie* alledge his wilie shifts and excuses, first, That the place was for him vnsafe, Genua and Sauona being in the power of the French, and in the obedience of *Benedict*: which place neuertheless, when the matter was debated with his nephew, was chosen, and which without doubt he had accepted of, that he might reserue this excuse to his vncle: and yet hereupon those cities yeelded for his securitie whatsoeuer could any way be demaunded. Secondly, He entreth into complot with *Ladislaus* king of Hungarie, that he might defend him against the pretended vnion, who had about him a certaine Franciscan Frier, guiltie of many wickednesses, *Damonium meridianum, A diuell of the mid-day, working the worke of darknesse, who departed not from the presence of Errorius*, *Ladislaus* was interessed in the like cause, who would defend the kingdome of Sicilie against *Lewis* of Anjou his competitor, no lesse than *Gregorie* would the Popedome against *Benedict*. Thirdly, To vphold his Popedome hereafter, he aduanceth to great dignities his nephewes *Paul* and *Marke*, and other his kinsmen, to whom hee committed the gouernement of the Prouinces and principall castles of the Church: so that hee thought not at all of giuing ouer his Pontificall robes, as he had promised. Fourthly, He openly professeth, That he cannot, neither ought to be at Sauona on the day assigned, because what diligence soeuer he made, *he could not haue till then the gallies of Venice.* And when it was answered him, That the gallies of Genua were then readie for him, which they had before offered him, he replied, *That hee was a Venetian, and that he worthily had the Genowayes in suspition, for the ancient hatred that was between the Genowayes and Venetians*: And moreouer, *to passe by land to Sauona he could not, for want of commodities necessarie*; *and so, intricatly denied to passe thither by land or by sea.* Wherefore he appointed foure and twentie of the best learned Lawyers of his Court, to giue their aduice vpon this question, *Whether by the treatie of the present instrument celebrated at Marseilles, he ought to goe to the place of Sauona.* And when all of them testified by their writing, That he was bound to goe, hee was not ashamed to say, *this Father of discords*, That he suspected them, as fauouring more Lib.3.c.4.& 5. L.3.c.5.6. L.3.c.13. Idem ibid.c.16. c.17.

more his Cardinals than him. Fiftly, He couenanteth ſecretly with *Ladiſlaus*, That A
he ſhould ſend an armie to the *Colonni* againſt the people of Rome, who ſhould
enter in by night, with intention that they ſhould beſiege himſelfe in the caſtle of
S. Angelo (into which by complot he retireth;) and his Cardinals, who knew no-
thing of the matter, went to Viterbium: this fained ſiege ſeruing him for an ex-
cuſe to exempt him lawfully from performing his promiſed appearance. And let
the Reader here judge with what conſcience he brought in (for to ſhift off the vni-
on) ſo great a confuſion into the citie. But when the ſouldiers were diſperſed af-
ter prey, and ſpared not the Nunnes themſelues, the *Vrſini* through deſpaire take
armes, gather the people together, and ſet vpon the ambuſcado laid for them by B
the *Colonni*: in which onſet *they tooke them, and led them aſhamed about the caſtle*,
wherein was encloſed that good *Gregorie*, whoſe deteſtable conſpiracie thereby
vaniſhed to nothing. Sixtly, He faineth that this victorie of the *Vrſini* was his,
and ſendeth congratulatorie letters thereof to the Cardinals to Viterbium, and
in recompence of his valour giueth to *Paul* of Vrſini the earledome of Marni,
for a number of yeres; and made them beleeue by ſending away his cariage before
to Viterbium, that he indeed minded to goe to Sauona: But he himſelfe follow-
ed a farre off, and arriued neere vnto them about the moneth of Auguſt; and
when they vrged him to it, he maketh knowne vnto them, that he would do ſome-
thing for his nephewes before he left his charge: and laſtly pleaded, That pouer- C
tie was the cauſe he could not vndertake ſo great a journey. And then to take a-
way from him all excuſe, all the Biſhops and Abbots of Italie are rated, and com-
maunded vnder moſt grieuous paines, by a certaine day, and that verie ſhort, *to*
L.3.c.18, 19. *ſend euerie man his ſummes of money* (he was taxed at) *to the chamber*. And other ex-
Ibid.c.20. quiſit meanes of extorting moneyes are inuented, for to ſatisfie him: *whereby in*
a ſhort time great aboundance of money extorted from many, was continually brought in a-
byſſum cameræ, *into the bottomeleſſe gulfe of the chamber*. And as for his nephewes
Marke, Paul, and *Francis*, to them are giuen *with meere and mixt empire, power of the*
ſword, & all kind of temporal iuriſdiction; to the firſt Faenza, to the ſecond Furli, and
to the third Vobeta, notable cities with their counties; alſo Corneto, and certaine D
townes and caſtles in the countrey of Rauenna, for a ſupplie, by the like right, to
be poſſeſſed by them and theirs for euer. The tenor of this grant is worthie to be
noted, for *Gregorie* bringeth in the Cardinals beſeeching him, That hee would
vouchſafe to reward his nephewes, for the great paines and ſweat they had em-
ployed for the vnion of the Church: who at their moſt humble and moſt inſtant
requeſt conſenteth to paſſe ouer vnto them this donation, by which they are made,
if not heires, yet at leaſt Legataries of S. *Peter*. Seuenthly, When hee could no
Cap.21. longer with honeſtie abide at Viterbium, at laſt in the moneth of September hee
commeth to Sienna, and there he delayeth them till Ianuarie, driuing out the time
in receiuing of embaſſadors which came vnto him from all parts: but when hee E
knew that theſe delayes were vndoubtedly ſuſpected, he faineth, that he was pre-
ſently readie to renounce the Popedome, without trauelling any further: only for
to maintaine his dignitie, that he might keepe the Patriarchſhip of Conſtantino-
ple, which he had before, the Biſhopricks of Couron, & of Modon, vnder the Ve-
netians, & ſome Priories, which *before he held in commendam, and the Archbiſhoprick*
of Yorke in England, which he ſayd was vacant, although it was not vacant. And to all
theſe things the Cardinals gaue their aſſent, *and thereupon are made their letters and*
proceſſe. Eighthly, *Benedict* and his at the feaſt of S. *Michael* arriue at Sauona, for
our Frenchmen ſpurred them forwards. Then he began to ſay, That hee had no other

A other deſire; but that he ſaw it to be no place of ſafetie for his Court, which hee
would not raſhly expoſe vnto danger: That he was reſolued to paſſe into Lom-
bardie, and there to ſtay with the Marqueſſe of Monteferrato, vntill the whole
buſineſſe of the vnion were paſſed and concluded with *Benedict*. Therefore to
draw the time in length he ſendeth to the Marqueſſe, who writeth him back, That
he ſhould be welcome, and alſo for the ſetting forward of the vnion promiſeth he
will leaue nothing vndone. But the warres were ſo hot in Lombardie, that there
was no likelihood he would take his journey that way. His euill intention alſo ap-
peared in this, That when the Biſhop of Tudert and *Anthonie de Butrio*, famous
Lawyers, whom he had ſent to *Benedict* and to the king of France, had met him at
B Sienna, and hoped for their good ſeruices to be at leaſt gratefully receiued of
him, as hauing happily laboured for this pretended vnion, he caſt a frowning look
vpon them, and refuſed to pay the money which they had borrowed for the char-
ges of the journey: *Whereat this Anthonie de Butrio went home, and ouer whelmed with*
ſorrowes, within a while after died. In the meane time he wholly gaue himſelfe to the L.3.c.22.
ſcraping together of mony on all ſides by his deputies whom he had left at Rome,
not ſparing the demaines of Churches and Monaſteries, neither chalices, croſſes, candle-
ſticks, and other iewels of gold and ſiluer, which were euerie where ſold for the pay-
ment of his tributes. Ninthly, The Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, Cardinall of San-
tiquatro, a Prelat of great reputation, arriued at Sauona, where he had beene ho-
C nourably receiued of *Benedict*, and ſeeing *Gregorie* the twelfth abſent, he went to
Sienna with intention to perſuade him; he exhorteth him morning and euening,
and can nothing preuaile. Alſo the Cardinall *de Quinqueeccleſijs*, an Hungarian,
though decrepit with age, went thither likewiſe in vaine: yea falling grieuouſly
ſicke, word was brought him, That the Pope and his nephewes gaped after his
mouables, *and caſt lots as it were on his horſes, money, and iewels: Truely* (ſaith he) *hee*
ſhall neither haue me nor my goods; and without delay hauing made readie his coach,
commaunded to be carried in it (though it were the depth of Winter) ſo farre as to Venice.
Yet becauſe among ſo many delayes he muſt needs pretend ſome colour of rea-
ſon to the world, by faire promiſes he winneth vnto him certaine begging Friers,
D who preach vnto the people, That with a good conſcience the vnion cannot bee
made: and by their miniſterie publiſheth eighteene articles againſt the ſame, *That* L.3.c.23.
if he ſhould giue ouer his Popedome, to the end that the vnion might thereupon follow, he
ſhould in ſo doing ſinne mortally, and ſhould damne his ſoule for euer to bee tormented in
the paines of hell, by reaſon of the dangers of ſoules, and great hurt of bodies that might
enſue thereupon. Abuſing with ſuch lyes the ſimple people. *That if Gregorie and his*
Cardinalls and Courtiers, had gone, or ſhould goe to Sauona, they all had beene, or ſhould be
the ſonnes of death. And this in the meane time whileſt ſolemne proceſſions were
made at Sienna for the vnion, in which he himſelfe was preſent, *couered with the*
cloke of hypocriſie, beſtoweth large Indulgences on ſuch as followed them, and on
E them that prayed for the ſame, in ſo much as he ſent of them into diuers nations,
Beguardis, by certaine Monkes whom hee affected. Tenthly, New counſels
ſeeme to giue vnto him new cauſes of delayes: He treateth with the gouernour
of Luca to be receiued into the citie, that being neerer to *Benedict* hee may the
more commodiouſly conferre with him, perſuading himſelfe that he ſhould be de-
nied, and ſo might haue a new excuſe; whereas he on the contrarie willingly yeel-
deth to his requeſt. Then *Gregorie* requireth fiftie of the beſt families in hoſtage:
an vnhoneſt requeſt, which neuertheleſſe is granted him, leaſt any thing ſhould
hinder ſo neceſſarie a worke. Yet here he findeth out a new ſubtile ſhift, That he
would

would not enter into the citie, but would haue the caſtle of Pietra Santa in his power, *which was the ſtrongeſt place of the ſayd Gouernour*; which hee alſo granteth him euen without hoſtages. At length hauing no more pretences to make, he entreth into Luca, triſling away the time till the beginning of the month of Auguſt, all the times before aſſigned being long agoe paſt. And when the embaſſadors of Princes were inſtant with both of them on euerie ſide, they haue the ſame anſwer from each of them, That the fault is not in him that the vnion goeth not forward: in which doubtleſſe they both agreed together. *Gregorie* in the meane time priuatly with his Chamberlaine and his nephewes diſpoſed of all buſineſſes, for money, of Biſhopricks, Abbies, gouernements, and expeditions; although in publike he was ignorant of the things belonging to the Popedome, and ridiculous in his ſpeeches and anſwers, being woont to ſay in Conſiſtorie, That the Cardinals had conſpired againſt him to make him leaue the Popedome, to the preiudice of his obedience. Eleuenthly, *Benedict* was come as farre forward as Porto-venere, to the end that he might ſeeme to performe his duetie: whereupon *Gregorie* is by his followers with greater inſtance vrged. Then *being giuen into a reprobat ſence*, againſt his oath ſo oftentimes repeated, hee reſolued to create new Cardinalls, namely his nephewes, though his Cardinalls perſuade him to the contrarie, That this would be to giue *Benedict* ſome colourable reaſon to ſay, That hee was the cauſe that the vnion was not made; till at laſt ouercome with the importunat requeſts of the embaſſadours of Polonia, Pruſſia, and other nations, expoſtulating with him, he conſenteth to deferre the ſame for certaine weekes. And then about mid-Lent, on the *Lætare* Sonday, *Nicholas de Luca*, a Carmelite Frier, durſt preach againſt him euen in his preſence; whom about the euening, in the ſight of all the embaſſadours, he commaunded to be carried to priſon, from which he was hardly at their earneſt requeſts at length deliuered, yet on this condition, That hee ſhould preach no more: neither durſt any man thenceforth goe vp into the pulpet, vnleſſe with reſolution to pleaſe his eares. Many Biſhops alſo, leaſt they ſhould communicate with him at Eaſter, ſome one way ſome another withdrew themſelues from him; yea many embaſſadours returned into their countries: ſo that, leaſt he ſhould altogether loſe his dignitie, he determined at length for once to write backe an anſwer to the letters of *Benedict*: There he complaineth, That *Benedict* had drawne the time out ſo long, by being obſtinat in retaining ſtill the place of Sauona (ſo that you would ſay, that there were great wrong done him) and offereth to meet him, if he pleaſe, at Piſa. *Benedict* on the contrarie, in his anſwer ſheweth, That he was proceeded as far as to Porto-venere, that therefore *Gregorie* might come ſo farre as to Pietra Sancta, a towne vnder his obedience, where the Lord of Luca promiſed to giue him his onely ſonne, ſome of his neere kinſmen, and fortie citizens beſides, for hoſtage: That for his part hee had offered to commit himſelfe to the faith of his countreymen the Venetians, and many other things, which would haue cut off all delay: And that whereas now he maketh to him a new motion of Piſa, without ſpecifying any aſſurance for him, he could not yet reſolue of it, but ſent in the meane time his Legats, wel informed of his intent, who might with *Gregorie* and the Lord of Luca determine of the whole buſineſſe. The reſolution of *Gregorie* was at laſt, after many tergiuerſations, That both of them ſhould requeſt the Florentines by their embaſſadours, to aſſigne vnto them a ſafe and fit place, becauſe that at the requeſt of one of them alone they would not eaſily doe it. But during theſe delayes *Ladiſlaus* king of Hungarie, by the counſell of *Gregorie*, is receiued into Rome by *Paul Vrſini* gouernour of the citie, and

Cap.4 & 25.

and maketh himſelfe Lord of the Citie, which was the cauſe, that on the one ſide he held the Popedome the more aſſured, becauſe he had the ſeat thereof in his power; and on the other ſide, it prepared a readie excuſe for him to returne to Rome to take order about it. For that this was done by this politique deuiſe, is manifeſt euen out of this, that his followers triumphing as of a thing well done, could not refrain from making dances for joy, euen in his palace. Twelftly, *Gregorie* therefore taketh no more paynes for a place to ſet forward the vnion, being now aſſured to breake it off by the aſſiſtance of *Ladiſlaus*; and ſo returning to his nature, againſt his oath, and notwithſtanding any thing that the Lord of Luca objected againſt it, he created foure new Cardinals, and added vnto them a kinſman of his, for to bind the ſaid Lord vnto him: And when the Cardinal refuſed, he commanded ſome biſhops and auditors of the Rota to ſit and aſſiſt him therein; theſe were *Anthonie* his Chamberlaine, and *Gabriel Gondemar*, his nephewes, a protonotarie of Vdena, and one *Iohn* a Dominicke Frier, one of them that preached at Siena by his commaundement, *That with a good conſcience and without the damnation of his ſoule, he could not conſent to the vnion.* The old Cardinals laboured to get away from him, but he chargeth them vnder moſt grieuous paynes, that they ſhould not depart; yea, if *the regent of Luca* had not by his wiſedome prouided for them, their perſons had bin in no ſafetie. But the Cardinall of Liege, a man of a great ſpirit, in diſguiſe eſcaped from Luca, and got to Piſa; yet being diſcouered by ſome ſeruants of *Gregorie*, he continued there not without great danger of his life. In like manner all the reſt by little and litle ſteale away, being moued neither with his promiſes nor threats, from which they publiquely appeale, and ſolemnely ſignifie the ſame vnto him ſitting in conſiſtorie amiddeſt his new Cardinals. The Cardinall of Liege, firſt maketh knowne to the world by his Letters, *That God ought rather to be obeyed, for if* (ſaith he) *the Pope commaund or would conſtraine to ſuch things as tend to the deſtruction of ſoules, it is moſt manifeſt that he ought not be obeyed, neither by diuine nor humane right; yea and that man meriteth, who for not obaying in ſuch a caſe doth ſuffer his ſeuere cenſures.* And thus haue wee now a two-fold Schiſme, of *Benedict* againſt *Gregorie*, and of *Gregorie* againſt his owne Cardinals.

cap.33.& 34.

Now vpon this departure of the Cardinals from *Gregorie*, *Benedict* making vſe of this occaſion, obiecteth vnto him his craftie ſleights, which at length hath burſt forth into ſo euill an iſſue. Whereupon, hee withdrew himſelfe into the countrie of Arragon, where he was borne, ſeeing there was no more hope of the vnion. But *Gregorie*, ſeeing him departed, and being not yet wearie of deceiuing, aſſigneth a Councell at Aquileia, and to ſtrengthen the ſame, createth againe new Cardinals; whileſt on the other ſide *Benedict* appointeth likewiſe his Councel in Arragon: Both of them euer vnder pretence of vnion, but which neither of both deſireth, both laboring to aſſure thereby the Popedome to himſelfe alone: Which, part of the Cardinals of *Benedict* perceiuing, they find meanes to eſcape away from him and come to Piſa. There the Cardinals of both ſides ioyned together, and by the conſent of the Florentines, Lords of Piſa, determined to hold there a Councell. Thither are both after a ſolemne manner cited, to be preſent either perſonally, or by their proxie, hauing fit and due commiſſion. Both do teſtifie, That it belongeth not to them to call a Councell. The Cardinals on the contrarie maintaine, that ſeeing the Popedome is doubtfull and diuided, neither of the ſtriuers for it could call a Councell, becauſe it would be a particular and not an vniuerſall one, where a part onely ſhould be preſent. Wherefore they paſſe

cap.36.37.38.

passe further, and entreat the Emperour and Princes of the Empire, the Kings A
of Fraunce, England, Hungarie, Arragon, Polonia and others, that they would
be present by their Embassadors, which the greatest part agreed vnto. Then after
many Sessions, when neither they themselues, nor any in their name appeared, all
Cap. 44. things well and duely examined, they all with one voyce pronounce, *That Bene-*
dict and Gregorie damnably contending for their Popedome, are pronounced truly and no-
toriously in a petition presented and exhibited to the sacred and vniuersall Synod, That
they haue bin and are verie Schismatikes, nourishers, defenders, fauourers, approuers, and
obstinat maintainers of an old Schisme; heretikes strayed from the faith, ensnared with
notorious crimes and enormous periuries, notoriously scandalizing the vniuersall holie
Church of God, with incorrigibilitie, contumacie, and obstinacie, in notorious, euident and B
manifest crimes: and for these and other causes, haue made themselues vnworthie of all
honour and dignitie, and also of the Papall: they and each of them, besides the foresaid ini-
quities, crimes and excesses committed that they might raigne, commaund and beare
sway, are ipso facto cast away and depriued of God and of the sacred canons, and also cut
off from the Church, &c. Moreouer, all Christians of all sorts, yea Emperours, Kings,
and others in any dignitie, are declared for euer absolued from their obedience, forbidding
the faithfull of Christ in no wise to obey or intend to obey the foresayd striuers for the
Popedome, or either of them; neither shall they yeeld them either counsaile, helpe or fa-
uour, or receiue them, or repaire vnto them, vnder paine of excommunication &c. More-
ouer all and singular proceedings, and sentences of excommunication, suspension, or o- C
ther censure and payne of priuation, also of orders and dignities, &c. giuen and thun-
dered forth, haue beene and are disanulled, reuoked, voyd, of no strength, efficacie or
moment. Moreouer, promotions, or rather profanations made of any whomsoeuer to be Car-
dinals, by the said contenders for the Popedome, and either of them (to wit, by the sayd
Angelus from the third day of May, and by the foresaid Peter from the fifteenth of Iune
An. 1408. *of the yeare past 1408) haue beene and are disanulled, reuoked and made void.* Which
when *Benedict* vnderstood, swelling with choler, he createth twelue Cardinals
in Arragon; *Gregorie* as many in Germanie; but some of the wiser of them refu-
sed the hats. And for an vpshot of his deceitfull slights, he feareth not to publish,
That all difficulties removed, he was readie to repaire to what place the Empe- D
rour *Robert*, *Sigismund* king of Hungarie, and *Ladislaus* king of Sicilie should like
Cap. 46. 47. 48. of. But *seeing* (saith the Authour) *that there were manifestly so many enimities and*
rancours, for the causes aforesayd, betweene Robert, Sigismund and Ladislaus, it seemeth
vnpossible by any reason or humane wisedome, that they should be able to agree together,
how to make a vnion in the Church. I would we could haue as good a witnesse of
the craftie wiles of *Benedict*, though this man doth in many places liuely enough
represent them, whence it is apparant that they strooe to excell each other in
wickednesse: But it was needfull that the guiles of *Gregorie* should be more ex-
actly shewed, as him whom they doe rather approue and entegister in the Cata- E
Theodor. à Niem. l. 2. c. 33. logue of Popes. Furthermore, he at length, hauing suffered many troubles from
his countriemen the Venetians, whom he vsed no better than others, he getteth
him to the coast of the Abruzzo, and flying for refuge to Caieta, committeth
himselfe to the protection of king *Ladislaus*, who commaunded him to be obey-
ed in his jurisdictions. In the meane time the Cardinals of both obediences, chose
Pope, *Peter Philargas* of Candie, by Nation a Greeke, a Franciscan Frier, and
named *Alexander* the fifth, he that was woont to say, That he had bin *a rich bishop,*
Cap. 51. 52. *a poore Cardinall, and a beggarly Pope. A man* (saith the Authour) *liuing delicately,*
and drinking of strong wines, who wholly gouerned himselfe by the counsailes of

A of *Balthasar Cossa* Cardinal Deacon; who was afterward *Iohn* the three and twen-
tieth, the most wicked among all the Popes. Therefore, saith *Theodorick*, he was
no sooner come to the Popedome, but that all things brake forth into vnbri-
dled licentiousnesse, so that in the tenne moneths that hee raigned, he brought
more infamie to the seat, than others in so many yeares: *The sayd Pope also infer-*
red in the signature of the Roll that he made for the familiars of Cardinals, that he had
made that signature so largely, because that euerie one of the same Lord Cardinals in the
Conclaue had promised, That if he were chosen Pope, he would graunt all things that
their familiars should request; Which he particularly describeth, the Reader may
see further there. So hard a thing it was, euen in a matter so long consulted of, af-
B ter so great a confusion of all things, to find an honest man among so many of the
Roman Court, and to proceed in election without manifest Symonie. Now he
died at Bononia the third of May 1410, and here *Theodorick* finisheth that Histo-
rie. *Baptista Panetius* of Ferrara, a Carmelite, telleth vs, that *Balthasar Cossa*, the *Monstrelet. vol. 1. cap. 62.*
inward familiar of *Alexander* (who after was *Iohn* the three and twentieth, or as *Baptista Panetius Ferrariens. Serm. 56.*
some others say the foure and twentieth) neuertheless that he might succeed him,
poysoned him by *Marsilius de Parma* his Phisition, hired with abundance of mo-
ney; and that being neere his death, hee sayd to his Cardinals, that which Christ
had to his Apostles, *My peace I giue vnto you, my peace I leaue with you.* How could
this slaue of Sathan, Prince of the world, giue that peace which the world can-
C not giue, who in that verie little space of time, had banded and opposed *Wence-*
slaus king of Bohemia against the Emperour *Robert* in Germanie, and in Italie had
crowned *Edward* of Anjou king of Sicilie, and sent him against *Ladislaus*, by his own
absolute power, without any forme of law?

But it may be they will be more wise and circumspect in chusing his successour.
Being thus at Bononia, where that *Balthasar* resided as Legat, or rather ruled as
Lord, he commaunded the Cardinals to elect a Pope that should be to his liking;
And they offered vnto him many, of which he thought none fit enough, till at *Iohan. Stella in Pontificibus.*
last they requested him plainely to expresse his opinion, *Giue me* (saith he) *the cloake*
of S. Peter, and I will giue it to him that is to be Pope; which done, *he put on his owne*
D *shoulders, and sayd vnto them*, Papa satis ego, *It is I am Pope.* How farre from Christ,
whose Vicar he maketh himselfe *et Iaminostomi* (saith he) *of my selfe.* And though
the Cardinals did in no sort approue the same, yet in one durst at that time speake
against it. But he fearing least in maid of time they should attempt something a-
gainst him, dispatcheth Legats presently into Germanie to the Princes, to entreat
them that the Emperour *Robert* being deceased, they would chose for king of the
Romans, *Sigismund* king of Hungarie, whom to that end hee commendeth for
all kind of vertues requisit. Which hauing obtayned, hee assigneth a Coun-
cell at Rome, vnder colour to set the Crowne on his head, but indeed that by
his ayd, whom thus hee had obliged vnto him, hee might firmely establish his
E seat. Memorable is that which *Nicholas Clemangis* Archdeacon of Bayeux, a man
famous in those times, hath left written in a certaine Epistle of his, *Almost saure*
yeares agoe (saith he) *at the great instance of some, that most perfidious Balthasar late-*
ly deposed from Peters seat (which he multitudes he defiled) had assembled a Councell
at Rome; in which were euerie few strangers, held some sessions with some Italians and
courtiers, wasting out the time in matters superfluous, and not long belonging to the profit
of the Church. And when before the first meeting of the Councell, Masse was celebrated af-
ter the accustomed maner, for to inuocate the holie Ghost; when the Councell was set; and
Balthasar himselfe in a chaire prouided for him higher than the rest, behold a direfull and

deadly Owle, the meſſenger (as they ſay) euer of death or calamitie, comming forth of her A
lurking holes, ſuddenly with a horrible voyce flew and ſat vpon the middle beame of the
Temple, with her eyes directly fixed on Balthaſar. All began to wonder, that this night-
bird which ſhunneth the light, was come in full day light into the middeſt of a companie,
and not without cauſe tooke this prodigie for a preſage of euill lucke. Behold, ſaid they,
with a low voyce one to another, the ſpirit is preſent in forme of an Owle. And whileſt
they beheld Balthaſar and one another, they could hardly refraine themſelues from laugh-
ter. Balthaſar himſelfe, vpon whom onely the Owle had bent the ſight of her eyes, bluſh-
ing with ſhame, began to ſweat, to be troubled in mind, and to burne within himſelfe, and
at length, not finding any other meanes whereby to helpe himſelfe from this confuſion, he
brake vp the Councell, roſe and departed. There followed afterward a ſecond ſeſſion, in B
which againe in like manner as before, the Owle failed not to come (without being called
I beleeue) turning her ſight euer towards Balthaſar; who ſeeing her come againe, was
with good cauſe troubled with greater ſhame than before, and not being able to endure
her looke any longer, he commaunded ſhe ſhould be driuen away with frighting clamours,
and with ſtaues; but ſhe would not be feared neither with ſhowts nor other diſquietings,
till being grieuouſly ſtricken many blowes with ſtaues, ſhe fell downe dead in the ſight of
them all. This (ſaith he) *I learned from a faithfull friend of mine, who in thoſe dayes*
came directly from Rome, and being adiured by me with all vehemencie, when by reaſon of
the rareneſſe I had begun to doubt of the matter, he confirmed the things he had vttered
to be moſt true. He added alſo, That all they that were preſent there were brought into C
great contempt and deriſion of this Councell, and by little and little the whole Councell
being diſſipated, nothing fruitfull was there at all enacted. But they thinke it ſufficiently prouided for, when they cauſed this place and the like to be quite raced out of bookes, yea whole bookes, according to their accuſtomed good faith. In the meane time *Benedict* and *Gregorie* retained ſtill on both ſides the Papall dignitie, notwithſtanding their condemnation, the one at Rimino in Romania, the other at Perpignan in the frontire of Spaine, each accompanied with their Cardinals, and vpholden by the Princes aboue mentioned: and all Chriſtendome was exceeding wearie of ſo long a ſchiſme, whereunto after ſo many yeares they had in vaine ſought remedie in the Councell of Piſa. Wherefore the Emperour *Sigiſ-* D
mund vndertooke to call a Councell, and the better to induce all Chriſtian Princes to embrace the ſame, he taketh paynes to ride about almoſt all Europe, and viſit them in perſon, that by communicating his mind vnto them, he might remoue out of the way the difficulties that might hinder ſo great a worke. Neither did Pope *Iohn* ſeeme to be againſt it, either becauſe he hoped he ſhould be thereby confirmed, by excluſion of others, through the requitall he expected from *Sigiſ-*
mund, or rather for that hee foreſaw he could not with their good leaue denie a
Leonard. Aretin. An. 1413. thing ſo iuſt, and ſo much deſired. Yet *Leonard Aretine*, his Secretarie, ſeeles
telleth vs, *That the Pope had ſecretly communicated his mind and intention with him;* E
ſaying, All lyeth in the place of the Councell, neither would I haue it in any place where
the Emperour is the ſtronger. In ſhew therefore of boneſtie I will giue to thoſe Legats that
are ſent by me, moſt ample commiſſions, and verie great power, which they may openly
ſhew and lay forth: But ſecretly I will reſtraine the commiſſion to certaine places, and be
reckoned them; that is, appointed them. Which notwithſtanding he mitigated, when he ſent them away: for after he had told them how great confidence he repoſed in their wiſedome and fidelitie, he tare before them the catalogue of pla-
Antonin. part. 3. c. 6. §. 1. ces that he had appointed them. *I had purpoſed* (ſaith he) *to name vnto you certaine*
places, from which yee ſhould by no meanes depart, but at this verie inſtant I change my
pur-

A *purpoſe, and remit my ſelfe wholly to your prudence. For your parts bethinke your ſelues*
what is ſafe for me, and what to be feared. But he was exceedingly aſtonied, when he vnderſtood that they had concluded with *Sigiſmund* vpon the citie Conſtance, a place depending of the Empire, and ſituat beyond Alpes. There then do meet in the yeare 1414, the Emperour, Pope *Iohn*, the Cardinall of Raguſe, and others *An.* 1414.
of the obedience of *Gregorie* the twelfth, and in his name, *Charles Malateſta* with ſpeciall commiſſion of renouncing the Popedome; and the embaſſadours moreouer of the moſt part of Chriſtian Princes: But not one man from the obedience
B of *Benedict*, although *Sigiſmund* had taken the paines to goe to Perpignan, to perſuade him in the preſence of the king of Arragon, to appeare himſelfe, or ſend his Legat, or elſe in all euents to vndergoe the deciſion of the Councell. Vnto all which obſtinatly ſtopping his eares, he preſently after withdrew himſelfe into an inacceſſible iſland called Paniſcola. Not long after *Iohn* the three and twentieth throughly perceiued, that his matters were in an euill place for him, notwithſtanding that the Archbiſhop of Mentz, and *Frederick* Duke of Auſtria, had promiſed him all fauour. Wherefore, vnknowne to the Cardinals, in diſguiſed apparell, and with ſmall companie, he eſcaped away by night to Schaffuze, and from thence he tooke his courſe into Burgondie. *Sigiſmund* impatient to be ſo mocked, and beleeuing it to be ſome guile of the Duke of Auſtria, he commaundeth him vnder
C paine of confiſcation of all his goods and honors, to repreſent or bring *Iohn* forth in preſence: who, *ex protectore proditor factus* (ſaith *Anthanine*) catcheth him by the way in his flight, bringeth him backe, and keepeth him in ſafe cuſtodie for the Emperour, at his pleaſure to be deliuered vp at Conſtance. It remained to proceed againſt him according to law, *Henrie de Pira*, and *Iohn de Scribanis*, Procurators of the Councell, vndertooke to proue againſt him innumerable crimes both before and after his Popedome, and that by the teſtimonie of Cardinalls, Archbiſhops, and other perſons of note, his *vices, exceeding voluptuouſneſſe, tyrannie,* *Concil. Conſtant. Seſſion. 11. art. 4. 21, 22.*
homicides, empoyſonings, ſimonie, ſacrilege, hereſie, impietie, infidelitie, notorious A-
theiſme, or contempt of Diuine maieſtie, as in the Acts of this Councell, ſecond Seſſion, are contained in fiftie foure articles, in which alſo he is called *Diabolus incar-*
D *natus, An incarnat Diuell.* They ſpecially note, That as a Heathen hee maketh not any eſteeme of any office or ſeruice, That he ſaid Maſſe running, gaue his graces and cenſures to merchants, to lay men, and maried, to be diſpenſed for a certaine price, who ſold them, & rendred to him an account, and that he was wont to ſend them with all power into the moſt remote Prouinces: That hee had ſold many lands of the patrimonie of the Church, yea the Churches themſelues of the citie of Rome: That he had waſtfully ſpent the mouables, jewels, & relikes themſelues, ſold the head of S. *Iohn Baptiſt* for 50000 ducats, which was kept at Rome in a certaine Monaſterie of Nunnes of S. *Sylueſter*, which had beene deliuered if ſome ci-
E tizens of Rome had not diſcouered it, whom he caſt into priſon, and condemned to great fines: That he had conferred benefices, curatſhips, and other Eccleſiaſticall charges, to children, to baſtards, yea of the age of fiue yeares: That hee had committed inceſt with Nunnes, rauiſhment with virgines, and adulterie with maried women, *and other crimes of inconſtancie, for which the wrath of God commeth*
downe on the children of infidelitie: That hee had impoyſoned Pope *Alexander* by maſter *Daniel de Sancta Sophia*, his Phyſitian, that he might make way for himſelfe to the Popedome: And to fill vp the meaſure, *by the perſuaſion of the diuell he obſti-* *Seſſion. 11.*
natly ſayd, affirmed, and held opinion, That there is no life eternall, neither any other after
this; yea he ſaid, *and obſtinatly beleeued, That the ſoule of man dyeth and is extinct toge-*
ther

ther with the humane bodie, after the manner of bruit beasts: and hee sayd, That being once dead, euen in the last day there should be no resurrection. Of which crimes being certaine he should be conuicted, he hath recourse by letters to *Sigismund*, putting him in mind of that which he had before time done in his fauour; *In the secret of our heart* (saith he) *preferring you before all men liuing, we haue predestinated you to be king of Romans.* These are his words, and entreateth him to haue his honour and state in recommendation. But the Fathers of the Councell send deputies to Sellas, a place in the Dioceſſe of Conſtance (where he was kept by the Duke of Austria) who heard him, and being heard and conuicted by the often confession of his own mouth, they condemne him. A definitiue sentence is pronounced against him, which notwithstanding was mitigated, when in this despairefull estate hee absolutely subiected himselfe to the will of the Councell: neuertheleſſe he was declared schismatike, scandalous, and deadly to the whole Church, and as such a one, and for many other crimes before, and in his Popedome committed, he was to be deposed, and indeed was deposed from his charge of chiefe Bishop. *Fortie articles* (saith *Platina*) *and more, were proued against this man, of which some (which could not be changed in him) were iudged to be against faith, and other some scandalous to all Christians.* And he himselfe approued the sentence pronounced against him, for just. And he is remoued away thence to Heidelberg, vnder the custodie of *Lewis* of Bauaria Palatine, who kept him prisoner in his castle of Monheim, verie straitly, without any Italian seruant, serued onely by Germans, with whom hee could haue no communication but by signes. As touching *Gregorie* the twelfth, alreadie decrepit and destitute of the support of *Ladislaus* king of Sicilie, *Charles Malatesta* his Proctor appeared in Councell, hauing on him the Pontificall robes, which in token of renunciation he put off before all the assemblie. But *Benedict* hauing beene verie oftentimes cited in vaine, by sentence of the Councell is declared to be *a periurer, a scandalizer of the Church, a fautor and entermedler of schisme, an heretike straying out of the way of faith*; and for these causes is depriued of his Papall dignitie, and cut off *from the Church, as a withered and dried member*; forbidden all men therefore from obeying him, vnder paine of excommunication. And though he were almost of all men forsaken, yet he continued still in obstinacie, *Idolum cum idolis suis Cardinalibus* (saith *Krantzius*) *An Idoll with the Idols his Cardinalls.* Yea being at poynt of death, in the yeare 1414, he adiureth the Cardinals which remained with him in the castle of Panisсola, that they should incontinently chuse him a successor, which was *Giles Munion*, Canon of Barcelon, by them called *Clement* the eighth, who the fourth yeare after renounced his charge. Of this *Benedict* was that saying of *Gerson*, verie often repeated in Councell, *There will be no peace to the Churches till Luna be taken away.* So much did Luna darken the Sunne; so much also had these good Popes their hearts set on the vnion of the Church.

It was meet that impietie of doctrine should grow after the measure of the abuse of power: Therefore we read, that this *Benedict* the thirteenth was the first that instituted, That the Sacrament of the bodie of Christ should be carried before him for the safegard of his bodie, that so he might seeme to haue a protector against his aduersaries on earth, whom he beleeued to be none in heauen: which without doubt he had inuented by the example of the kings of Persia, who made their god be caried before them. *Alexander* the fift also, because he was a Minorite, that he might gratifie the Friers of that Order, who *wonderfully reioycing at his creation, ran about the streets euerie day, verie many in troupes together, as if they had beene mad*

Platina in Iohan. 24.

Session. 11.

Krantzius in Metrop. l. 9. c. 1. An. 1414.

Paulus Æmilius in Carolo 6.

Theodor. à Nyem. l. 3. c. vltim.

mad men, made a law, That all Christians should be bound to beleeue the wounds of S. *Francis*; and in veneration also of those wounds instituted a feast. These things, as we haue said before, although they are judged doubtful, yet are found in their owne Histories of those times. So *Iohn* the foure and twentieth, for that *Wicklif* had translated the holie Scriptures into the English Tongue, would needs haue that translation of the Bible into the vulgar Tongue, to be heresie in England. But our wise king, *Charles* the fift, was of another mind, when a little before he commaunded that the sacred Bible should bee translated into the French Tongue, for his owne and his peoples vse. And let the Reader judge of the inuentions by the pietie and honestie of the deuisors. In the meane time the Councell of Constance it selfe, whileſt it arrogateth power aboue the Pope, doth not withall omit, in emulation of Popes, to extoll it selfe aboue the Lord Christ. For when many nations complained vnto them, That against the expresse institution of Christ, in the participation of the Eucharist, the cup of the Lord was taken away from them; the Fathers of this Councell feared not to publish a Decree, commaunding it seuerely to be excuted, which was conceiued in these execrable words, *Although Christ after supper hath instituted and administred to his Disciples this venerable Sacrament, vnder both kinds of bread and wine, yet notwithstanding, the authoritie of the sacred Canons, the laudable and approued custome of the Church, hath obserued, and doth obserue, that this Sacrament ought not to be finished after supper, &c. And seeing that this custome hath beene according to reason brought in, and a long time obserued by the Church and holie Fathers, it is to be held for a law.* In which words this clause *Non obstante, notwithstanding*, so odious (as we haue seene) to the Church in former ages, for that by it, added to the Popes Bulls, no lawes so holy but were reuoked; now by the authoritie of this Synod manifestly abrogateth not only the vse of the Primitiue Church, but the expresse commandement of the Lord himselfe, in instituting a Sacrament of so great moment. And these things extend to the yeare 1417.

Waldensian Fasciculo.

Concil. Constant. Session. 13.

An. 1417.

Opposition.

Let vs now consider what the Christian Church thought hereof, being distracted, and as it were torne in peeces by two, sometimes three Popes, openly warring one against the other. We haue alreadie noted something out of the historie of *Theodorick*, who was successiuely Secretarie to *Vrban*, *Boniface*, *Innocent*, *Gregorie*, and *Alexander*. Neither doth he conceale from vs the murmure and distraction of minds that then was in the whole world, whileſt some take part with one, others, content with the conduct of their owne Bishops, hold with neither: from whence in the meane time this benefit did arise vnto vs, in this so great mischiefe, That by occasion of this schisme there was a way made vnto the truth, and the mouth thereof in diuers things opened. And therefore he confesseth ingeniously, that it is agreeable vnto reason, that the Roman Emperour, with the Prelats, and Christian people, as the spirituall sonne of the Church, whose power is immediatly from God, should by his authoritie appease these troubles; and that they are fooles and flatterers that say, That the Pope or Church hath two swords, the temporall and the spirituall: which great errour being brought into the Christian Church, they raise a perpetuall emulation and discord betweene the Pope and the Emperour, trampling vnder their feet the Imperiall authoritie, to the great hurt of the whole Commonwealth. That it appeareth out of the Decrees themselues,

Theodor. à Nyem. l. 1. c. 7 & 8.

selues, that whensoeuer any schisme shall arise in the Church, that the Emperors are bound, and by law haue power to prouide a remedie. Which he likewise proueth by the example of *Theodoricus* the king, taken out of the Decree it selfe; and is much offended that the Emperor *Robert* did so flatter and gently intreat *Gregorie* the twelfth, who should haue compelled both parts to haue restored the peace of the Church. That the power of the Emperour doth especially tend *to the repressing of a wicked and incorrigible Pope, scandalizing the Church*; as it appeareth out of the acts of the Roman Emperours and kings: where he alledgeth the example of *Otho* the first, who came out of Germanie to Rome, to chasten the disorderly & stubborne behauior of *Iohn* the 13, whom by the authoritie of the Councell, notwithstanding he were vpheld by his kindred and friends at Rome, he deposed: *For* (saith he) *in those daies the Pope had not so many temporalties as the Church of Rome seemeth now to haue, because that great Emperour Otho and his successors, the second and third of that name, enriched the Church of Rome, and other Churches in Italie and Germanie, with secular dominions. And so it manifestly appeareth in those books that were drawne of the donations made vnto the Church by the Emperours and kings of Rome, and are still kept in the Apostolike treasurie, or chamber.* That from the pompe of these temporall dominions sprung the neglect of spirituall things, tyrannie gathered strength, and diuisions in one and the same Church encreased. Against which *Otho* quickly prouided a remedie, extinguishing the two schismes at Rome, whereof the one part had seised vpon the Capitoll, the other the castle S. Angelo; which hauing besieged and taken, he cut off the heads of the principall of those factions, and in a Councell approuing the one of these competitors, he tooke the other with him into Saxonie. It was not then obiected vnto him, *That the Popes might not be iudged but by God himselfe. But it were to be wished* (saith he) *that such an Emperour would arise in our times, that in this Labyrinth would abolish the multiplicitie of bookes that are so increased by reason of the multitude of writers touching this poynt, that an hundred Camels can hardly carrie them. For it is manifest how much it standeth all Christians vpon, that the Pope be a man of pure conuersation, no simoniacall or bloudie person, no adulterer, dice-player, drunkard, hunter, leacher, or publike whoremaster* (he toucheth the Popes vices of those times) *for who, knowing the Pope to be such a one, can without remorse of conscience, or the sinne of flatterie, kisse his hands or his feet, or with a good heart call him holie Father? &c. Neither is the Emperour or king of Romans bound to keepe his oath or fidelitie giuen to a wicked Pope, or other Ecclesiasticall Prelat, that is a notorious and incorrigible offender: For where abuse succeedeth, all power ceaseth, and an oath must be no band of iniquitie: for otherwise it must follow that an oath binding, no man can hinder such as are wicked and peruerse, or admonish them to returne into the right way; which is contrarie to all law and reason, & hurtfull to the Commonwealth. Because not to withstand the course of the wicked when wee can, is to encourage them in their sinne; and that errour which is not resisted, seemes to be approued. Neither doth that which the Canonists affirme, contradict it, That the Pope, except he wander from the faith, may be deposed, That no man can iudge the first and highest seat, or take away that authoritie and power which he cannot giue. From hence they would inferre, that none but God can or may iudge the Pope, because the Popedome excelleth all dignities, being the Vicar of God, and iudging the whole world: Whereas these Maximes in a supposed Pope, and in these times of schismes, are not in force, nor can with reason be so vnderstood in an vndoubted Pope scandalizing the Church, because he cannot be truely and properly called the Vicar of Christ, that keepeth not Christ his commandements, nor followeth his example, to the great detriment of all Christendome: and therefore*

D. 17. C. Consilia Theud. l. 3. c. 9. & 10.

fore is more truely and properly called a beast than a Pope. For he that wandereth from reason is not to be accounted a man, but an vnreasonable creature. And the Pope being such a one, seemes rather a tyran than the Minister of God, and therefore for his demerits is contemned of all, and removed, as vnworthie; from so holie a gouernement, because a wicked Priest is not sayd to be a Priest, and a wicked Bishop is no Bishop. This is proued true out of the Gospell, where it is conditionally sayd vnto Peter; If thou loue me feed my sheepe, whereby it is inferred that he that loues not God, that is to say, a simoniall person, an adulterer, or otherwise a publique incorrigible offender, deserues not to be, neither is the true shepheard of the sheepe, but a mercinarie, or a Wolfe, because hee exerciseth not the office of a good and true shepheard, and therefore may, and ought to be iudged by others. Wherefore, he sheweth in another place that the Cardinall of Liege hauing forsaken *Gregorie* the twelfth, for his many treacheries, thus defended his cause, *That we must rather obey God than man. For if* (saith he) *the Pope commaund those things, or enforce that to be done that shall endaunger our soules, or bring them to perdition, it is manifest that he is not to be obeyed either by the Law of God or man, as Augustine, Ambrose, Beda, and others doe affirme: yea, rather by not obeying, and for that cause to endure his censures and seuerities, is meritorious.* At the last amongst so many confusions he thus concludeth, *But are these things the preambles to the comming of Antechrist? Truely according to the opinion of our Sauiour, the Gospell hauing beene preached throughout the world, the consummation shal come, before which there shalbe a diuision and a departure from the faith, according to that of the Apostle 2. Thes. 2. Nisi veniat primum discessio, &c. except there come a departing first.* And therefore he sheweth how the Empire departed from Rome; And as for faith, it was no where to be found. Whereupon he saith,

L. 3. cap. 34.

Cap. 41.

Tu portentorum fœcunda conformis eorum
Cum Nilo portenta paris, nutris Crocodilos
Iam cum portentis fœtor exterminia sentis,
Si quid in his possim, facerem sterilescere Matrem &c.

Thou are the place where monsters great are bred,
And Nilus-like where Crocodiles are fed:
Now like monsters rice, thou art truely seene,
Had I power, barrain had thy mother beene.

Idem d. 3. c. 41. 43.

which two notes (saith he) *are euident in the Priesthood, and the kingdome; And whether these be foretokens of the comming of Antichrist, let those iudge and examine that vnderstand the sence and meaning of God himselfe.* He therefore (as we haue sayd heretofore) looked not for Antichrist out of old Babylon, but out of the bowels of the Church of Rome. For he thus thought those of the suburbes of Antichrist, held him not to be farre off from the citie. Those poore people looked for him out of the window, that was before stollen in at the posterne. Moreouer, he saith, he was the author of another treatise intituled *Nemus Vnionis*, printed at Basill, in the yeare 1566, where in his bookes he set downe all the stratagems of the Popes of his time; the titles are, of the first *Via*, the second *Inuia*, the third *Semita*, the fourth *Iniqua*, the fift *Valles reflexi*, the sixt *Labyrinthus*: A worke worthie the reading, and so much the rather, because the principall acts of this schisme are there produced; especially in the first, he deliuereth his opinion touching the schisme betweene these two Popes, *Behold* (saith he) *that it appeareth*

Theodor. à Niem. Tract. 6. c. 13.

peareth by this Epistle (that is to say, of the Cardinals) *that these two old men contending for the Popedom (if it be lawful to speak a truth) do strangely mock and abuse Christian people.* And briefely he setteth down their subtilties. *These two Lords seeme to play together like two Champions or Tilters, who haue made an agreement not to hurt one another, and yet entertaine the people with a kind of shew or ostentation, as if they would doe wonders.* There he likewise produceth the conclusions of the Doctors of Bologne touching this schisme, wherein they declare, first, That this schisme by their obstinacie and the long continuance thereof, is turned to an heresie. Secondly, That in auncient schismes, if the lawfull Pope himselfe doe not his best endeuours to extinguish them, he is to be accounted a nourisher of them, and consequently of the heresie; and that the Cardinals ought to forsake him, and to withdraw their obedience from him, as from a man incorrigible, and an heretike: and if they should refuse to doe so, they were likewise fauourers of the schisme and heresie, which they made good by many Canons and Ecclesiasticall lawes. Thirdly, That both Popes refused the meanes of vnion, and so were both faultie; and therefore he that of the two had most right to the Popedome, at the request of any prouinciall Councell, or the instance of a secular Prince, ought to leaue the Popedome, and to permit the Cardinals to proceed to a new election: which if he did not agree vnto, they were to forsake him. By which reason he condemned them both, and consequently their Acts and ordinations. And here let our aduersaries consider, where that succession then was they so much boast of. In the nineteenth chapter there is an Epistle in mitre, sent to *Gregorie*, and his adherents, who of the two was thought to haue the better right. It began with these verses.

Trall. 6. c. 16.

Cap. 19.

Perfide qui phreneſi raptus Plutonis
Tartareis inuectus equis, hereſimque ſecutus.
Auſus es Eccleſiæ tentare periula ſanctæ.

Perfidious wretch carried with *Plutoes* frenzie,
On hellish horses, and following Heresie,
Hast dared to attempt the danger of holie Church!

If this man were thought to come from the diuell, what shall we thinke of the other? As for his Cardinals, they were tainted with all horrible wickednesse, yea Sodomie it selfe. In the selfesame stile is that other written in the eight and twentieth chapter, whose Author *F.* writeth himselfe *of Verona the faithfull seruant of Christ.* This setteth out the nephewes of *Gregorie* and his Cardinals in their colours, infamous for treacherie, hypocrisie, simonie.

Iam Nero, iamque Magus, non vlli gratia gratis
Affluxit veſtrum, &c.

Now *Nero*, now *Magus*, neuer came grace gratis
from you to any, &c.

And let not the Reader thinke it lost labour to read it out, nor that Epistle of *Theodorick* in the sonne and twentieth chapter. In the nine and twentieth chapter he sets downe an Epistle written at that time in the name of *Sathan Emperor of the kingdomes of Acheron*, to *John Dominick* of the Order of Preachers, professor in Diui-

Idem 24. Cap. 29.

A Diuinitie, created Cardinall by S. *Sixtus*, chosen Bishop of Ragusa, whom he calleth *the scholer of perdition, the workshopper of six workes*, to whom he wisheth *health, and pride euerlasting*. There he thanks him for his good endeuors he vsed to breake the vnion, and to excuse the periuries of *Gregorie*, to put in practise his hypocrisie, luxurie, simonie: thereby discouering all the infamies both of the Pope and Cardinals of those times. But the Author himselfe in the 39 chapter, in good earnest, and without iesting, cunningly describes the manners of Ecclesiasticall persons in Italie: *They are alwayes carefull (saith he) to aduance their brethren, kindred, and nephewes, honouring them with Ecclesiasticall titles, at whose gates there are seldome or neuer seene any poore, and if perhaps any poore bodie beg an altars of a Bishop or Abbot, they presently turne away their eyes; and if perhaps extreame wants vrge him to aske the second time, they threaten him. Into the Apostolike chamber there is euerie day carried great store of gold, but it is neuer filled. They are a wicked generation, who carrie swords in steed of teeth, to eat vp the poore from off the earth. Amongst them are many bloud-suckers, that crie bring, bring. The officers of the chamber are called* Gentes Camerae, *the Gentiles of the Camber*: and well may they be so called, for *Gentes are barbarous nations, hauing manners and lawes strange, and different from the lawes of men vsing reason. For as Turkes and Tartarians vse those vnfortunate Christians that fall into their hands, roughly and inhumanely, so those* Gentes Camerae, *Gentiles of the Chamber, being voyd of all pitie and pietie, spare not those new Ecclesiasticall Prelats that are promoted amongst vs, by strange and exquisite meanes, of all their substance. And if perhaps they be not able to pay the full summe which the Chamber requires of them, but a time must be giuen for the paiment thereof (which grace is seldome granted) and to a few) they extort from them such horrible oathes, that there is no wise man that will not feare to take them, either to obtaine a great benefice, or to auoyd as great an euill. And vpon this delay letters are giuen him in the Chamber, non propter Iesum tantum, not for the loue of Iesus only, but for siluer, if there be any remaining for the expence of his iourney homeward: so that being freed from this Chamber, he may well say,*

Cap. 36. & 37.

B

C

D

Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator.

He that empties purse trauels on the way,
May boldly before the theefe sing or say.

E

For all pietie, mercie, and clemencie, haue taken their flight from thence. And if thou art to pay a thousand Florins in gold, and one of them want but a halfpenie in weight, except thou deliuer one more weightie than that, or supplie that in siluer which it wanteth in gold, there is no departing, notwithstanding that what Florins they receiue of others, they pay againe to others without weight and measure. And if a Prelat, within the yere wherein he is bound to pay the remainder, discharge not the Chamber, be he the most excellent Doctor in the world, of a Bishop he is made a Clerke, of an Abbot a Monke, of a Prior a poster; there being no law or iustice to relieue him. O our iust Gentiles, one day to haue their portions with the infernall Furies, or Harpies, and thirstie Tantalus, who are neuer satisfied. They haue hard heads, and flintie breasts, made of the stones of Deucalion, and hearts harder than steele, without all compassion. Vnhappie therefore is that poore Prelat, who being intangled in the nets of that Chamber, is enforced to endure such torment. Touching the Popes of his time, well knowne to himselfe, he spake ingeniously: of *Vrban* the sixt, *Before the time of his election to be Pope, so long as he was conuersant in the Court of Rome, he was reputed humble and deuout; but he was no sooner setled in the*

the Popedome; but he was changed into another man: he began to tyrannize, ill demeaning himſelfe towards thoſe Cardinals that had choſen him, and doing other outrages vnaduiſedly. He had a nephew called Francis Pregnan, an vnprofitable member, & more licentious than is fit to be ſpoken, vpon whom he would beſtow many dukedomes and earledomes in the kingdome of Sicilia, and intitled him vnto them, and would willingly, if it had beene in his power, haue made him Souldan of Babylon too, notwithſtanding it were too apparent that he was vnable to gouerne a ſmall familie. To conclude, there was no man euer in the Popedome more wicked and more cruell, in ſo much that hee cauſed many Biſhops and Cardinals barbarouſly and cruelly to be murthered. Secum ſuper hoc, vt æſtimo diabolo diſpenſante, *the diuell, as I thinke, diſpenſing with him for it, or at leaſtwiſe ioyning with him in the execution thereof.* Of *Boniface* the ninth. *He was of a goodlie ſtature, but a vicious nature: For we read of none that euer haue rule in the Apoſtolike See, that durſt preſume ſo publikely, and with ſo little ſhame to commit the ſinne of ſimonie, ſcandalizing without reſpect of difference, and ordaining Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prelats, Clerkes, and Prieſts, and all for gaine. He likewiſe made his brothers Marqueſſes, Dukes, Earles.* Of *Innocent* the ſeuenth. *In him vertue and vice was at variance: he was a great diſſembler, firie in carnall affection: He enriched his kindred with temporalties, and tooke no care to confirme the vnion in the Church, which he had promiſed, and ſworne to doe.* Of *Gregorie* the twelfth. *How he hath and doth carrie himſelfe touching his kindred, and that vnion that is to be made by him, is apparent ynough. And theſe foure gaue no almes, which is a ſigne of damnation, vnlike though a fault in all, yet worſt in a Prelat, becauſe no man can be ſaued without charitie.* And this he writ being Nota-

An. 1408. rie of the Apoſtolike letters, in the yeare 1408. There was likewiſe an Epiſtle directed to this *Gregorie*, which he calleth *deluſorie* of the officers of the Church of Rome, wherein he is called, *The damnable forerunner of Antichriſt.* Neither is *Benedict* his competitor forgotten therein. There they proteſt, That the world from thence forward will make no account of their excommunications, but rather make a jeaſt of them, ſince it manifeſtly appeareth, that they both draw men into open perdition, being the one and the other vnworthie of the Popedome; eſpecially *Gregorie*, to whom they attributed moſt, was a drunkard, an heretike, a deſtroyer of the Church of God, a man accurſed. And in like manner they ſpeake of his moſt familiar friends, namely of *Gabriel*, who was afterward *Eugenius* the fourth, whom they call his firſt borne, ſprung from his raines; and of the Cardinall of Raguſe, they ſay he was a Demoniacall Monke, *an infernall Legat*: and the like of diuers others. The Author in the end concludeth, That this ſchiſme was come to that paſſe, that the Princes of both parts contemned theſe Popes; and nothing regarding their Bulls, knit themſelues in friendſhip, alliances, and mariages one with the other; in ſuch ſort that a man might truely ſay, that all things on both ſides were doubtfull, *We haue neither a true Pope, nor a true king of the Romans.* Behold here againe that ſucceſſion they boaſt of. He likewiſe writ a treatiſe *of the inueſtiture of Biſhops and Abbots*, and attributeth the right to the Emperour. *Henrie Token*, Deligat of the Biſhop of Magdeburge in the Councell of Baſil, maketh mention of him in his treatiſe, *That the Councell is aboue the Pope.*

Here our France doth the rather offer it ſelfe to our conſideration, becauſe one of theſe contendants was then reſident at Auignion. *Clement* therefore being departed, the Cardinals choſe *Petrus de Luna*, called *Benedict*. *Froiſſard* ſaith, That the election was made vpon condition, *If it pleaſed the king of France and his Counſell*, otherwiſe he was not to be receiued: yea, that when he gaue the king to vnderſtand *of his Popedome*, he carelеſly anſwered, That it was doubtfull whether *hee*

ſhould

ſhould acknowledge him to be the true Pope or no. He ſent therefore vnto him ſome of the moſt learned of the Vniuerſitie of Paris, as maſter *Iohn* of Gigencourt, maſter *Peter Playons*, & others, to admoniſh him, That the Chriſtian faith was much weakned by this ſchiſme, & that the Church could not long continue in that ſtate: In ſo much that the Vniuerſitie of Paris was not of opinion, that the Clergie ſeeking grace and fauour, ſhould ſend their petitions to Auignon, notwithſtanding that *Benedict* had before opened the fountaine of grace to all Clergie men: which the king likewiſe forbad by their counſell, vntill it were otherwiſe determined. The Duke of Britaine did the like, notwithſtanding ſome Princes of France fauoured *Benedict*, becauſe he denied them nothing. The king therefore without the knowledge of the Pope, diſpoſed of ſuch benefices as were voyd, in ſo much that the Cardinals began to feare leaſt he ſhould likewiſe lay hands vpon thoſe benefices they held within the kingdome; and therefore they ſent a Legat vnto him, to aſſure him, That if *Benedict* were leſſe pleaſing vnto him, they would enter the Conclaue againe to chuſe another to his owne contentment. The Legat being heard, and withall a Frier Minorite, who reſided with the king in behalfe of *Boniface* Pope of Rome, it was concluded in Councell, not without the conſent of the Vniuerſitie, *That both the riuals ſhould be commaunded to reſigne the Popedome, and all the Cardinals their Cardinallſhips, and that certaine Clergiemen, that were men knowne to be honeſt and of a good conſcience, ſhould be choſen out of Germanie, France, and other nations, who deliberating of the cauſe amongſt themſelues, with good aduice, and without all feare, ſhould reſtore the Church to her former ſtate and vnitie.* Which ſentence of the Vniuerſitie the king approued, and ſo did the Dukes of Orleance and Burgundie, and their Counſellors. Whereupon he ſent embaſſadous to the kings of Germanie, Bohemia, Hungarie, and England (vndertaking for the kingdome of Caſtille, Navarre, Arragon, Sicilia, Naples, and Scotland) that they ſhould yeeld their obedience vnto him to whomſoeuer he and his realme ſhould grant his. There was much time ſpent in theſe embaſſages, but yet with this fruit, That *Richard* king of England agreed to whatſoeuer the king of France thought conuenient: and the Emperour *Wenceſlaus*, in the yeare 1398, with many other great Princes, came to Rheimes to conſider of this buſineſſe with the king: notwithſtanding he pretended the cauſe of this his journey to bee the mariage of the daughter of the Duke of Orleance to the Marqueſſe ſon of Brandebourg. There, after many deliberations, thoſe great Princes being aſſiſted with the greateſt and graueſt perſonages of their States, decree, That *Petrus de Alliaco* Biſhop of Cambray, ſhould goe in their names to *Boniface* at Rome, and there ſhould ſummon him to renounce his Popedome, that a new election might be made; wherein that right which he had ſhould be ſtill reſerued: and hauing receiued his anſwer, hee ſhould likewiſe doe the like to *Benedict*; the Emperour and king promiſing each of them for the kings and Princes their allies and confederats, to confirme this their decree. The Biſhop therefore, one of the greateſt men of name in thoſe times, tooke his journey to Rome, where hauing had audience, the Cardinalls thinking it neceſſarie to diſſemble, aduiſe *Boniface* to anſwer, That he would willingly yeeld to whatſoeuer he ſhould be by them aduiſed; prouided, that *Benedict* ſhould renounce the name of Pope, and then he would be readie whereſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe them to appoynt the Conclaue. And yet the Romans at that time murmuring hereat, becauſe they feared they ſhould thereby looſe that gaine they hoped for by the Iubilie, he anſwereth them ingeniouſly, *My ſonnes, aſſure your ſelues I will continue Pope, and whatſoeuer theſe kings ſhall determine, I will neuer ſtand*

Froiſſard. l. 4. c. 58.

to their arbitrement. This was concealed from the Biſhop of Cambray: He therefore returned to the Emperour, who ſent him to the king with this meſſage, That he was firſt to make *Benedict* to ſubmit himſelfe, ſince *Boniface* his obedience depended thereupon. Whereupon our Nobles and Prelats aſſembled at Paris, whether neuertheleſſe the king, out of his wiſedome, thought it not good to call the Archbiſhops of Rheimes, Rouen, and Sens, becauſe the Pope had many wayes bound them vnto him. There, by the councell of the Vniuerſitie of Paris, it was determined, *That the king ſhould preſently ſend Monſieur Boucicant, his Marſhall, into the parts of Auignon, who either by treatie, or any other meanes, ſhould endeuour that Benedict ſhould yeeld his Popedome to the Counſell of the king of France; and that the Church to the vtmoſt bounds of the kingdome, ſhould follow neither part, vntill by the iudgement and decree of the Prelats who were deligated to that purpoſe, the vnion were confirmed.* The Biſhop of Cambray arriued at Auignon, leauing the Marſhall at Lyons, there to attend the newes: but as he deliuered his meſſage, *Benedict* (ſaith *Froiſſard*) *changed colour, and with a lowd voyce ſayd, They will that I yeeld to renounce my Popedome, whileſt I liue I will neuer doe it; And I would haue the king of France to vnderſtand, that what he appointeth I will not doe, but I will retaine my name and Popedome to the death.* To which the Biſhop anſwered, *I tooke you to be wiſer than I find you: take a day to conſider better of the matter with your brethren.* Whereupon they being aſſembled together, and the Cardinall of Amiens ſhewing, That whether they would or no, they muſt be obedient to the kings, and that the king of France did alreadie threaten the loſſe of the fruits of their benefices, whereby many did alreadie ſtagger; he grew the more obſtinat: *I will not reſigne* (ſaith he) *nor ſubmit my Popedome to any treatie, for any King, Duke, Earle, whoſoeuer.* And with thoſe words he diſmiſſed the Biſhop, adding withall, *You ſhall ſay to our ſonne of France, That hitherto we haue taken him for a good Catholike, whom now wee ſee by a wrong information fallen into errour, but he ſhall repent him of it.* Whereupon the Biſhop went preſently to the Marſhall *Boucicant*, who was come as farre as Port S. Andrew, nine leagues diſtant from Auignon: who preſently vpon the newes ſent for the nobilitie and men of warre from all parts, ſtopping the paſſages both by land and water, and by a Herauld denounced warre againſt *Benedict* within his palace. His Cardinals almoſt all ſtudied how to ſatisfie the king, and ſo did the citizens of Auignon: but he perſiſting ſtill obſtinat, told them their citie was ſtrong, that he would ſend for the king of Arragon to his ayd, *who he knew would come to ſerue him*, being bound therunto both by propinquitie in bloud, and that obedience which he did owe vnto the Pope: and that they were frighted with ſmall matters. But the Marſhall hauing threatned the inhabitants, That he would burne all their vines and houſes in the field: without the knowledge of the Pope they reſolued, with ſome of the Cardinals who ioyned with them (that is to ſay, of Amiens, Poictiers, Neufchaſtel, Viuiers, and diuers others) to receiue him into the citie, and to beſiege the palace, vpon condition that he ſhould offer no violence to them or theirs: which was performed on both ſides. *Benedict* in the meane time defended himſelfe in his palace, being well furniſhed with all manner of victuall, and ſtill expecting the comming of the king of Arragon, to whom, if he would now ſet him at libertie, hee promiſed by an inſtrument drawne to that purpoſe, to keepe his reſidence at Perpignan: but his anſwer was this, *Doth this Prieſt thinke, that I, to defend his ſubtilties, will vndertake a warre againſt the king of France? the world would thinke I was ill aduiſed.* And the nobilitie likewiſe that were about him, were of opinion, That the king of France was ſo wiſe, that he would do nothing

A nothing that was vnlawfull, and that it was fit that the Clergie ſhould learne how to obey their Lords, from whom they had their maintenance, & remember from whom they receiued their good. He therefore reſolued, by the king of France his example, and at his requeſt, to follow neither part: And the greateſt part of his Clergie & kingdome were of this opinion, ſince by no other means the peace and vnion of the Church could be reſtored. *Benedict* therefore ſeeing himſelfe thus forſaken, and his prouiſion to decreaſe apaſe, began to flie vnto mercie: The conditions were theſe, That he would not depart out of the palace of Auignon, vntil the vnion of the Church were reſtored, a ſpeciall gard in the meane time being appointed ouer him, and ſome of the principall Cardinals & citizens bound
B to haue him forth comming *dead or aliue*: which being done the armie was diſmiſſed. Theſe are the words of *Froiſſard*. So the king of France performed that which he had concluded with the Emperour, whereof he preſently gaue him to vnderſtand by an honourable embaſſage, the chiefe whereof was the Patriarch of Hieruſalem, who was to require of the Emperour, according to promiſe, the like faith and diligence in this buſineſſe. Now there were that had giuen their conſent to this neutralitie, the kings of Spain, Scotland, Arragon, Nauarre, to whom by the authoritie and endeuour of the Emperour, there ioyned the Germans, Hungarians, Bohemians, Italians; ſo that England onely remained, for whom the king of France had paſt his word. But king *Richard* could not perſuade his Cler-
C gie thereunto, they alledging, *That this Richard of Bourdeaux was wholly French,* and that they would be aduiſed by ſome other than a Frenchman. Beſides he was ſhortly after troubled in ſuch ſort with his domeſticall affaires, that he had no leyſure to thinke of foreine matters. Yea not ſo much as the people of Liege but they reſolued to forſake *Boniface* at Rome, and to embrace this neutralitie, to whom, the better to retaine them in their faith and obedience, hee ſent a Legat, but he, not daring to paſſe any farther, ſtayed at Cologne, and from thence by a carrier ſent letters; who was forbid to returne to the Legat, except he loued to be caſt into the riuer Moſa. Thus was the miſerable ſtate of the Church knowne to the whole world. And this brings vs to the yeare 1399. *Froiſſard. c. 97. 98. 99.* *cap. 120.* *An. 1399.*

D There paſſed many yeares in theſe contentions betwixt theſe Popes, either of them intending vnion, whileſt neither of them embraced it; and both of them in their owne juriſdictions, amongſt whom they were obeyed, *laying exactions, burthens, and exerciſing tyrannie vpon the Churches:* violently exacting likewiſe certain annuities, brought in by the inuention of *Boniface*, whereſoeuer their power did extend. Whereupon there followed a Decree of our Parliament, aſſiſted by the great Councell, dated the eleuenth of September, in the yeare 1406, the Vniuerſitie of Paris requeſting the ſame: by which it was forbidden to be payd to the Pope, or any of his Cardinals; and if afterwards they ſhall requeſt it, not to receiue any thing from him, or to haue ought to doe with him: In the narration
E whereof the Vniuerſitie feared not to ſay, that it is written, *Withdraw your ſelues from euerie brother that walketh inordinatly*; preſently adding that of the Apoſtle, *I know that after my departure ſhal grieuous Wolues enter in amongſt you, not ſparing the flocke*; and that of the Prophet, *Becauſe my flocke was ſpoyled, and my ſheepe were deuoured of the beaſts of the field, hauing no ſhepheard: neither did my ſhepheards feed my ſheep, but the ſhepheards feed themſelues, and feed not my ſheep, therefore* (ſayth the Lord) *I will cauſe them to ceaſe from feeding the ſheepe; neither ſhall the ſhepheards feed themſelues any more, for I will deliuer my ſheepe from their mouthes, and they ſhall no more deuour them.* Which words the Vniuerſitie applies to *Benedict*; ſhewing likewiſe, that *An. 1406.* *Arreſtum Curiæ an 1406. impreſſum cum Nicholao Clemangis.*

that Rome receiued the preheminence of her See from *Conſtantine*, but yet had A
not therefore any power to command or to impoſe any thing vpon others. There
followeth the Edict of *Charles* the ſixt, then raigning, dated the eighteenth of Fe-
bruarie, in the yeare 1406, whereby both his annuities, and *his baſer ſeruices*, as
they call them, and innumerable the like grieuances and oppreſſions, which are
there particularly expreſſed, are vtterly made voyd, as being dangerous to the
Church and Commonweale, cauſes of pouertie amongſt the people, and perdi-
tion to a million of poore ſoules, that by that meanes are deſtitute both of corpo-
rall and ſpirituall nouriſhment. The occaſion of this Edict was, becauſe the later
moderne Popes being often admoniſhed, made no account thereof, but hardened
themſelues, and ſtopped their eares againſt all complaints: Another cauſe was, B
becauſe the regall power for the eſtabliſhing of the Church, is ordained of God,
in ſo much that the celeſtiall kingdome may be amended by the terreſtriall; when
the Church is deſtroyed by them who hold the higheſt places therein, and are to
be repreſſed by the ſeueritie of Princes, to whom in ſuch caſes we are only to flie,
ſince by their oath made vnto God they are to prouide for the good of the
Church, otherwiſe to yeeld an account: In this caſe eſpecially, wherein all the
Doctors teach, That we are to denie obedience to the Pope himſelfe. And this
whole Edict is yet to be read, much differing from that their axiome, That the
Pope hath the chiefeſt commaund both in heauen and on earth. Theſe things fell
out in the time of *Innocent* the ſeuenth, one of the competitors. *Gregorie* his ſuc- C
ceſſor thought good at the firſt to flatter vs, and by his Legat ſent a Bull to the
king; wherein he promiſeth in good earneſt to doe his beſt endeuour to procure
a vnion vpon thoſe conditions before mentioned: It bare date the eleuenth of
December 1406, and is to be had in Monſtrelet. Whereupon the king and the
Vniuerſitie of Paris, the matter being deliberated with the chiefe of the Clergie
and Councell, ſent embaſſadours to *Benedict*, the Patriarch of Alexandria, the Bi-
ſhops of Cambray and Beauvais, the Abbots of S. Denis, and Mount S. Michael,
and certaine Doctors of the Vniuerſitie, who ſhould let him vnderſtand, That ex-
cept he would doe his office, and come to ſome reaſon, that the king and the Dol-
phine would withdraw themſelues from his obedience, and refuſe his Bulls. *Bene-* D
dict continuing obſtinat in his purpoſes, entertained the embaſſadours with fayre
words; and in the meane time, without the knowledge of his Cardinals, made a
conſtitution, which he ſent by ſpeciall meſſengers to the king and Vniuerſitie,
threatening grieuous puniſhment to all thoſe that ſhould withdraw themſelues from the
Monſtrelet. vol. 1. c. 33. *obedience of himſelfe and his ſucceſſors.* And afterwards with doubtfull ſpeeches
ſent away the Embaſſadours. The king and his Councell began now to perceiue,
that theſe Popes abuſed the world, both the one and the other, but yet are no-
thing terrified therewith. But the yeare following they ſent *John de Caſtromorando*,
Idem 1. Cap. 40. and *John de Courſeno*, knights, to *Benedict*, to let him know, *That if the vnion were* E
not reſtored to the Church by Aſcention day, that he, the Clergie, Nobles, and people of
his kingdome, and Dolphine, would no longer obey him nor his aduerſarie. To whom he
anſwered without delay, That he would ſend an anſwer by a ſpeciall meſſenger;
who was a certaine man, I know not who, that came into the palace of S. *Paul*,
where the kings Court then was, and entring into the kings Oratorie at the be-
ginning of Maſſe, deliuered *Benedict* his letters, and preſently departed. The
letters were read, which contained an excommunication againſt the king and his
ſubiects: but the meſſenger vaniſhed. Wherefore the king by the counſell of his
Princes, and the perſuaſion of the Vniuerſitie of Paris, forſooke the Pope, and
with-

A withdrew himſelfe from his obedience. The letters are to be read in the ſame
Authour, wherein the Pope complaineth, *That the ſubiects of his kingdome rebell*
againſt the Church of Rome, in appealing from him againſt the canonicall conſtitutions,
and that the king permitted diuers errours to be ſowed therein, contrarie to the puritie
of the law. So he calleth the reprehenſion of his exactions. Furthermore, that the
vnion which he dreames of is properly a ſinne, and a perſeuerance in a Schiſme,
and that ſuch as exhort him thereunto doe but abuſe him: Concluding, that if he
continue in this vaine errour, beſides thoſe puniſhments and ſentences pronoun-
ced in the law, he will ſend conſtitutions comprehended in his Bull, by the tenor
whereof both he, and all other that ſhall offend ſhalbe puniſhed. Theſe letters ne-
B uertheleſſe are intermingled with ſome flatterie, but the Bull marres all: *We excom-*
municat all thoſe that ſhall appeale from vs, or our ſucceſſors the biſhops of Rome, entring
into the Popedome by the right way; and all ſuch as ſhall yeeld any helpe or fauour to any
ſuch appellants or perturbers &c. or ſhall affirme them not to be bound and excommunt-
cated by our ſentence, of what degree or dignitie ſoeuer they be, whether Cardinals, Patri-
arches, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, of authoritie or maieſtie royall or imperiall, of what ſoeuer
ſtate or condition eccleſiaſticall or ciuile; from which ſentence none can be abſolued but by
the Pope, except it be at the poynt of death, &c. Which excommunication being denoun-
ced by vs, if he ſhall obſtinatly beare, for the ſpace of 20 daies, if he be a prince we ſubiect
him to the determination of the Church, with all his lands, townes, cities, caſtles, &c. If V-
C *niuerſities, ſo likewiſe &c. Notwithſtanding all liberties, graces, Apoſtolike indulgences,*
graunted from vs, or our predeceſſors. Now it was in the beginning of the yere 1408,
that the vniuerſitie of Paris by the mouth of Maſter *John Courteheuſe*, a Norman, in
the great hall of the palace of Paris, made their complaint in the preſence of the
kings of Fraunce and Sicilia, the dukes of Barry, of Bar, and Brabant, the Earles of
Mortaigne, Neuers, S. Paul, & Tancarville, the Rector of the vniuerſitie and depu-
ties thereof, and a great multitude of the Nobilitie, Clergie and people, alſo the
earle of Warwicke an Engliſhman, and the embaſſadours of Scotland and Gali-
cia. The text of this maſter *John* was taken out of the 7. Pſal. v. 16. *His miſchiefe ſhal*
returne vpon his owne head, and his crueltie ſhall fall vpon his owne pate. From which
D words he drue ſix concluſions. The firſt was, *That Petrus de Luna* (that is *Bene-*
dict) *was an obſtinat Schiſmatike, yea, an heretike, a troubler of the peace and vnitie of*
the Church. The ſecond, *That he was not to be called a Pope, nor a Cardinall, or to be*
honoured with any other title of dignitie, nor obeyed as a Paſtour of the Church, vpon
thoſe paynes ordayned againſt ſuch as fauour Schiſmatikes. The third, *That the acts,*
ſayings, collations, prouiſions, &c. from the date of the letter made in forme of a Bull,
and all puniſhments Temporall and Spirituall, publique or priuate therein conteyned,
were of no force. The fourth, *That the ſayd letters were wicked, ſeditious, full of*
fraud, troubled the peace, offended his royall Maieſtie. The fifth, *That thoſe letters*
are not to be obeyed, and he that doth obey them to be cenſured as a fauourer of Schiſma-
E *tikes.* The ſixt, *That the ſayd Peter his fauourers, and ſuch as receiued his letters, were*
to be proceeded againſt by a courſe of law. Whereupon the Vniuerſitie requeſted his
Maieſtie, Firſt, *That due inquiſition ſhould be made of thoſe letters, and their receiuers,*
that ſuch a puniſhment might be inflicted vpon them, as the Vniuerſitie at fit time and
place ſhould appoint. Secondly, *That the king nor any of his realme, ſhould any more*
receiue any letters from Benedict. Thirdly, *That the Vniuerſitie of Paris might be en-*
ioyned by the commaund of the king, to preach the truth throughout the whole kingdome.
Fourthly, *That the Biſhop of S. Flour, Maſter Peter de Courſelles, Sancien de Leu Deane*
of S. Germain d'Auxerre, being apprehended, ſhould be puniſhed according to their deme-

rits, that is, for ioyning in Councell with the Pope. Fiftly, *That, that pretended Bull might be torne, as iniurious and offensiue to the Maiestie of the king: the Vniuersitie protesting to proceed to greater matters touching the faith,* (note these words) *and to expound them, and to shew them to those to whom it appertayned.* All which being granted by the king to the Vniuersitie, the Popes letters were presently in that honourable assemblie torne by the Rector of the Vniuersitie; the aboue named apprehended and cast into prison in the Louvre, and the messinger that brought the Bull by the diligence of the kings Proctour was taken, not farre from Lyons, and brought backe bound to Paris. Which *Benedict* vnderstanding, was so astonished, that with foure of his Cardinals, by Venus gate he secretly stole away, and went to Perpignan.

There was, in the moneth of August following, another assemblie touching the same matter, where the Chauncellor of France was president, all these Princes and great personages assisting as before. There a certaine Doctour of Diuinitie, famous amongst the Dominicans, tooke vpon him to expound that Scripture in the 14 of the Romans, verse 19, *Let vs follow those things that concerne peace, and wherewith one may edifie another.* In the handling whereof, he proueth *Benedict* a Schismatike, six wayes, his Bulls fraudulent and injurious, and that the king in that he tooke part with neither, and had withdrawne himselfe from the obedience of both, had done that which was right and iust. But in the meane time (saith *Monstrelet*) *Master Sanctien, and the messenger of Peter de Luna* (*Benedict*) *who had brought the letters before mentioned to the king, both Arragonians, being both mytred, and attired with habillaments wherin the armes of Peter de Luna were painted vpside down, were drawne out of the Louvre vpon a sled, into the court of the Palace: where, neere the marble pillar that is next the staires, there was a Scaffold built, whereupon they were set to be seene of all that would behold them; and on their myters there was written, These are disloyall to the Church and King.* The day after, there was a Councell held againe in the Palace, where Master *Vrsinus Taluenda*, Doctour of Diuinitie, spake for the Vniuersitie of Paris, and tooke his Theame out of the 122. Psal. v. 7. *Peace be within thy walles, &c.* In the handling whereof he exhorted the King and Princes, to prouide a remedie for this Schisme, prouing *Peter* to be a Schismatike and an heretike, and all that obeyed him to incurre the punishment due to the fauourers of Schismes and heresies, *alledging many examples of the Popes of Rome that made to that purpose.* Moreouer, he did earnestly request that the Bulls might be publiquely torne, with others of that kind brought to Thoulouse; which was presently graunted and put in execution the twentieth of August 1408. *And all Prelats and other ecclesiastical persons likewise commaunded within the confines of their benefices, with a loud voyce to publish this neutrallitie, &c. And the morrow after, both the Arragonians before named, were againe led through the Citie, and put to open shame vpon a Scaffold, as formerly they had beene.* Which vigour and courage is so much the rather worth the noting, because it fell out in the most perilous diuisions of our State. Now it followed that the Cardinals, both of the one part and the other, taking heart, for the most part forsooke both Popes, & assembled themselues at Pisa, where in a Councell, they deposed them both, as being both heretikes and Schismatikes: The acts of which Councell are set downe at large in certaine letters of the Abbot of S. *Maxence* to the bishop of Poictiers, who was present at that Councell. There, a certaine bishop of Arragon, a great Doctour of Diuinitie, in a solemne Sermon, chose for his text that of the Apostle, *Purge the old leauen &c.* wherein he feared not to say, *That they were no more Popes than his old*

cap.52.

cap.53.& 54.

shooes, worse than Annas and Caiphas, yea, to be compared to the Diuels of hell. Whereby, let the Reader judge of those Archbishops & Prelats that he ordayned, and of those things that by them were done whom he ordayned. The selfesame is to be read in the letters of the Embassadours of the Vniuersitie of Paris, to their Lords and Masters, *That the neutrallitie and subtraction of obedience was good and lawfull, and the processe and sentences of the competitors against those that had withdrawne themselues, iustly pronounced to be of no force:* Approuing in all respects the sentence of the Vniuersitie. As there is likewise extant the definitiue sentence against both the contendants, *for their horrible sinnes*, and a reuocation of all their acts in the yeare last past, with the Epistle of *Alexander* the fifth to the Bishop of Paris, who expresly pronounced them *the enemies of God and his Church, for their grieuous and horrible notorious sinnes.* cap.67.

Iohn the foure and twentieth (*alias*, the three and twentieth) the successour of *Alexander*, in the yeare 1410, sent his Legats, namely the Archbishop of Pisa, *to demaund the Tenthes due in the vacancie, procurations, and mortuaries.* The Vniuersitie assembled at the Bernerdins, the three and twentieth of Nouember, and calling vnto them such Prelats as were then at Paris, concluded, that those Lawes and ordinances aboue mentioned, made in the yeare 1406, were to be defended, that is to say, That the Church of Fraunce was freed, from all tenthes, procurations, and other subsidies and annuities whatsoeuer. And if the Pope or his Legats, shall constrain any man by ecclesiastical censure to pay them, that it should be lawfull to appeale from them to a generall Councell. And if any of the collectors shall goe about to exact them, they are to be punished with the losse of their goods, if they haue any; if not, with imprisonment. They humblie besought the king and the Councell thus to determine the matter, and his Proctor generall to joyne with the sayd Vniuersitie. But if the Pope should alledge some manifest necessitie of the Church, that a Councell should be called, wherein some charitable subsidie should be determined of, which honest men chosen by the Councell should gather, and being gathered, by the authoritie thereof distribute it. The Munday following, there was called a royall Councell, where the Archbishop deliuered vnto them, That what he demaunded, was due to the Apostolike chamber by law Diuine, canon, ciuile, and naturall, *which, whomsoeuer should denie to pay, was no Christian.* Let the Reader here note, the definition of a Christian. The Rector interrupting him affirmed, That these words were pronounced to the dishonour of the king, and the Vniuersitie, and consequently of the whole realme. Wherefore, the thirtieth of Nouember, he called a generall congregation, wherein it was agreed to send Orators to the king, to request that the Legat might be commaunded to reuoke his words, and if he should refuse to doe it, that then the professours, graduats of Diuinitie and Law, should write against him, *vpon the Articles of the faith,* That both he and his Colleagues might accorading to their desart be punished. That they would likewise write to all other Vniuersities and Prelats to ioyne with them in this controuersie, and to the Archbishop of Rheimes likewise, and others of the kings grand Councell to that purpose, who haue bin sworne to the sayd Vniuersitie; otherwise, to be depriued that dignitie. Whereupon the Popes Legats departed without taking their leaue. Neuertheless the Pope is nothing at all herewith discomfited, but sendeth his Legats againe to the king to require the Tenths imposed vpon Fraunce, who pronounced in the kings Councell, the duke of Aquitan being present, That not only the Church of Fraunce, but all others whatsoeuer were bound to this subsidie,

An. 1410. *Bochell. l. 2. Decret. Eccles. Gallicane p. 323. 324. Idem l. 4. p. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. ex ijdem.*

not

not onely by the poſitiue law, but alſo by the law of God. The Vniuerſitie with- A
ſtood it, and in a congregation concluded, That the manner in demaunding this ſubſidie was to be reproued as vniuſt, and contrarie to the law before made in the yeare 1406, which they were reſolued to defend. And if the Pope or his Legats ſhould proceed any farther, that they would then appeale to the generall Councell of the Church: and if the gouernours of the new king and kingdome ſhould attempt any thing againſt the ſayd law, they would appeale to the king and the Lords of his Councell. And if any of the Vniuerſitie it ſelfe ſhould goe about to gather theſe tenthes, he was to loſe his rights and priuiledges; if other, his temporalties, if he had any, if not, to ſuffer impriſonment. But if the Pope *by way of charitie* would gather this money, then the Vniuerſitie would beſeech his Maieſtie, B
that the Prelats of the kingdome might be called to deliberat, Firſt, What was to be handled in the next generall Councell: Secondly, What anſwer was to be
Monſtrelet, vol. 1. c. 67. made to the ſupplication of the Popes Legats. So that if a ſubſidy ſhould be granted, that it might be gathered by ſome choſen honeſt men of the kingdome, for the vnion of the Greekes and Latines, the peace of the kingdome of England, the recouerie of Paleſtina, and for the preaching of the Goſpell to all creatures; ſince theſe were the ends for which the Pope (as his owne Legats did affirme) did leuie this ſubſidie. In all which they humbly beſeech the Lords of the Parliament, and the kings Proctors, to yeeld them their helping hand, and to joyne with them. Whereupon the Archbiſhop of Piſa carried himſelfe more humbly towards the C
Vniuerſitie, and began to flatter the principall amongſt them, that hee might win them to deale more mildly with him: but it was to ſmall purpoſe, for the Vniuerſitie continued ſtill conſtant, though the greater part of the Nobles, yea the Princes themſelues, began to faint in their reſolutions.

An. 1416. Here is fit place to ſpeake of the Councell of Conſtance, wherein, in the yeare 1416, a bill was exhibited in the name of the Church of France, and the Vniuerſitie of Paris, called *Apoſtoli*, becauſe *Charles* the ſixt by a Decree of the Court of Parliament, and an Edict following thereupon, had forbid annuities to be paid. It was otherwiſe called *De Annatis non ſoluendis*. Which bill was ſo much the more neceſſarie, becauſe the Cardinals going about to put downe the Antipopes, ende- D
uoured neuertheleſſe to retaine their gaineful arts and inuentions, eſpecially theſe annuities; which their promoters with their reaſons likewiſe defended. There it was diſputed by our Diuines, That thoſe annuities were not due either by the law of God or man: That they were extraordinarily granted to *Iohn* the three and twentieth, for an expedition beyond the ſea, whereupon ſome Popes afterwards vnder other pretences would haue continued them: but the cauſe of them ceaſing, they were to ceaſe too; neither could they be any longer tollerated, eſpecially at this time, wherein Italie, France, Germanie, and England, were at peace and amitie one with the other. And here they ſpent much time in the vnfolding of thoſe exactions that were then in force: Where they proue, That neither the E
Pope nor the Church of Rome could by law impoſe any thing vpon Churches or Churchmen, ſince he was not their Lord, but Chriſt onely: That theſe exactions are contrarie to the minds of their founders, whoſe ſucceſſors complaine vnto the king, That the goods giuen to Churches are transferred to other vſes, yea to the vtter ouerthrow of Church and Commonwealth, and all orders therein: concluding in the end, That the whole nation would neuer pay them, vnder what pretence ſoeuer they were demaunded. It were too tedious a thing here to repeat all their reaſons; the principall are theſe: *Annuities ſeeme to bind men to fall into*

A *into hereſie, taking the word in the larger ſence, that is to ſay, That it is lawfull to buy things ſpirituall, or for ſpirituall to giue ſiluer, or things temporall, &c.* Item, *He that is ſo promoted ſeemeth to commit ſimonie and periurie.* Which they proue by that obligation that was required of Patriarches, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, &c. *You &c. by the Apoſtolike permiſſion and authoritie granted to you in that behalfe, doe freely offer and promiſe of your own wills to giue for your common ſeruice to the Chamber of your moſt holie Father and Lord in Chriſt, Pope Alexander, and the holie and ſacred Colledge of reuerend Fathers and Lords in Chriſt of the Church of Rome, that is to ſay, the Cardinals &c. ſo many Florins of gold of the Chamber, of good and lawfull weight, &c.* with diuers other clauſes verie ſtrait, which they were to ſweare vpon the Euangeliſt, and vn-
B der paine of excommunication, &c.

There flouriſhed in theſe times the Cardinall *Zabarella*, a famous Lawyer, who *Zabarella de ſchiſmate circa annum 1406.* writ of ſchiſme: he feareth not to ſay, That the defenders of the Pope had ſo corrupted the Canon law with their Gloſſes, that there was nothing ſo vnlawfull, which they thought not lawfull for them to doe, in ſo much *that they extolled him aboue God himſelfe, making him more than God.* From whence ſprang infinit errors, the Pope chalenging vnto himſelfe a right ouer all inferior Churches, and making ſmall account of all inferiour Prelats: in ſo much (ſaith he) *that if God giue not his helping hand to the preſent ſtate of the Catholike Church, it is in danger of an vtter ouerthrow.* But at the next Councell it ſhall be neceſſarie to reſtraine this power, and
C to confine it to that which is lawfull, ſince it is a power ſubiect to that of the Church (as it appeares in the fifteenth of the *Acts*) wherein, and not in him, doth the fulneſſe of power reſide, and in a generall Councell, which repreſenteth the Church. In ſo much that the Church neither can, nor euer could transferre that power in ſuch ſort to any one, but that it euer remained wholly in her ſelfe, not in the Pope, whom ſhe had euer power to depoſe. And therefore it is vaine that they commonly boaſt of, That he that is judged by the Church cannot be judged by men, but by God alone. It is in the power of the Emperor (ſaith he) to call Councels, which plainely appeareth by the example of *Conſtantine, Iuſtinian, Charles,*
D *who did preſide, and were chiefe Iudges ouer them, as it appeares by the firſt vniuerſall Nicene Councell, and others*; where, when matters of faith were treated of, the lay people were likewiſe preſent. Neither is it lawfull for the Pope to hinder the calling of Councels, by the intermiſſion whereof the Church incurreth great danger, whileſt the Popes gouerne it after the manner of ſecular Princes, not Eccleſiaſticall Prelats. And that which is more, the Emperour, if hee doubt thereof, may demaund of the Pope a reaſon of his faith; and if he be accuſed of any manifeſt crime, proceed likewiſe againſt him by a courſe of law, and to depoſe him; he being the principall Aduocat and defender of the Catholike Church. As touching the pretended fulneſſe of power, he ſaith, That Saint *Peter* neuer had it,
E *but that he was one of the chiefe Apoſtles and miniſters, to whom, in as much as he bare the perſon of the Church, the keyes were deliuered.* For as well at Antioch as at Rome he tooke vpon him the adminiſtration of his part or portion, no otherwiſe than the reſt did. And therefore the Pope commaunding nothing but what is juſt and lawfull, is to be obeyed: But whereas it is ſaid that he is *ſolutus legibus*, not ſubiect to lawes, it is to be vnderſtood of his owne lawes, and not the law of God, whereunto he is bound as well as others. We muſt therefore beware leaſt that honour be done vnto him, whereby we may make him equall with God, nay in any ſort to adore him, ſince S. *Peter* himſelfe would neuer endure it, but vtterly refuſed it, *Acts* 10. And whereas it is commonly ſaid, That the Church

cannot

cannot erre, he ſaith, it can no way be vnderſtood of the Pope, or of the Church of Rome, but of the Church of Chriſt, and the congregation of the faithfull. And that euerie particular member of the Church is bound to be carefull for the preſeruation of the Catholike faith. And this he ſaith he hath preſumed to write in this manifeſt danger of the Church, moued onely with a zeale of God and his glorie, and not any hope or expectation of reward.

In like manner writ our *Clemangis*, Archdeacon of Bayeux, in his booke *Of the corrupt eſtate of the Church*, which was produced in the Councell of Conſtance: where he ſetteth downe by what degrees the Church roſe to her temporal height and her ſpirituall declination, at one and the ſame time; and by what ſubtilties the Pope got all to himſelfe, and fatted himſelfe by ſtaruing others. Afterwards coming to particular corruptions, *They beare more patiently* (ſaith he) *the loſſe of ten thouſand ſoules, than of ten ſhillings; what ſay I more patiently, yea they beare the ruine and loſſe of ſoules without any motion of the mind: whereof there is with them not onely no care, but no thought at all, whereas for their owne priuat domeſticall loſſes they preſently grow furious.* He ſaith likewiſe a little after, *The ſtudie of Diuinitie, and ſuch as make profeſſion thereof, are made a mocke and ieasting ſtocke (which is moſt monſtrous) to the Popes themſelues, who preferre their owne traditions farre before the commaundements of God. Now that worthie and excellent function of preaching, ſometimes attributed to Paſtors onely, and proper vnto them, is of that baſe account with them, that they thinke nothing more vnworthie, or more vnbefitting their dignitie.* The Monkes are rauening Wolues in ſheepes clothing, diuels transformed into Angels of light, Scribes, Phariſies, hypocrites, painted ſepulchres; to whom hee applies that propheſie of *Paul* againſt falſe Prophets in the laſt times, 2. *Timoth.* 3. and the like places. The Monaſteries of men and women are ſo many brothell houſes, their diuinitie meerely ſcholaſticall, and that properly which S. *Paul* would decipher in theſe words, *They dote about queſtions and ſtrife of words, &c.* Their fruits are like thoſe of the lake of Sodome, outwardly faire, but inwardly ſmoke and aſhes. Ecclesiaſticall perſons are ſimoniacall, no man hath Orders without argent, no man put backe that brings money, be he neuer ſo wicked. To ſuch an exceſſe are they growne in laſciuious wantonneſſe, that their people, the better to defend their wiues chaſtitie, will haue no Prieſts except they haue concubines. The traditions of men, euen the leaſt, are more eſteemed than the lawes of God, which whoſoeuer ſhall omit, or commit any thing againſt them, ſhall bee grieuouſly puniſhed. The Legends of Saints are read in ſtead of Scriptures, and conſequently the Saints brought into the place of God. But becauſe all theſe corruptions, & diuers other the like, are defended vnder the onely name of the Church, he ouerthroweth this foundation. *Notwithſtanding* (ſaith he) *the authoritie of the Church militant be great, becauſe founded vpon a firme rocke, &c. yet we are not to attribute vnto it the titles of the Church triumphant, That it cannot be deceiued, That it cannot ſinne; for many times it deceiueth, and is deceiued, I doe not ſay in matters of faith, &c. but of fact, or manners, or iudgement, &c.* And writing to a ſcholer of Paris, touching certaine ordinances of the Councell of Conſtance, *Truely* (ſaith he) *it ſeemeth not conuenient to me to proue the Acts of the Councell by the Councell, &c. but if all the Acts of the Councell be definitions of faith, when ſome produce many Decrees of the holie Fathers and Synods; on the contrarie part, ſee what a thing it is (this ſchiſme ſtill hanging, and in ſo great varietie of things and opinions, and controuerſies of learned men) to ordaine ſo many articles of faith, whereas it ſeemeth vnto me to be not onely conuenient but neceſſarie, that thoſe other conſtitutions or determinations which they affirme to be alledged by others*

Nicholaus Clemangis in lib. de corrupto Eccleſiæ ſtatu.

Idem in Epiſt. de Theolog. ſtudio.

Idem in Tractatu contra Simoniacos.

Idem contra nouas Sanctorum feſtas.

Idem ad Scholaſticum Pariſiens.

A *others in the contrarie part, ſhould be interpreted in behalfe of the truth and of faith, and proued not to be contrarie to theſe, leaſt otherwiſe the Church might ſeeme to erre in matter of faith, determining the contrarie. And whereas you ſay, That the Decrees of the Fathers are not woont to depend vpon reaſon. Truely, with your good leaue be it ſpoken,* if the queſtion be of faith, or matter in controuerſie, *it is their manner to reſt themſelues vpon reaſons eſpecially drawne out of the Scriptures, or the definitions of the holie Fathers, from whoſe footſteps they depart not without great reaſon, &c. And as for that place of Saint Auguſtine, which you alledge, &c. I ſhould not beleeue the Goſpell if the authoritie of the Church did not compell me. Truely it ſeemes ſtrange at the firſt view, that he ſhould ſeeme to preferre the authoritie of the Church trauelling vpon the earth,*

B *before the authoritie of the Goſpell, ſince in many things that may be deceiued, this neuer; and that the authoritie of the Church, as touching the root and foundation thereof, conſiſts principally of the Goſpell: neither can the inſtitution, power, edification thereof, be drawne from any other, ſo expreſly and certainely, as from the Goſpell; eſpecially ſince Paul himſelfe ſaith thereof, If an Angell from heauen preach vnto you otherwiſe, let him be accurſed: otherwiſe, that is, a contrarie Goſpell.* He therefore anſwereth, That S. *Auguſtine* neuer thought any ſuch thing, but was to deale with the Maniches, who had their Scriptures proper to themſelues, and receiued not ours. As if he ſhould ſay, *It is not out of mine owne particular iudgement, that I receiue the Goſpell for Canonicall Scripture, but the authoritie of the Church which hath acknowledged it to be ſuch:* That

C is to ſay, of the Primitiue and Apoſtolike Church, which hath appointed the Canon of the Scriptures, ſome of thoſe being yet liuing that writ them, Apoſtles, Euangeliſts, Diſciples of the Apoſtles, who could giue teſtimonie to the truth of theſe Scriptures, that this or that man was the Author of this or that booke, being directed by the ſpirit of God; which being inſpired from aboue, ought to be the rule of our faith and Church. *To be briefe* (ſaith he) *thou art not ignorant, that both Chriſt our Law-maker, and his Apoſtles preaching the law and faith vnto vs, alledged many times their proofes out of the old Teſtament, and the ſayings of the Fathers and Prophets, to confirme their owne: than which we can propoſe vnto our ſelues no example more certaine for our imitation, ſince his actions are a moſt infallible inſtruction of our*

D *manners and actions, &c. And therefore it is not their parts who hold the Councell, by a certaine bolneſſe and libertie to doe what pleaſeth them; to thinke with themſelues, Wee are the generall Councell, let vs carrie our ſelues boldly, we cannot erre. They that were at the Councel of Piſa defined, and cauſed it to be publiſhed, That they, by a new election, at the inſtance of certaine ambitious men, had taken away the ſchiſme, and reſtored the peace of the Church. And yet who is ſo blind in the Church, that by experience of things apparently ſeeth not how much this opinion deceiued both themſelues & the whole Church?* For (ſaith he) of what kind of men for the moſt part doe Councels conſiſt? doubtleſſe of Lawyers (Canoniſts) rather than Diuines, *of temporal perſons, whoſe care is of*

E *the things of this world,* not ſpirituall. How then canſt thou hope for a reformation of the Church from them? *If then* (ſaith he) *they aſſemble themſelues for the reuerence of the temporall peace of the Church, there is no neceſſitie that we ſhould preſently beleeue that they are come together in the name of Chriſt: Firſt, becauſe they know not whether it be expedient for the health of the Church, and that Chriſt hath determined by this meanes to heale this diuiſion. For what elſe are temporall afflictions, wherewith the Church is oppreſſed, but bitter potions and medicines, whereby temporal auarice, pride, and wantonneſſe, is beaten downe? And who will ſay, that they are aſſembled in the name of Chriſt, who with this mind ſeeke the vnitie of the Church? who neuertheleſſe are ſo many that they can hardly be numbred. Theſe carnall ſonnes of the Church doe not onely*

not

not care for ſpirituall things, nor haue any feeling of them, but perſecute thoſe that are ac- A
cording to the ſpirit, as ſince the time of iuſt Abel, whom carnall Kaine murdered, it hath
euer beene, and will be to the worlds end. Theſe are they who for temporall commodities
flie to the Church, and liuing like ſecular men, couet and ſcrape, and rob, deſiring to beare
rule, but not to ſerue, glorying in their ſuperioritie, oppreſſing their inferiours, reioycing
in their owne pride and luxurie. They account gaine godlineſſe, and are alwayes readie
to doe and endure whatſoeuer for the encreaſe of their temporalties, howſoeuer they are
gotten; ſcorning and laughing at thoſe that are willing to liue iuſtly, holily, chaſtly, inno-
cently, ſpiritually. To be briefe, they thinke none other learned men to be profitable to the
Church, but ſuch as haue learnt profitable ſciences: With ſuch the Church at this day is
full, that almoſt in euerie Chapter and Colledge none other can hardly be found. Since B
therefore no other are accounted in theſe dayes wiſe in the Church, but theſe temporall
perſons, and all things are ſwayed according to their diſpoſition, if any are to be ſent ei-
ther to the Court of Rome, or of any other ſecular Princes, or to the Councell, in hope of
greater preferment, after which they gape by fauours and interceſſions, with great impor-
tunitie they labour to be ſent. For what doe theſe temporall men but ſeeke for temporall
things, thinke of temporall gaine? Can we thinke that ſuch will endeuour the reformati-
on of the Church in manners and diſcipline, and honeſtie of life, who thinke that reforma-
tion their greateſt calamitie, and deſire nothing ſo much as that it may be lawfull for them
to doe what ſoeuer pleaſeth them freely, without feare of puniſhment, &c. And here hee
deſcribethem at large. But what concludes he hereupon? *Truely ſince the Prophet* C
ſaith, Vpon whom ſhall my ſpirit reſt but vpon the humble, and him that trembleth at my
words, wee muſt not looke that theſe Councels ſhould be ruled by the ſpirit of
God, where the Decrees depend vpon voyces, where for the moſt part carnall,
ambitious, contentious perſons, puffed vp with vaine knowledge, where ſubiects
ill prepared to receiue the ſpirit of God, where the workes of the fleſh, contenti-
ons, emulations, clamors, beare ſway: ſince it is ſayd quite contrarie, *The eyes of*
the Lord are vpon the righteous: Yea ſince our auncient Fathers when they went a-
bout to celebrat a Councell, to the end they might the better obtain the aſſiſtance
of Gods ſpirit therein, prepared themſelues, with prayer, faſting, teares, contriti-
on of heart, humilitie of ſpirit, ſearching and inquiring into the verie inward parts D
of their ſelues, leaſt they ſhould offend any way therein, that might auert his pre-
ſence, and whereby he ſhould not ſpeake more in them than they themſelues. *If*
(ſaith he) *they had by experience found, that they could not be deceiued in thoſe matters*
for which they were aſſembled, what need was there of ſuch diligence? &c. Since there-
fore the whole congregation aſſembled doth many times depend vpon the voyce and opini-
on of one man, why, as that one man may be deceiued in his iudgement, may not likewiſe
the whole multitude; eſpecially if out of humane preſumption, or any other grieuous crime,
it deſerue to be deceiued? Is it not onely proper vnto God to doe all things rightly, and ne-
uer to be deceiued? But thou replieſt (ſaith he) That in that the Councell cannot
erre, it proceedeth not from humane infirmitie, but the power of the holie Ghoſt. E
Doe thou tell me againe, how thou knoweſt that the holie Ghoſt will alwayes giue his
aſſiſtance to the greateſt part, &c. eſpecially ſince the greateſt part is commonly the worſe,
&c. In the Councell of Achab the holie Prophet of the Lord, Micha, was preſent, who
without feare ſpake that which the ſpirit of God ſuggeſted vnto him, but yet could per-
ſuade nothing with the king, and the reſt of the falſe Prophets, who ſpake out of their own
ſpirit and vnderſtanding, &c. Read in the Propheſie of Ieremiah what the Lord ſpake of
his Temple, againſt thoſe who falſely perſuaded themſelues that God would neuer forſake it
for their iniquities. Truſt not in lying words, ſaying, It is the Temple of the Lord, &c.

There-

A *Therefore this houſe is made a denne of theeues, whereupon my name is called before your*
eyes, Behold what I did to Shilo for the wickednesſe of my people: Now therefore becauſe
ye haue done all theſe workes, and haue not heard me, I will doe vnto this houſe wherein
ye truſt, as I haue done vnto Shilo, and I will caſt you out of my ſight, &c. Now what is the
Temple of the Lord, but the Church of God? For notwithſtanding theſe things were ſpo-
ken to the Iewes, and written for them, yet according to the Apoſtolicall tradition, in a fi-
gure they are ſpoken to Chriſtians. But perhaps thou wilt yet ſay, That promiſes of God
can neuer faile, where he hath bound himſelfe to bee with his Church to the end of the
world. I confeſſe indeed, that God can neuer faile of his promiſe; but where and with whom
he is, by grace in his Church, it is not for vs, but for him to know. God knoweth (ſaith
B the Apoſtle) *who are his,* but we, how ſhould we know it? The Church by grace may re-
maine in one ſimple woman, as it is ſayd to be in the Virgine onely at the time of the paſ-
ſion. Hath a Councell of Biſhops in theſe times a greater authoritie and prerogatiue than
the congregation of the Apoſtles, who all declined and went aſtray? Nay hath it a grea-
ter prerogatiue than the whole militant Church, which S. Auguſtine ſayth cannot accom-
pliſh that which the Apoſtle ſaith, Offer it ſelfe a glorious Church, without ſpot or wrinkle,
but onely in the celeſtiall Ieruſalem, where that ſhall be true that is written, They are
without ſpot before the throne of God. What other cauſe can wee thinke there was, why
thoſe foure Councels, the Nicene, Conſtantinopolitan, firſt Epheſine, and that of Chalce-
don, are accounted more holy, and had a greater veneration than the reſt, but becauſe they
C were aſſemblies of holie men, and ſuch as came thither were ſo accounted, and therefore
in them, and by them God manifeſted his holie will, &c. Such the ſpirit of God aſſembleth,
ſuch he aſſiſteth, and is in the middeſt of them. At the laſt, to ſhew that ſuch cuents
muſt not be looked for, from contrarie perſons, he reciteth the hiſtorie related by
vs in the former Progreſſion, of the Owle, that in the Councell at Rome, celebra-
ted by *Iohn* the foure and twentieth, appeared after the inuocation of the holie
Ghoſt. Thus did *Clemangis* write to this Scholeman, who was preſent at the
Councell of Conſtance. To conclude, in his Epiſtles hee calls the Church of
Rome *a houſe of theeues, no otherwiſe to be purged than with a whip, as the Temple once*
was: for what doth he differ from a theefe, who being entred by the breaches and ruines,
D *to ſteale, brings others in by the ſame way?* meaning the Pope. *Truely the Church at*
this day is made a ſhop of ambition, trafficke, theft. The Sacraments, Orders, yea the
Church it ſelfe, the Maſſe, the bodie of Chriſt, and all are ſet to ſale, &c. It is become a
publike faire, a brothell houſe, worſe than the Synagogue, yea Babylon it ſelfe. *For what*
doeſt thou thinke (ſaith he) *of that propheſie of the Reuelation of S. Iohn? Doeſt thou not*
think that in ſome ſort it belongs to thee? Thou art not growne ſo ſhameleſſe as to denie it:
Conſider therefore of it, and read the damnation of the great ſtrumpet ſitting vpon many
waters; there contemplate thy worthie Acts, &c. And a little after, *It is now long*
ſince, that this thine arrogancie, not able to endure it ſelfe, began to fall, though ſlowly
and by little and little, and therefore thy ruine not to be perceiued of any; (that is to wit,
E as the light of the Goſpell began to ſhine) *but now thou falleſt downe headlong like*
a riuer downe a hill. Much more, like vnto this, may you read in this Author, which
let it ſuffice that I haue briefely collected. But yet I cannot omit an Epiſtle or de-
clamation that he writ to that purpoſe to *Gerard Market*, a Doctor of Paris, the
Argument whereof is this, *We are not onely to depart from Babylon with our affections,*
but with our bodily feet. Which argument, for as much as he handles it excellently,
according to that precept of our Lord in the Reuelation, *Goe out of Babylon my peo-*
ple, &c. Let it not be troubleſome to the Reader if I inſert it wholly, and ſo much
the rather, becauſe our aduerſaries could be content it were buried in their libera-

Nichol. Clemangis ad Gerſonem.

Idem de ruina & reparatione Eccleſiæ.

ries. That we are to flie out of Babylon, according to the admonition giuen in both Te- A
staments, thou confesſt; but thou wilt not haue that flight to bee vnderſtood corporally,
changing the place, but ſpiritually, not imitating the corrupt manners of the wicked. Tru-
ly this is not amiſſe, but it ſufficeth not for a full reſolution of this queſtion. We ſee the Pa-
triarch Abraham was commaunded to depart out of his owne countrey, and from his
kindred and fathers houſe, not onely in affection, but effect too; yea his bodily departure
is firſt commaunded, and then he is enioyned to withdraw his verie mind and thoughts
from it too. Lot, after he receiued a commaund to goe out of Sodome, becauſe he was back-
ward and ſlow in doing it, he was taken by the Angels and drawne forth with a kind of vi-
olence. The people of Iſrael were not commaunded to goe out of Ægypt, becauſe it was
not in their libertie to doe it, becauſe of their grieuous oppreſſion; but by the commaunde- B
ment of God giuen to Moſes, and by the miniſterie of Moſes obeying God, they were led
forth with a ſtrong hand, not onely by a departure of affections, but by a March on foot
too. Now by the circumſtance of theſe places, it is eaſie to note for what cauſes this was
done. Abraham was commaunded to goe forth of Chaldea, wherein he was borne, be-
cauſe the inhabitants of the countrey were Idolaters: Lot was conſtrained to goe out of
Sodome, becauſe they were wicked men, and that hee might eſcape that deſtruction that
hung ouer their heads for their ſinnes: The Hebrewes were led out of Ægypt by Moſes
and Aaron, not onely becauſe of that intollerable ſeruitude they endured in their bodies,
but much more for the ſaluation of their ſoules, becauſe the Ægyptians were giuen to
vaine ſuperſtitions, and it was not there lawfull for the Iſraelites to ſacrifice vnto the C
Lord. And therefore in theſe words of our Lord, ſo often repeated by Moſes to Pharao
by his commaundement, this cauſe is openly expreſt, Let my people goe, that they may ſa-
crifice vnto me. I doe not thinke therefore thou wilt denie, except thou wilt openly con-
tradict the Scriptures, that wee muſt depart out of Babylon not onely with our liues and
conuerſations, but with our feet too; ſince that there, with ſound manners, with integritie
of conſcience, with the obſeruation of the commaundements of God, it is not lawfull to
liue; and leaſt we being altogether vnable to reſiſt the corrupt and wicked maners of the
Babylonians, violently carrying all things headlong with them, they put vpon vs their
manners. The nature of man by it owne corruption is prone vnto euill, and good men are D
more eaſily drawne into errour by the wicked, than the manners of the wicked mended by
the good. Vice, be it neuer ſo pernitious and dangerous, by little and little growes into cu-
ſtome, and whileſt it ſtealingly creeps into vs, it growes and encreaſeth. Errours when
they are made publike change their names, and take vpon them the laudible titles of ver-
tue and wiſedome. For to omit thoſe grieuous ſinnes which a man may not lawfully name,
(but yet is lawfull for God to puniſh with his vengeance) behold rapine and robberie by a
publike impunitie, are not accounted vices, which vntill now were woont to be puniſhed
with death. Now who is he that can liue there in health, ſound and free, where not one-
ly things vniuſt are permitted, but where a man is conſtrained by all ſorts of puniſh-
ment, the moſt cruell that may be, to beleeue, to ſay, to follow, to embrace as iuſt and laudi-
ble, that which is moſt vniuſt, moſt wicked? Who can be ſober, who would not abhorre to E
liue where all are madde? Who can be ſo confident vpon his owne ſtrength, that he ſhould
hope in the middeſt of the fire not to burne, or in the middeſt of a ſhipwracke not to bee
drowned? But perhaps thou wilt ſay, That the furnace of Babylon burnes onely the kings
miniſters, not the children of God. Let that man boldly applie that hiſtorie to himſelfe,
that is like to thoſe holie children, that may with reaſon expect that God ſhould bridle the
force of a fire ſo furious and conſuming, to preſerue him. The furnace of Babylon burnt
onely the miniſters that kindled it. Conſider diligently whether they are of the number
of theſe miniſters, that put fire to the furnace, that are conſtrained to conſent, to follow, to
approue

A approue the things that belong to the kindling thereof, and that dare not reſiſt it when they
would, which whoſoeuer doe, to vſe the words of the Apoſtle, are worthie of death, not
onely they that doe them, but they that conſent to thoſe that doe them. God was afeard of
faithfull Abraham leaſt he ſhould be burnt in Vr, a citie of the Chaldees; for then as thou
ſeeſt, the fire was alreadie kindled. He was afeard of holie Lot, leaſt he ſhould be corrupted
with the companie of the wicked, and ſo ſhould be partaker of their deſtruction: And yet
we in the midſt of the furnace of Babylon, burning aboue woonted meaſure, ſecure our ſelues
from all daunger, and flatter our ſelues with the deliuerie of the three children; as if
the caſe were all one with vs, that as the flame of the burning furnace was extinguiſhed
with the dew of heauen that it could not offend them, ſo no flame of euill concupiſcence, no
B ſparke of wickedneſſe, no heat of publique errour, no furie of violence, no fire of licenti-
ouſneſſe and euill cuſtome, in the midſt of the conflagration of all wickedneſſe, can touch
vs. Turne ouer the whole Canonicall Hiſtorie, and thou ſhalt not find that God hath euer
poured downe his vengeance vpon any Babylonicall Congregation of wicked men, but
that firſt conſulting with the righteous, if any were amongſt them, he ſeperated them
from the wicked, not onely in their owne heartie deſires, but the place too, leaſt beeing co-
uered with the wicked, as it were vnder the ſame roofe, they ſhould periſh in the ſame de-
ſtruction. When all fleſh by ſinne being corrupted, the whole world was to periſh by an
inundation of waters, God firſt commaunded Noah to build the Arke, and ſo to ſeperate
himſelfe with ſome ſmall number of thoſe that belonged vnto him, from thoſe ſinners
C that were to periſh in the floud, that they might be ſaued. Lot as I ſayd before being led by
the miniſtration of Angels out of Sodom, which was to be conſumed with fire from hea-
uen, before that tempeſt of fire ſhould fall, for feare leaſt he ſhould periſh with the wick-
ed, they ſaid vnto him, Make haſt to ſaue thy ſelfe in the mountaine, for I can do nothing
vntill thou come there. The people of Iſraell were deliuered from the tyrannie of the Ægyp-
tians, and had paſſed the Sea on drie foot, before the Ægyptians were ouerwhelmed in
the red Sea. Before Dathan and Abiron and the reſt of their confederats were ſwallow-
ed vp in the bottomleſſe gulfe, the earth opening vnder them, Moſes ſayd to the reſt of
the people that were innocent of that conſpiracie, Depart from the Tabernacles of theſe
wicked men, and touch nothing that belongs vnto them, leaſt you be entangled in their
D ſinnes. When Saule by the commaundement of the Lord was to deſtroy Amaleck, and the
Kenites, friends to that people, were remaining amongſt the Amalekites, Saule ſaid vn-
to them, Goe, depart and get you downe from among the Amalekites, leaſt I deſtroy you
with them, for yee ſhewed mercie to all the children of Iſraell when they came vp from Æ-
gypt. To conclude, old Tobias dying in the ſinfull citie of Niniuie, hauing called vnto him
young Tobias his ſonne, and his children, ſaid vnto them, The deſtruction of Niniuie is
at hand, for the word of the Lord ſhall ſurely come to paſſe; Heare me therefore my ſonnes
and ſtay not heere, but ſo ſoone as you haue buried your mother by me, prepare your ſelues
to be gone from this place, for I ſee that the wickednesſe of this Citie will haſten her end.
Do not therfore ſo reſtrain thoſe things, that in the book of God are either done or comman-
E ded to be done to a miſtical vnderſtanding, that they be altogether vaine and vnprofitable
as touching the imitation of the Hiſtorie. That flight wherewith the Prophet Ieremie, and
the Euangeliſt S. Iohn exhort to go out of Babylon, thou ſaieſt is not to be vnderſtood of the
feet, but of the affections. I confeſſe with thee that we may ſo vnderſtand it without abſur-
ditie; but how doſt thou proue that it may not be vnderſtood of a local departure? Thou wilt
ſay perhaps, becauſe there is no place where Babylon is not, There is no Citie that is not
drunken with the cup of Babylon. Tell me I pray you, haue you trauelled through all places,
haue you ſeene all Cities, that you can giue ſo abſolute a ſentence of euerie corner? Take
heed how by one certain place known to your ſelfe, you meaſure others which you haue not

seene. If the crie of any place, or of the sinnes thereof shall ascend to the eares of God, and A
call for vengeance, for which cause God shall afflict that Prouince or Citie, doost thou
therefore thinke that he will poure downe the like vengeance vpon other Prouinces and
Cities? Doost thou not thinke that there remaines among the rest, some little Zoar, wher-
in a Lot flying the furie of the fire may be saued? They whom God hath purposed to saue
in any grieuous affliction, are commaunded sometimes to flie to their enemies countries,
as in the 16 of the Prophesie of Esaiah, he saith to Moab, Let my banished dwell with
thee Moab, be thou their couert from the face of the destroyer. To be briefe, our Sauiour
himselfe did flie from the face of cruell Herod, thirsting for his bloud, into Ægypt an
auntient enemie to his people, there in a safe corner attending the death of that cruell
persecutor; he confirming by his owne example, what he was afterward to giue in com- B
maund to his Disciples. If they shall persecute you in one citie, flie into another. And
least, seeking occasion not to flie, they should answer, That there were no cities to which
they could retire themselues: See how he taketh away this excuse, Verely I say vnto you,
that you shall not goe to all the cities of Israell vntill the sonne of man come: plainely insi-
nuating thereby, that there should be alwaies cities, dedicated to the honour of his name,
vnto which in times of persecution they might flie, vntill he should come at the last indge-
ment. Now what persecution is more to be auoyded than that which constraines men to
doe that which is wicked, execrable, and contrarie to the law of God, to good maners, to the
instructions of our holie Fathers? And againe, the commandement of our Sauiour, is it not
to be applied hercunto? whereby he imposeth vpon all Preachers, that if they shall come C
to preach in any citie, that will not receiue their message, they should presently depart
from thence, shaking the dust off their feet, that they might depart from thence pure
and free from all pollution, no way defiled with the companie and conuersation of the
wicked. Now he that commaunds this of such a place, what doost thou thinke he would
haue said of that, wherein not onely sound doctrine is not receiued, but where such are
cruelly persecuted as contradict their wills, yea rather their madnesse? What wilt thou
doe there, where if thou propose any thing that is good, no man will obay it? And if
any man commit any wickednesse, thou shalt bee constrained to imitate it; where
if thou giue a sound iudgement of any thing, they will say thou art besides thy selfe; D
if thou bee furious and madd, they will thinke thee wise; and if thou withstand
the violence of their peruersnesse, thou shalt get vnto thy selfe without any other
fruit, an implacable hatred, with the daunger of thy life. What is it to bee made
drunken with the cup of Babylon, but by a long conuersation there, to bee so infe-
cted with the contagion of Babylon, as following the wandring multitude, to em-
brace falshood for trueth, vice for vertue, follie for wisedome, like madd men; and
to shunne rather to bee a foole with the enraged multitude, than to bee wise alone with
mockerie and daunger? For whereas thou seyest, That that man flieth from Baby-
lon, according to the exhortation of the Prophet, who lyuing in the middest of a
wicked and peruerse Nation, differeth neuertheless from them in his life and con- E
uersation: Know that this flight suffiseth, so long as the force of the furie compel-
leth not a man to wickednesse, and so long as Gods mercie tollerateth the sinnes of the
place, not yet growne to their full height of corruption. But where their state is
desperate, and past hope of amendement, they admit no counsell, no remedie, no whol-
some helpe whatsoeuer, but refusing to be cured, they rage like madd men, and from
all parts they send vp a continuall crie vnto God for the destruction of that place: who-
soeuer therefore he bee that abideth long time in that place, and feareth not that venge-
ance of God that hangeth ouer that place, how different soeuer hee be in manners, hee
is madd. Neither is it lawfull for him that differeth in manners to line there, where
the

A the plague of corruption is growne to that strength, that all are infected with the contagi-
on thereof, especially the cure being remedilesse. Is he different in manners, that hauing
drunke of the cup of Babylon, beene corrupted with her poyson, polluted with her sinnes,
carried with her rage, is constrained to approue with commendation, consent, imitation,
those things that are done by wicked men, not daring to open his mouth to the contrarie, or
to oppose himselfe with any freedome of conscience? Thou askest whither thou canst goe
where thou shalt not find a confused Babylon, and thou seest no quiet resting place, or con-
tented abode for a peaceable mind: as if Babylon were not in thy mind too. For what mind
canst thou euer make me instance of, so peaceable setled and contented, in which, I will not
say sometimes, or often, but euerie day and houre, there is not some iarre, some conflict,
B wherein the tempestuous stormes of perturbations doe not arise, which the blustering
winds of pride doe tosse, the murmuring noyse of diuers passions doth not disquiet, and
wherein there are not many times horrible and furious tempests; in so much that it is
needfull for vs daily to crie out, Lord saue vs, we perish. Thence it was that one speaking
of a mind meditating heauenly things, and not earthly (which therefore he called heauen)
sayd, and not ineligantly, though in meetre:

Confusa sunt hic omnia
Spes, metus, mœror, gaudium,
Vix hora vel dimidia
C Fit in cœlo silentium.

All things are confused here,
Sorrow, ioy, hope, and feare,
Scarce for a moment of time
Peace in heauen can we find.

If thou seeke here an assured setled rest in all respects, thou seekest a knot in a rush, as Gerson. in Tract. de potestate Ecclesiastica consid. 10. & 12
one said, and thou shalt neuer find it, either within or without thee. All things are full of
warre, confusion, danger, euerie thing compassed with snares and subtilties, neither canst
D *thou retire thee within thy selfe but they follow thee. But yet notwithstanding though* In Tract. de Auferibilitate Papæ consid. 4. 9, 10 12, 14. 15, 16, 18.
there be something of Babylon euerie where, yet that Babylon is not euerie where that is
the mother of the fornications and abhominations of the earth, whose iudgement, as
Iohn saith, is ascended vp to the heauens, which hath made drunken all the nations with
the wine of her whoredome, and constraineth all her inhabitants to commit fornication,
to blasphemie, to eat things sacrificed to Idols, to worship the dragon: with which impieties
whosoeuer is polluted, how can he find peace within himselfe, except he hate the fornicati-
ons of that whore, forsake, condemne, detest them: to which whosoeuer shall adhere, is
made one bodie with her, because so long as he conuerseth with her, hee cannot bee freed
E *from her manners, being by force and furie drawne vnto them. But if thou flie the habi-*
tation of cities, and the course of people, as being infected with Babylonish contagion,
there are secret places seuered from cities, fit for the seruice of God, religious, appro-
ued, deuout Monasteries sauouring rather of Ierusalem than Babylon. To bee briefe, if
thou feare all humane companie, there are solitarie places wherein thou mayest dwell with
thy selfe, and retire thy selfe to thine owne heart, liue to thy selfe, haue onely God
to be a witnesse and companion of thy life, where at the last thou mayest more easily
and more happily find that peace of thy mind which thou professest is so much to thy
desire. Item in propositionibus ad exitum Schismat. Item in regul. morali.

In the same stile writ master *John Gerson* the Chauncellor of the Vniuersitie, who

who was likewise present at that Councell: for I leaue to speake of his inue- A
ctiues in many places, *against humane traditions*, because we haue spoken there-
of elsewhere; and likewise against the corruption of Ecclesiasticall discipline,
and the simonies of the Court of Rome, in selling graces and dignities, which
they call spirituall, because all these are couered vnder a pretext of the infalli-
bilitie either of the Church or of the Pope. But this in diuers his treatises he
closely, yet elegantly, teacheth, *That the Pope can erre and abuse that power com-*
mitted vnto him, to the ruine of the Church: That he can prostitute and oppresse it,
fall into schisme, heresie, idolatrie, in which case he may bee corrected by the mea-
nest Lay-man that professeth the Gospell: That hee may be reproued, repressed, deposed, B
by a Councell representing the Church; since the Church (saith he) *can subsist with-*
out the Pope, without his ministeriall head, and yet bee gouerned well ynough by
Christ the Spouse of the Church: For it is not sayd (saith he) *When you are assem-*
bled in the name of Peter, or of the Pope, but, In my name, &c. And this doctrine
hath displeased many, but the Councells of Constance and Basil haue freed the Church
from this pernitious heresie which placeth the Pope aboue the Church. So farre hee
proceedeth, by reason of those inconueniences he found thereby, that hee alled-
geth some cases wherein it is lawfull to make an assault vpon his owne per-
son. But because hee handleth these propositions in whole Treatises, we will
content our selues with the quotations in the margent. Touching the que-
stion, Whether the Pope be aboue the Councell and the Church, he peremptо- C
rily saith, *That it is as much as if one should aske, whether the part bee greater*
than the whole: That the Pope is subiect to the Church: That the keyes are properly gi-
uen to the Church, and not to Saint Peter, much lesse to the Pope. The Church in the
meane time subiect and bound to the holie Scriptures. *Neither is it* (saith he)
in the power of the Pope or Councell to change traditions giuen by the Euangelists
and Paul, as some doe dote: Yea we are to giue more credit in a case of doctrine to the
assertion of a simple man, learned in the Scriptures, than the declaration of the Pope:
For it is manifest, that we are rather to beleeue the Gospell than the Pope: In so much
that any such learned man being present at the Councell, ought to oppose himselfe a-
gainst him, if hee shall perceiue the greater part against the Gospell, either by malice D
or ignorancee, to decline from the truth. And touceing that place of *Augustine, I*
would not beleeue the Gospell but that the authoritie of the Church moueth mee there-
unto: He meaneth (sayth he) *the Primitiue congregation of the faithfull, who had*
seene and heard Christ, and were witnesses vnto him. Neither is it in the power
of Pope or Bishop, *of a proposition not hereticall or not Catholike, to make it here-*
ticall, or Catholike. All which Theses destroy the tyrannie of the Pope and the
Church of Rome, with those inuentions likewise, and vsurpations, which vn-
der the cloke of his pretended authoritie they brought into the Church. Let
the Reader here note, That this was then the doctrine of the Vniuersitie of Pa- E
ris, yea the Sorbonists themselues. We haue elsewhere quoted many places,
by which it may appeare how much they despaired of the reformation of the
Church, by reason of the malignitie of the Popes and Prelats. Touching In-
dulgences, he saith, *Christ is the onely Pope that can grant those Indulgences for a thou-*
sand thousand dayes and yeares, &c. Againe, *Perhaps such enormous graunts haue*
beene inuented by wicked men, who seeke their owne gaine. And againe, *The graunt of*
Indulgences will hardly be taken away, &c. since it is most certaine, that Purgatorie ends
with the world, & consequently the daies of their punishments. Again, *Those institutions*
of Indulgences for twentie thousand yeares, and the like, to him that shall say fiue Pater no-
sters

Item de loco Pauli ad Thes-sal. in Tractatu de signo ruinę Ecclesię.

Gerson. de vita spirituali ani. Lect. 2. Corol. 7. to. 3. num. 61.

Item in Tractatu an liceat in causis fidei à Summo Pontifice appellare propos. 3 tom. 1. num. 14. sub finem.

Gerson. de examine doctrinar.

Gerson. de examine doctrinar. consid. 5. tom. 1.

Vide Tractatū de Ecclesia.

Iohan. Gerson. in Tractat. de Indulgentijs.

Idem de absolutione sacramentali.

A sters *before such an Image, &c. are sottish and superstitious, and contrarie to the truth, &c.* At these fooleries all men in those dayes began to bend their browes.

But in this sermon intituled, *Of the ruines of the Church*, he manifestly prooueth the fearefull judgement of God to be then at hand. The signes which he setteth downe are these, First, 2. *Thessalonians* 2. *The dissipation of the Roman Empire*; betwixt which and the persecutions of Antichrist (following therein S. *Hierome*) he setteth downe no distance of time: *And now* (saith he) *the state of the vniuersall*
B *Church is so doubtfull, that it knoweth not on which side the See of Rome is, except per-*
haps God should reueale it to some one, or the iudgement of Salomon, touching the diui-
ding of the infant into two parts, giue vs to vnderstand who is the true mother. Second-
ly *Impudencie*, wherein, as touching maners, it is worse than the Synagogue, when the ruine thereof approached; for that permitted Pigeons to be sold in the Temple, and this sells Spirituall charges for money; that honoured God but with the lips onely, this dishonours God both in word and deed, taking no care at all to couer her owne shame. Thirdly *Inequalitie*, or rather Iniquitie, the like whereof was neuer amongst the ministers of the Church, the vnworthie being exalted, the worthie trod vnder foot, some set aboue Princes, others more contemptible than the baseste of the people: And from hence arise schismes in the Church. Fourth-
ly, *The pride of the Prelats*, which purchaseth rather hatred than reuerence: And from hence arise schismes in the Church. Fiftly, *The tyrannie of those that beare rule*,
C who feed not the flocke, but themselues, they deuour the flesh, and plucke off the skinne. Sixtly, *The troubles of Princes, and commotion of the people*, which we haue experience of in so many kingdomes and Prouinces. Seuenthly, *The refusal of cor-*
rection in the Principall of the Clergie, who detest those that reprehend them, hold the Scriptures for a fable, and those that meditate thereupon for fantasticall persons. Eighthly, *Nouelties of opinions*, from whence arise heresies, schismes are defended, and being defended take root, &c. And this he applies to those that accommodat the Scriptures to their owne affections, make them speake according to that *loue or hatred, hope of aduancement, or reuenge, wherewith they are carried: And*
some of them, vpon euerie light occasion, call them heretikes whom they neuer knew to be
D *tainted with heresie.* All which signes he rehearseth, and compareth them with o- *Gerson. de signis ruinę Ecclesię.*
thers of former times, which being confirmed by the examples of his age, and the threats of the auncient Prophets, he applieth to the present state of the Church.

Of the same opinion were diuers others, in diuers parts of the world. In Germanie *Theodoricus Vrias*, an Augustine, in his worke *of the consolation of the Church*, especially in his third book, where inueying against the wickednesse there- *Theodor. Vrias in consolatione Ecclesię lib. 3.*
of, the whoredome, simonie, ambition, contempt of the word of God, neg-
lect of the saluation of mankind, he pronounceth the Pope to be the forerunner *Idem apud Paulum Langium in Chron. Citizensi.*
of Antichrist. Yea wee haue his verses recited by *Paulus Langius* in his Chro-
E nicle, not vnworthie the reading, in number eighteene, whereof these are the first:

Papa stupor mundi cecidit secumque ruere
Cœlica templa Dei, membra simulque caput, &c.

The Pope, the worlds astonishment, is dead,
With him are falne Gods house, members and head, &c.

Wherein he describeth how the Pope hath drawne the whole Church with himself into ruine, supplying the place of *Simon Magus*, not *Simon Peter*: That the Churches

Churches vnder his gouernment were fairs of treacherie, wherin the Sacraments and all holie things were put to open sale: That the Church of Rome grew euerie day worse & worse, of a golden Church was become a siluer, of a siluer an yron, of an yron an earthly & durtie Church; in so much that nothing now remained, but that it wold likewise turne into a stinking dung-hill. And yet such a Church it was at that time, when neuertheless it made a beautiful & a glorious shew. There was likewise another, one *Theodoricus* a Minorite, Bishop of Croatia, who foretold in a certaine prophesie written in verse, That this See polluted with so much corruption, should shortly come to naught, and the Pope be vtterly ouerthrowne, euen by those that had extolled him: and that contrarily the Church, and in her true pietie, should recouer her pristinat beautie more than before. *Petrus Dresdensis* likewise, and *Iacobus Misnensis*, the Disciples of the auncient Waldenses, were for this cause banished their countrey, who repaired to *John Hus*, who, as *Æneas Siluius* saith, gaue him great light in many principall poynts. In Italie it selfe *Nicholas Lucensis*, a Carmelite, and Doctor of Diuinitie, was not afraid, out of the pulpet at Lucca, in the presence of *Gregorie* the twelfth, to preach against his and the Papall tyrannie: whereupon he was cast into prison, and hardly got out againe, notwithstanding that fauour and helpe he had from the gouernour; and from thence forward he was put to silence. Besides infinit numbers of all estates and conditions, whom euerie where with exquisit torments they put to death in France, England, and elsewhere: some shut vp in barrels, some hanged on gibbets, some burnt, whose memorie remaines in the bookes of their aduersaries themselues, *Waldensis*, *Baptista Panetus*, *Walsingham*, and others: Amongst whom we must not forget *John Oldcastle*, a nobleman of England, heire by right of his wife to the Lord *Cobham*, A man (saith *Walsingham*) *Regi propter probitatem charus & acceptus*, in great fauour with king *Henrie* the fift for his honestie, and likewise renowmed for his valour and great knowledge in feats of armes; who in the yeare 1413 is in the historie *called the Protector and defender of the Lollards* (for that name or title was giuen to all those who protested against the corruptions of the Church) who sent into the Dioceses of London, Rochester, Hereford, some to publish the truth of the Gospell, without the leaue and license of the Ordinaries, who were especially in their sermons to confute the doctrine of Transubstantiation, the Sacrament of Penitence, Perigrinations, the worshipping of Images, the Keyes vsurped by the Church of Rome. For these speciall heads the Authour reciteth. Hee therefore reporteth, That *Oldcastle* being by the authoritie of the king committed to the Tower of London, and being brought before the Archbishop of Canturburie, hee tooke out of his bosome a copie of the confession of his Faith, and deliuered it vnto him to read; which the Archbishop hauing read, said, *That it contained in it much good and Catholike matter, but yet he must satisfie him touching other poynts*, that is to say, the abouenamed, but especially that that concemed the power of the Pope and Cardinals, and the Roman Hierarchie: which *Oldcastle* refused not to doe, but ingeniously professed withall, *That the Pope was true Antichrist, that is, his head; the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelats, his members; the Friers, his tayle.* And as touching the other poynts, *They are ordinances* (sayth he) *of the Church of Rome, made against the Scriptures, after that it grew rich, and the poyson had dispersed it selfe therein, and not before.* The place it selfe is worthie the reading, that we may acknowledge the agreement of their doctrine with ours, against which no man can cauill. Wherefore the Archbishop pronounced *Oldcastle* an heretike, and excommunicated

Theodor. Minorita in prophetia vna cum pluribus alijs rithmicis impressa.

Theodor. à Nyem. de schismate l. 3.

Thom. Waldens. in Fasciculo Zizoniorum. Baptista Panetius in Chron. & in sermon. Thom. Walsing. in Chron. Thom. Walsing. an. 1413. in Henr. 5.

Idem in Ypodigmate Neustriæ an. 1413.

A municated him, requiring the secular power for the putting of him to death: But the king proceeding slowly and vnwillingly in this businesse, he escaped out of prison; to whom there gathered a great multitude, to haue freed him from that danger, who were almost all put to the sword, and such amongst them as were taken prisoners, as well Clergie as Lay, vnder a pretence of heresie, were put to death; whose constancie appeares in these words, *That the greatest part of them*, nec quidem pœnitere curabant, *tooke no care to repent.* If wee may credit *Walsingham*, there were not then lesse than an hundred thousand, who made publike profession of this doctrine. Another Annalist in few words sayth, *That Oldcastle was not afraid in the Parliament to say, That England would neuer be at peace vn-*
B *till the Popes power were banished beyond the seas.* And learned and eloquent as he was, he caused many bookes to be scattered in the streets, against the inuocation of Saints, auricular confession, the single life of Priests, Transubstantiation, and other abuses of the Church of Rome; for which cause being led prisoner to London, at the last he was burnt.

Iohannes Capgrauius l. 2 de Nobilibus Hæreticis.

But there comes now vpon the stage, euen with open faces, *John Hus*, and *Hierome* of Prage, men, by the testimonies of their aduersaries themselues, renowmed for their learning and godlie conuersation; who being called to publike charge in the Church, did publikely preach against the abuses of the Church of Rome, euen those that we in these dayes detest and abiure, namely, against the tyrannie
C of the Pope, whom, as their owne Iudges doe testifie, they called Antichrist. *Æneas Siluius* himselfe, who was afterwards Pope *Pius* the second, sayth, With the sound of their voyce, the spirit of God assisting, the word of God thundering in them, the people were awakened out of their dead sleepe, ran by flockes to this great light, enuiting likewise their neighbours from diuers parts. And whereas about that verie time Pope *Iohn the foure and twentieth had granted a full remission of sinnes to all that would beare armes in defence of the Church of Rome, against Ladislaus king of Naples; Certaine mecanicall persons* (saith *Pius* the second) *bearing this, published with a lowd voyce, Pope Iohn to be Antichrist, bearing the crosse against Christians.* These good Fathers in the meane time assembled at the Councell of Constance,
D for the reformation, as they sayd, of the Church, as well in the head as in the members, who should haue beene stirred vp thereunto by the sound of these Heraulds, vnder a pretence of fidelitie, as much as in them lay suppresst and oppresst them. Being therefore called to the Councell, vnder the trust of a safeconduct granted by the Emperour *Sigismond*, who had called that Councell, there to giue a reason of their doctrine, they willingly came: but presently they were cast into prison, declared heretikes, and in the end burnt aliue, *John Hus* first, and *Hierome* about a yeare after: These Fathers leauing this Decree for an example and law to all posteritie, *Hereticis non seruandam fidem*, That we are not to keepe faith to Heretikes. For such they accounted all those, as we haue seene, that withstood their
E opinions, euen in matters meerely ciuile: and that not without an apparent purpose to cut off all hope of a reformation of the Church by a free and lawfull Councell. *Siluius* telleth vs, That they were admonished not to thinke themselues more wise than the Church; and that it would be easie for them to obtaine an honourable place in the Church, if they would renounce their opinions. In which meanes of conuerting, we may easily note the stile of that auncient Doctor tempting our Sauiour in the desart. But they answer (saith *Pius*) That they *teach the truth, being the disciples of Christ, directing themselues according to his Gospell: That the Church of Rome, with other Churches in the world, were departed from the* tradi-

Æneas Siluius in historia Bohemia c. 35.

Cap. 35.

cap. 36.

traditions of the Apoſtles: That they all ſought after riches and pleaſure, and dominion A
ouer the people; conſumed in wickednesſe and luxurie the goods deſtinated to the poore peo-
ple of Chriſt: That they either knew not the commaundements of God, or if they knew
them, made little account of them. These are *Pius* the ſecond his own words, in which
who acknowledgeth not the voyce of truth? He addeth immediatly, *The princi-*
pall men of this great Synod perceiuing the obſtinacie and immouable courage of theſe mi-
ſerable men, gaue ſentence, That putrified members of the Church, which could not bee
healed, were to be cut off, leaſt they ſhould infect the whole bodie (putrified members, be-
cauſe they accuſe their putrifaction.) *In the aſſemblie therefore it was concluded, That*
ſuch were to be burned that reiected the doctrine of the Church. So that they who held
that it belonged not to Eccleſiaſtical perſons to ſentence any man to death, by the B
teſtimonie of *Pius* himſelfe, were their judges in this caſe. Touching the ſen-
tence pronounced againſt *Hus*, he expreſly ſaith, *That he appealed from them to Chriſt*
Ieſus the ſoueraigne Iudge; which was not the leaſt part of their crime. But as tou-
ching their death, *Both of them* (ſaith *Pius*) *ſuffered death with a conſtant mind, and*
went ioyfully to the fire, as if they had beene inuited to a feaſt; neither of them yeelding a-
ny one word that might diſcouer any ſhew of heauineſſe, or a diſcontented mind. When
they began to burne, they began to ſing a hymne, which hardly the flame and noyſe of the
fire could let to be heard. Neuer haue we read of any of the Philoſophers that ſuffered
death with better reſolution, and greater courage, than theſe endured the fire. Poggius
a Florentine, an honorable writer of our age, writes an eloquent Epiſtle of the death of Hie- C
rome, to Nicholas Nicholai, though he ſeeme, according to his maner, to inueigh a little
againſt the manners of the Clergie. This *Poggius* whom hee here alledgeth, who
was Secretarie to the Councell, writ an Epiſtle to *Leonard Aretine*, which for as
much as it is worthie the reading, I haue here thought good to ſet down at large.
Soiourning for many dayes at the Bathes (ſaith he) *I writ from thence a letter to our*
friend Nicholas, which I thinke you haue read: Afterwards, ſome few dayes after my re-
turne to Conſtance, the cauſe of Hierome, whom they tearme an heretike, was heard, and
that publikely; which I haue thought good to relate vnto you, both for the weightineſſe of
the matter, and eſpecially for the eloquence and learning of the man. I confeſſe I haue ne-
uer ſeene any man, that in pleading a cauſe, eſpecially that concerned his life, who hath D
come neerer to thoſe auncient Orators we haue ſo much admired. It is a wonderfull thing
to ſee with what words, what eloquence, what arguments, what cariage, what countenance,
what confidence, he anſwered his aduerſaries; and at the laſt concluded his plea in ſuch
ſort, as that it is much to be lamented that ſo noble a ſpirit, and ſo excellent, ſhould applie
it ſelfe to thoſe ſtudies of hereſie (ſi tamen vera ſunt, quæ ſibi obijciunt) *if neuertheleſſe*
(note the words of *Poggius*) *the matters obiected againſt him be true: for it belongs*
not vnto me to iudge of ſo great a cauſe; but I refer my ſelfe to the opinions of thoſe who
are wiſer than my ſelfe. Neither would I haue you to thinke, that according to the maner
of Orators, I relate vnto you euerie particular circumſtance of this buſineſſe, for it were E
too tedious, and a worke of many dayes: I will onely touch ſome principall places, whereby
you may in ſome ſort vnderſtand the learning of the man. This Hierome being charged
with many matters which tended to hereſie, and thoſe confirmed by witneſſe, it was at the
laſt determined, placuit, *that he ſhould anſwer publikely to euerie poynt that was obiected*
againſt him. Being therefore brought before the aſſemblie, and commaunded to anſwer
to ſuch poynts as were obiected; a long time he refuſed to doe it, alledging that hee was
firſt to plead his owne cauſe, before he anſwered to the falſe accuſations of his aduerſaries:
but this condition being denied him, ſtanding in the middle of the aſſemblie, What iniu-
ſtice is this (ſaith he) *that hauing lyen for three hundred and ſixtie dayes in priſon, in or-*
dure,

Poggius Concilij Conſtantienſ. Secretar. in Epiſt. ad Leonard Aretinum.

A *dure, in ſtench, in fetters, and want of all earthly comforts whatſoeuer, in all which*
time you haue heard my aduerſaries ſpeake againſt me, and yet you will not now ſuf-
fer me to ſpeake one houre for my ſelfe? Hence it is that whileſt euerie mans eares are
open vnto them, to heare in ſo long a time, whatſoeuer may perſuade that I am an he-
retike, an enemie of the faith, a perſecutor of Eccleſiaſticall perſons, and ſhut againſt me,
whereby I haue no meanes to defend my ſelfe, that you haue concluded me to bee an here-
tike, in your owne conceipts, before you know what I am. And yet notwithſtanding all
this yee are but men, and not gods, not perpetuall, but mortall, ſuch as can ſtumble and
fall, and erre, be deceiued, be ſeduced, &c. In the end it was decreed, that firſt he ſhould
anſwer to thoſe errours that were obiected againſt him, and afterwards he ſhould haue
B *leaue to ſpeake what he would. There were read therefore out of the pulpet all the heads of*
his accuſation, which were likewiſe confirmed by witneſſes: Then it was demaunded
whether he had any thing to obiect. It is incredible to be ſpoken how cunningly he aun-
ſwered, with what arguments he defended himſelfe: He neuer ſpake any thing vnwor-
thie a good man, inſomuch that if he thought that in his heart which he profeſſed in
words, there could not be found in him any iuſt cauſe of death, or of the leaſt or lighteſt
offence. He affirmed all to be falſe, and that they were all crimes deuiſed againſt him, by
thoſe that hated him. But by and by, the cauſe for the multitude and weight of the offen-
ces, which could not be determined in one day, was put off for three dayes longer. At
which time the arguments of euerie crime being recited, and by many witneſſes affirmed,
C *he ariſing: For aſmuch* (ſaith he) *as you haue with ſuch diligence heard mine aduerſa-*
ries, it is right and conuenient that with indifferent minds yee likewiſe heare me ſpeake.
Which after much adoe being graunted vnto him, he firſt began with praier vnto God,
that he would be pleaſed to giue him that mind, and that facultie of ſpeech, that might
redownd to the ſaluation of his owne ſoule. And then: I know ſaith hee, many excellent
men, that haue ſuffered many things vnworthie their vertues, oppreſſed by falſe wit-
neſſes, condemned by vniuſt Iudges, &c. And againe, it is an vniuſt thing that a Prieſt
ſhould be condemned by a Prieſt, and yet this was vniuſtly done by the Colledge and Coun-
cell of Prieſts, &c. All mens minds were moued and bent to mercie; For he added, that
he came of his owne accord to the Councell, to purge himſelfe, and to giue a reaſon of his
D *life, and of his ſtudies and endeauours, &c. That the moſt learned and wiſeſt men of*
the world in matters of faith, were many times of diuers opinions, not to ouerthrow the
faith, but to find the trueth: That Auguſtine and Hierome had diſcented, and contradi-
cted one the other in diuers things, without ſuſpition of hereſie. All men did expect that
he would purge himſelfe, either by reuoking that which was obiected, or by asking par-
don for his errours: But he doing neither the one nor the other, fell into the commenda-
tion of Iohn Hus, condemned to the fire, calling him a good and a holie man, and vnwor-
thie of that death; and that he for his part was readie with a valiant and conſtant mind
to vndergoe any puniſhment, and to yeeld himſelfe into the hands of his aduerſaries, and
thoſe impudent lying witneſſes that were brought forth againſt him, who neuertheleſſe
E *were one day to yeeld an account vnto God, whom they could not deceiue. But this* (ſaith
Poggius) *is an admirable argument of his memorie; For three hundred and ſixtie daies*
together he was in the bottome of a ſtinking and deepe dungeon, the miſerie of which
puniſhment himſelfe complaineth of, affirming as it became a good and a valiant man,
that he was not therefore grieued therewith, for that he had ſuffered things ſo baſe and
vnworthie, but rather wondred at their inhumanitie againſt him; in which place he
could neither read nor ſee. I omit the griefe of mind wherewith hee muſt needs bee
troubled, which a man would thinke, ſhould haue vtterly ouerthrowne his memorie;
and yet notwithſtanding all this, he alledged ſo many learned Doctors of the Church, to
make

make good his opinion, that it had beene ynough, and more than ynough, if he had lined A
at ease, and with a quiet and constant mind had giuen himselfe to the studie of wise-
dome and knowledge, &c. He was void of all feare, not onely contemning death, but de-
siring it; that you would haue sayd he had beene another Cato. O man worthie the eter-
nall memorie of men. I prayse him not, if he held any opinions against the Church (hee
speaking still doubtfully) *but I admire his learning, his knowledge in all things, his elo-*
quence, his sweet deliuerie, his dexteritie in answering. But I feare least all these ex-
cellent gifts of nature haue beene giuen him to his owne ruine. This is the stile of *Poggi-*
us. There were in the end two dayes allowed him to repent. Many men verie learned
came vnto him, to dissuade him from his opinion, among others the Cardinall of Florence,
but he continuing obstinat in his errours, the Councell condemned him to the fire for B
heresie. He went to his death with a ioyfull and pleasant countenance: he feared not the
fire, nor the kind of torment, nor death it selfe. Neuer was any Stoicke of so setled a re-
solution, or with so valiant a mind suffered death, as this man seemed to desire it. When
he came to the place of death, he put off his apparell, and then falling downe vpon his
knees, he kissed the stake to which he was bound. And here he repeats the particular
circumstances. When the fire was set vnto him he began to sing a certaine Hymne, or
Psalme, being hardly interrupted with smoke or flame, which was an excellent token of
his constant courage. When the executioner would haue put the fire to him behind his
backe, that he might not see it, Come hither (saith he) and kindle it in my sight, for if I
had feared it I would neuer haue come to this place, which I had power to haue auoyded. In C
this manner this man, rare and excellent beyond all beleefe, was consumed to ashes. I haue
seene his end, considered all his actions: Whether he did it by treacherie or obstinacie,
(otherwise it was dangerous to speake) *you might haue placed the death of this man*
among those that came forth of the schole of Philosophie: For neither Mutius with so
constant a resolution endured the burning of one member, as he the whole bodie; neither
did Socrates so willingly drinke poyson, as he embrace the fire. But ynough of this. Where-
fore *Leonard Aretine*, answering to his Epistle, stickes not to tell him that hee
spake too freely: *Although* (saith he) *thou many times purge thy iudgement, touching*
the punishment of Hierome, yet thou bewrayest I know not what, of greater affection than
is fitting: I thinke such things should bee written more aduisedly. And yet hee D
himselfe in his Oration against hypocrites, calls the Monkes and Clergie of his
time, hypocrites, Phatisies, proud, bloudie men, painted sepulchres, couseners,
Preachers of dreames, &c.

Leonardi Aretini Oratio contra hypocritas.

Our aduersaries now adayes are somewhat moued, when we tell them, That *John Hus* and *Hierome* of Prage were burnt against publike faith, and that in this Councell was made that law of not keeping faith with heretikes: for as they plainely denie that *Hierome* had any safeconduct, so they cauill that *John* had it onely of the Emperour, not of the Councell; affirming moreouer, that that Decree is fained. Doubtlesse the Archbishop *Antonine*, whom they haue canonized for
Antonin. part. 3. tit. 22. c. 6. a Saint, deales better with vs: For of *John* he saith, *He was condemned in the Coun-* E
cell, and burnt. Of *Hierome*, *He was burnt publikely.* Afterward he addeth, *And be-*
cause the Emperour seemed not to take it well, by reason of the safeconduct giuen vnto
them, the Councell answered him, That they could not be accused of breach of faith, be-
cause the Councell it selfe had not giuen him a safeconduct, and that the Councell is grea-
ter than the Emperour, and therefore no such thing could be granted by him against the
will of the Councell, especially in matter of faith. Pius the second saith in expresse
Æneas Siluius historia Bohemica c. 36. tearmes, *It was thought good by the perswasion of Sigismond the Emperour, that John*
and Hierome should be called to the Councell. Which confutes those that say, that *Hie-*
rome

A *rome* came of his owne accord. *Bonfinius* in the historie of Hungarie, saith, *It was* *Bonfinius Decad. 3. l. 2.*
thought fit that John Hus and Hierome should be sent for to the Synod, and being sent for,
came. The Fathers of the Councell therefore breake the faith of the Emperour,
and dispence with the breach of his safeconduct, as being of no force without
theirs; notwithstanding the Emperour had both called the Councell, and in a ci-
tie of his owne, where he onely had authoritie, and *Wencestaus* king of Bohemia,
at the request of the Councell, sent thither *John Hus*, vnder the safeconduct of the
Emperour, as they themselues confesse. Full of fraud and deceit therefore were
these Fathers, in demaunding him of his king; and vnder the safeconduct of the *Naucler. vol. 2. Gener. 48.*
Emperour, which they were resolued to make voyd. As for the Decree it selfe, it
B is read in the nineteenth Session, with this title, *That notwithstanding the safecon-*
duct of the Emperour, of Kings, &c. it is lawfull for a competent Iudge to enquire of here-
ticall prauitie: The words themselues are these, *This present holie Synod declareth,* *Concilium Constantiens. Sess. 19.*
That notwithstanding any safeconduct giuen by the Emperour, or Kings, or other secular
Princes, to heretikes, or any suspected of heresie, pretending thereby to draw them from
their errours, by what band soeuer they be bound, it cannot, nor ought to be any préiudice
or hinderance to the Catholike faith, or Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction: and that the said safe-
conduct can be no let, but that it shall be lawfull for a competent and Ecclesiasticall Iudge, to
make iniquisition of the errours of such persons, and otherwise to proceed against them,
and to punish them as iustice shall require, if they shall obstinately refuse to reuoke their er-
C *rours, notwithstanding that vnder the assurance of a safeconduct they shall come to the*
place of iudgement, refusing otherwise to come. Neither shall he that hath so promised,
hauing otherwise done what in him lyes, from thence forward continue in any thing
bound. In the margent this is likewise noted, *A safeconduct can be no defence for an*
heretike, obstinately defending his heresies. So that by this meanes Princes are dis-
charged of their faith, their safeconducts in this case are made voyd: They that
appeare vnder this assurance are deliuered to the Inquisition; and they that dis-
pence so absolutely with other mens consciences, what faith can they make? and
being made, how doe they performe it, or who will take it? *John Hus* therefore di-
ed a Martyre of Christ, in the yeare 1415, the people that were present at his *An. 1415.*
D death breaking out into these words, *What this man hath heretofore taught, or done,*
we know not, but doubtlesse these are great tokens of true pietie; that is to say, hearing
his ardent prayers vnto God touching this point: turning to the Prelats that
were present at this spectacle, he said, *After an hundred yeres you shall answer to God*
and to me. Whereupon there was money coyned in Bohemia with this inscription
in Latine on the one side, *Centũ reuolutis annis Deo respondebitis & mihi*, and on the
other side, *Credo vnam esse Ecclesiam Catholicam*; I beleeue one Catholike Church.
It is likewise said, that he should say, *Ye roast me the goose* (for that his name *Hus*
signifieth in the Bohemian tongue) *but hereafter will a Swan come, who in despight of*
you shall sing better, and yet you shall not roast him. Now iust an hundred yeares after
E came *Luther*, by whose doctrine the Church of Rome being striken as it were with
lightning, notwithstanding all their rage and furie, he died peaceable in his owne
house.

62. Progression.

The fortunat proceedings of Iohn de Troſnouie, otherwiſe called Ziſcha, Captaine of the diſtreſſed Chriſtians, againſt the Emperour Sigiſmund. The practiſes of Pope Martin to deſtroy the Chriſtians in Bohemia, after the death of Ziſcha. The cunning ſhifts of Martin the fift, to auoyd the reformation of the Church, at the Councell of Conſtance. The Councell of Baſil depoſeth Eugenius, and chuſeth Amades, Duke of Sauoy, for Pope. Of the comming of the Emperour of Greece and the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, to the Councell at Florence. Vladiſlaus king of Hungarie maketh peace with Amurath the great Turke, which he breaketh through the perſuaſion of Pope Eugenius, and what happened thereof.

Æneas Syluius in hiſtor. Bohem. c. 35. & 36.

GReat was the authoritie of *Iohn Hus* in Bohemia, *whoſe puritie alſo of life commended him to be powerfull in words*. The people were filled with his doctrine, eſpecially at Prage, the capitall citie, where, vpon the exceeding great Indulgences of *Iohn* the foure and twentieth, they made this outcrie, That he was Antichriſt: and when the magiſtrat had put many of them to death in priſon, not daring to do it openly, the people ſeeing their bloud running vnder the gate of the palace, ran thither to ſeek the bodies, crying out, *Theſe are the Saints that haue deliuered vp their bodies for the teſtament of God.* Moreouer, that Epitome of Roman abhominations, which was come ſo neere vnto them at Conſtance, made their ſtinking ſauor reach ſo far as into Bohemia; the people of Sueuia complaining, That in ſo very little ſpace of time they had brought in with them ſo great a deluge of vncleanneſſe, as could not be waſhed away in thirtie yeres, ſeeing that among the traine of thoſe Prelats are numbred of Hiſtoriographers, to be foure hundred and fiftie common whores, and three hundred juglers. The report then of the death of *Iohn Hus* comming vpon this, and aboue all the infamous treacherie vſed towards him, exceedingly ſtirred vp the people, yea made them ſo much the more beleeue the truth of his doctrine, for that he had ſealed it with his bloud; and contrariwiſe moued them to abhorre the Romiſh, whoſe abhominable faith could not bee maintained but only by treacherie. Then therefore they entreat the king to grant vnto them Temples, for the free exerciſe of their religion, which he conſented to them, and they multipled, and according as they encreaſed they require to be prouided of places neceſſarie. Neither did queene *Sophia*, of the houſe of Bauaria, who gouerned the kings weakeneſſe, ſhew her ſelfe repugnant vnto them. But he being deceaſed of a palſie, the Emperour *Sigeſmund* his brother ſucceeded, who inſtigated by the Counceil, and after by the Pope, reſolueth to vſe all violence againſt them, and employeth againſt them all the forces of the Empire, aſſembling to that end *Princes, Prelats, Knights, Eſquires, and common people, out of Liege, Holland, Zeeland, Henault, and other places*, and left nothing vnattempted that could be done either by force of warre, or bitterneſſe of torments. There roſe vp at that time one *Iohn de Troſnouie*, called *Ziſcha*, becauſe he had but one eye, of a noble houſe, but of meane fortunes, yet a valiant man, who gathered together the wandring and ſcattered people of euerie age and ſex, into a place of aduantage. It were incredible, but that the aduerſaries themſelues doe teſtifie it, hee fought

Munſter lect. vol. 2. c. 257.

fought eleuen battels with *Sigiſmund*, and euer got the vpper hand, and in ſome of them after he had loſt his eye, blind of both, he was no leſſe fortunat a Leader of this wretched people; whoſe murmurings often in that deſperat eſtate, was no leſſe difficult a matter for him to reſtraine and appeaſe, than to ſuſtaine the violent force of the enemie: till at length *Sigiſmund* ſeeing all things ſucceed well vnto him, and that at his onely becke all the affaires of Bohemia were ſwayed, reſolueth to ouercome and ruine him with faire words; and giueth vnto him the Lieutenancie of the kingdome, with chiefeſt authoritie, and a great yearely penſion, on condition, That he ſhould acknowledge him king, and cauſe all the reſt alſo to acknowledge him. Here the acclamation of Pope *Pius* is worthie noting: *Surely a great ignominie to the Maieſtie Royall, ſhame to the glorie Imperiall, and eternall infamie to the Chriſtian Commonweale, That our age hath ſeene Sigiſmund (a Prince of good yeares, borne of Emperours, and himſelfe an Emperour, whoſe name Italie, France, Germanie, and all Europe, honoured, and whom barbarous nations feared) a ſuppliant vnto this man, not borne otherwiſe of any great nobilitie, an old man, blind, an heretike, giuen to ſacrilege, and all wickednes, to offer vnto him money, and the greateſt honours that he might vouchſafe, to take his part.* But the death of *Ziſcha*, partly broken with trauels, partly with yeares, brake off the treatie. And ſome write that hee dyed of the plague: Whereupon *Syluius* hath this bitter taunt, *Him whom the hand of man was not able to kill, the finger of God deſtroyed*. By how much better right ought hee, in the baſeneſſe and infirmitie of the man which he repreſenteth, to haue acknowledged the arme of God. Neither yet were this miſerable poore people deſtitute of Gods protection, although by his death they thenceforth named themſelues *Orphans*, as ſhall bee ſeene in his place. The Epitaph written on his tombe, in the citie of Tabor, which he had builded, is memorable: *I Iohn Ziſcha, reſt here, in skill of militarie affaires not inferiour to any of the Emperours, or Captaines, a ſeuere reuenger of the pride and couetouſneſſe of the Clergie-men, and a moſt valiant defender of my countrey. That which Appius Claudius, being blind, did for the Romans in well counſeltrey. That which Appius Claudius, being blind, did for the Romans in well counſeltrey, and Furius Camillus in valiantly exployting, the ſame haue I done for my Bohemians. I neuer was wanting to the good fortune of the warre, nor it to mee. I haue foreſeene, though blind, all importunities of well-doing, and with Enſignes ſpred haue fought eleuen times, euer victorious. It ſeemed vnto mee, that I haue verie well done, to take in hand the moſt iuſt cauſe of the miſerable and hungrie, againſt the delicat, fat, and crammed Prieſts, and in this doing haue felt the helpe of God. If their enuie had not hindered it, no doubt I ſhould haue merited to be numbred among the Illuſtrious men. Neuertheleſſe my bones lye here in this ſacred place, etiam inſalutato, inuitoque Papa, Euen without hauing ſaluted the Pope, and in deſpight of his teeth.* And vnderneath was written in Greeke, Ιωάννης Ζίσκα ὁ Βοημος τὴν διαγωγὴν ἱερὸν ἔχθρος, ἀλλ' εν θεῶ ζῆλω, *Iohn Ziſcha, enemie of the Prieſts couetous of diſhoneſt gaine; but in a godlie zeale.* Neither is it to be omitted, That when a certaine Picard came into Bohemia, & had by his illuſions enticed after him ſome people into an iſland of the riuer Luſmik, where he had taught them to goe naked, and promiſcuouſly to couple themſelues one with another, whence they were called Adamites (as it is an ordinarie thing with Sathan to caſt ſuch miſtie clouds ouer the light of the Goſpel, when he ſeeth it begin to ſhine forth;) *Ziſcha* and his people were the firſt that ſet vpon them, with open force inuaded the iſland, and put them all to the edge of the ſword, excepting two onely, of whom they might learne the particularities

Æneas Syluius Hiſtor. Bohem. c. 46.

Paralipom. Abbatis Vſpergenſis.

larities of their impious ſuperſtition: When notwithſtanding the Preachers of A
the Romiſh Church burden the doctrine of *John Hus* with diuers calumnies, the
Fathers of the Councell of Conſtance condemned it for the opinions of *Wickliffe*;
but they imputed to *wickliffe* ſuch opinions, after their owne pleaſure, as he ne-
uer thought off, and one monſtrous aboue the reſt, *That God ought to obey the di-*
uell, although the calumnie it ſelfe is ſuch as ſheweth their vntrue dealing: and
none of them that wrot againſt *Wickliffe*, whileſt he was aliue, doth make menti-
on of any ſuch. And as for *John Hus*, Pope *Pius* the ſecond recounteth in his hi-
ſtorie the articles of his doctrine, agreeable to our confeſſions. And there is
extant the confeſſions of the Bohemians, exhibited to their kings, when libertie
of their religion was permitted them; in which is nothing which agreeth not B
with true Chriſtian pietie. In the meane time Pope *Martin* loſeth not courage;
on the contrarie thinking, as indeed it was, that the vnion of this people was ſha-
ken by the death of *Ziſcha*, determined to contriue againſt them. They had two
different captaines for the warre, the great and the little Precop, and thence their
concord ſeemed to be but ill repaired. He therefore ſendeth the Cardinall of
Wincheſter, an Engliſhman, into Germanie, to ſtirre vp the mind of the Empe-
rour, & command the Germans to take the Croſſe againſt this people; and ſo is a
threefold armie leuied, the firſt out of the circuit of Saxonie, and the townes by
the ſea coaſt, commaunded by the duke of Saxonie; the ſecond out of the terri-
torie of Franconia, by the Marqueſſe of Brandebourg; and the third out of the C
juriſdictions of Rhine, of Bauaria, and of Sueuia, by *Otho* Archbiſhop of Tre-
uer: who by three wayes enter into Bohemia, and joyne themſelues together,
joyntly to recouer the citie Mizla, which the night before the enemies had ſurpri-
ſed. That handfull of men ſeemed vnable to ſtand againſt ſo mightie an armie,
neuertheleſſe hauing gathered themſelues together in haſt, they march direct-
ly towards their enemies; But they (ſaith *Pius* the ſecond) *fled without ſeeing the*
enemie, and comming to Thacouia, left their artillerie and bootie there. The Cardi-
nall commeth to meet them, *admiring at the fearefull and ſhamefull flight of ſo ma-*
ny Captaines and valiant men: He earneſtly entreateth them againe and againe, D
to turne backe their face to the enemie, euerie way weaker than they: But
when hee could not obtaine this, hee is conſtrained to accompanie them in
their flight. I durſt not write thus much, if Pope *Pius* the ſecond had not
firſt written it, and in ſo many words: *Scarcely were they entred into the foreſt,*
when the Bohemians comming vpon them, began to aſſaile the hindmoſt troupes: then
their flight is made more diſorderly and fearefull, neither doe the Germans giue o-
uer ſooner to flie, than the Bohemians to follow. Therefore they take their bag-
gage, winne Thacouia by aſſault, and make themſelues maſters of the artil-
lerie: Thence they waſt Miſnia, taxe Franconia, Bamberg, Nuremberg, and
other cities, to redeeme themſelues. Here *Sigiſmund* and Pope *Martin* be-
thinke themſelues of another armie ſtronger than the former, vnto which all E
the Princes, States and cities doe contribute. *Iulian* Cardinall of S. Angelo
commaunded for the Pope, and the Elector of Brandebourg for the Empe-
rour, many Princes accompayning them; there was in the army fortie thou-
ſand horſe, but the number of the footemen was not ſo many: And with theſe
great forces the Cardinall entreth into the countrie, *putting all he can to fire and*
ſword, and ſparing neither ſex nor age. Yet ſcarcely haue the feet of all touched
the borders, but that, *whether there were treaſon in the armie of the faithfull*,
(meaning

Æneas Syluius c.48.

A (meaning the Papall) *as many ſuppoſed, or that a vaine feare had inuaded the*
mindes of men without cauſe, they aſſembled throughout all the campe, and before there
was one enemy ſeene they betooke themſelues to a moſt ſhamefull flight. Iulian wondreth
whence this feare roſe, what reaſon might perſuade ſuch an armie to flie: He went about
ſuing to the Captaines, and exhorting them to take armes, to ſet themſelues in bat-
taile aray, and courageiouſly to expect the enemie: That they did not now contend for the
glorie of the kingdome, or for the poſſeſſion of ſome countrey, but waged warre for
their liues, religion, for the honour of Chriſt, and ſaluation of ſoules: That it was
a ſhamefull thing for the Germans, whoſe nobilitie and vertue was famous through-
out all the world, to flie out of battaile; that better were it to die, then to giue place to
B *the enemies, before they ſee them*. But truely here might *Pius* haue ſaid more to
purpoſe, that from the death of *Ziſcha*, *Here is the finger of God*. But whatſoeuer
Iulian could vpbraid them of, or ſet before their eies, all is in vaine; *ſo much had*
feare ouercome ſhame, The enſignes are ſuddenly ſnatched vp, and as if there were no
Generall in the armie euery man tumultuouſly without ſtaying for commandement, with-
out ſaluting his fellow, alſo throwing away their armes, make haſt to flight running as
faſt as they could, no otherwiſe than if the enemie had bene hard at their backes; and the
Cardinall, will he nill he, is faine to accompany them. A while after the enemy emboldē-
ned by their feare, come and ſeiſe vpon their baggage and get a great bootie. Where-
C fore the Emperor and the Pope deſpairing that they ſhould euer by force bring
them vnder, ſpeeches are caſt forth of calling another Councell at Baſil; whither
the Cardinall went to take courage and heart againe after the flight. *Monſtrelet*,
though ill affected towards the Bohemians, ſaith, *They feared no martyrdoms, nator-*
ments, their verie women took armes and fought, and the dead bodies of many were found
among the ſlain in battels. So that here if we reſpect the cauſe and reaſon of this war
it may ſeeme to be compared to that of the Machabees; Pope *Martin* with *Antio-*
chus, both in their Councels and in their ſucceſſes, warring in time paſt againſt
the people of God: which *Antiochus* alſo is ſet forth vnto vs for a figure of Anti-
chriſt.

Æneas Syluius Hiſtor. Bohem. c.48. & 49.

Monſtrelet, vol. 1. c.258.

Sigiſmund had giuen hope to the complaints of the people from all parts, That
D hee would prouide in the Councell of Conſtance for the reformation of the
Church; and therefore as well the Vniuerſities, as many nations themſelues had
exhibited by their embaſſadors to the Councel verie many articles, tending to re-
formation, namely of Paris, by M. *Iohn Gerſon* Chancelor of the ſame, and M.
Peter de Aliaco Cardinall, which to this day are read; yet they were appointed
to be examined after order was taken for the ſchiſme. Where therefore *Sigiſmund*
ſaw all things finiſhed that ſeemed ſhould goe before, That *Iohn* the fourteenth
twentieth was depoſed, That Gregorie the xij had renounced, That ſentence was
giuen againſt *Benedict* the xiij, and order taken (as it was thought) to preuent
ſchiſmes to come, and moreouer *John Hus* and *Hierome* of Prague condemned
E and puniſhed; he thought now the time was come, wherein he might ſeriouſly ſo-
licite the Fathers to take in hand a Reformation, and that ſo much the rather, for
that there was not yet any Head choſen, the Councel might both more boldly
with greater authoritie, and with leſſe contradiction, ordaine for reforming the
Head, and conſtraining him into order: and he which was to be choſen Pope,
would the more willingly accept of the law preſcribed to him, for hee knowing
not of his owne election, he himſelfe would conſent to the reformation of the fu-
ture Pope. Therefore in the fortieth Seſſion, in which ſat chiefe the Cardinall of
Oſtia, *William* Cardinall of S. Marke read certaine Decrees, of which he required

Concilium Conſtantienſ. Seſſ. 12. 14 17. 39.

Seſſ. 15. & 21.

Seſſ. 40.

the Councell to giue ſentence, that they might be publiſhed by the future Pope before the diſſolution of the Councell: yet were they but matters ſuperficiall, as the number, qualitie, nation, of Cardinals; reſeruations, Annates, common and mean ſeruices, collations and gratis expectatiue, confirmations, cauſes to be reſerued to the Court of Rome, or which are not to be referued, Appeales, Rules of Chancelrie, and Penetenciaries, commenda's, alienations of the goods of the Romiſh Church, extirpation of ſimonie, diſpenſations, indulgences, tithes, alſo the cauſes for which the Pope may be corrected & depoſed: All which neuertheleſſe are put off to be ended after the Popes election, that a law might be made of them in Councel by his authority, by the aduiſe of the nations. Without doubt becauſe that word galled them that eſcaped from *Sigiſmund*, who, to ſome that ſaid *reformation ſhold be begun à minoritis, with the meaner ſort*, anſwered, yea rather *à matoritis, with the greateſt*, meaning the Pope and Cardinals. For he himſelf had inſtituted a forme of reformation, which is yet read, printed at Ausbourg in the yeare 1484. Wherefore, Cardinall *Colonne* being elected Pope (called *Martin* the fift) on S. *Martins* day 1417, and *Sigiſmund* vrging him earneſtly to a reformation, he declareth, That this long ſojourning at Conſtance, had bin a diſcommoditie to all the Churches; That ſo great a buſineſſe needed mature deliberation; That euerie Prouince, as ſaith *Hierome*, hath their peculiar manners and opinions; which without trouble could not be ſoone taken away: and by his cunning deuiſes hee preuailed ſo much, that he obtayned the diſſolution of the Councell, on condition that another Councell ſhould be held fiue yeares after, then another ſeuen yeares after that, and from thenceforth from ten yeares to ten yeares; in which they ſhould treat of matters pertaining to Faith and to the Common weale. And to make them beleeue that hee meant good earneſt, he preſently ordaineth that the next ſhould be held within fiue yeares at Pauia. And then in the fiue and fortieth Seſſion, Cardinall *Winbald* by the Popes commaundement, pronounceth, *Domini ite in pace, My Lords depart in peace*: with which words they were diſmiſſed, *Sublato*, ſaith *Platina*, *omnium conſenſu maximè verò Imperatoris, without the conſent of all, yea of the Emperour*; Who entreating him, that he would yet ſojourne but a verie little while longer in Germanie, *Martin* excuſed himſelfe vpon the neceſſitie of returning to Rome, for *that the Chappels of the Saints by the Popes abſence went to ruine*. Wherefore, ſaith *Volaterran*, he departed againſt the will and liking of *Sigiſmund*. What fit excuſe, when there were propounded to him the diſeaſes of the Church, fretting away her moſt inward bowels, yea threatning an vtter ruine at hand? *Martin* then paſſeth into Italie, triumphing without doubt, that he had by his diligence eſcaped this daungerous rocke of reformation, which he ſo much feared; and now wholly bendeth his mind to ſettle and ſtrengthen himſelfe in the Popedome.

Concilium Conſtantienſ. Seſſ. 45.
Platina in Martino 5.

Baltheſar Coſſa, called *John* the foure and twentieth, or according to ſome the three and twentieth, ſat neere to his heart, who had found meanes for the price of thirtie thouſand Crownes to redeeme himſelfe out of the hands of the Palatine who had him in cuſtodie, & departing thence viſited his antient friends throughout Italie; for that it ſeemed to portend vnto him a new Schiſme: yet he commeth to him to Florence and ſaluteth him humblie, truſting in the friendſhip and faith of *Coſma de Medicis*, who had all power and authoritie in the citie, though it were a free citie. *Martine* therefore made him Cardinall of Tuſculum, where a few daies after he dyed. *Peter de Luna*, called *Benedict* the thirteenth, raigned yet imaginarily in his rocke of Arragon, with ſome of his Cardinals; and *Alfonſus* king

A king of Arragon was offended againſt *Martin*, for that to his prejudice, he had declared king of Sicilie, *Lewis* of Anjou, adopted by Queene *Ioane*. In the meane ſeaſon, fell out the time appointed for the Councell of Pauia, which hee could not with honeſtie ſhift off, though *Alfonſus* threatned to oppoſe *Benedict* againſt him. He therefore ſendeth thither *Peter Donatus* Archbiſhop of Candie, with ſome Cardinals to begin the Councell at Pauia: then after, by reaſon of the peſtilence, transferreth it to Siena, to which place reſorted a greater number of all Nations than to Pauia. Neither wanted there the Embaſſadours of *Alfonſus* to prolong the Councell, till he might with bountious gifts promote the buſineſſe of *Benedict*. But *Martin* thinking it good to preuent the worſt, ſuddenly breaketh

B vp the Councell and putteth it off for ſeuen yeares; And therefore *Antoninus* ſaith, it was onely held *perfunctoriè, for faſhion ſake*. Till at laſt *Martin* is deliuered of this feare, firſt by the death of *Benedict*, in the yeare 1424, *hauing ſurpaſſed the yeares of S. Peter for the full meaſure* (ſaith the Authour) *of his damnation, but not in the ſeat of S. Peter*: to whom neuertheleſſe his Cardinals created a ſucceſſor named *Clement* the 8. But afterwards the ſayd *Clement* renouncing the Popedome in the yeare 1428, whom *Martin* compelled ſo to doe (he being forſaken of moſt of his Cardinals) and giuing him the biſhopricke of Maiorca, and reſeruing to the Cardinals that were about him their dignities: and furthermore, hauing alſo before all things appeaſed the mind of *Alfonſus*, when he perceiued

C that the warres of *Lewis* had no good ſucceſſe at Naples: then *Martin* being receiued at Rome, bendeth his care to the re-edifying and repayring of the buildings; and the Cardinals by his example, euerie one in their pariſhes did the like, and that was ſayd *inſtaurare, to reſtore or repaire the Church*. He gaue himſelfe alſo to the gathering of money on all ſides; *For*, ſaith *Antoninus, this thing common report reproued in him, that he too greedily laboured to heape vp money; ſo that he was in no wiſe able to ſay with the chiefe Apoſtle, Siluer and Gold haue I none. But that his exceeding great temporall treaſure was conſumed by the hands of his kinſmen, and chiefely of his nephew the Prince of Salerne, to whom it fell by his death, in beſtowing it on hired ſouldiers and enemies againſt the Church*. And in the yeare 1431 he dieth,

D happie in this, that thereby he eſcaped the Councell of Baſill, which fell out at the ſame time, and was ſo much the more to be feared, for that the Fathers of the Councel of Conſtance had made a law both by word and in effect, wherby it was decreed, That a generall Councell is aboue the Pope. This is that Pope of whom *Angelus de Clauaſio* a Frier Minorite, authour of the Angelicall Summa, writeth on the word Pope, *Hauing communicated the matter with his Doctors, he gaue to a certaine man leaue to marrie with his owne ſiſter*. And this *Angelus* flouriſhed almoſt about the ſame time vnder *Sixtus* the fourth.

Now he had alreadie aſſigned this Councell at the inſtance of *Sigiſmund*, and for to hold it, ordayned Legat *Iulian* Cardinall of S. Angelo, who had alreadie

E begun it, and hauing had but bad ſucceſſe of the warres in Bohemia, had graunted in the Councels name a ſafe conduct to the Bohemians and Morauians to come thither, with all aſſurances requiſit. But it was to be doubted, whether Cardinall *Condelmero* his ſucceſſour, called *Eugenius* the fourth, would continue it, and ſo much the rather, for that in the ſecond Seſſion it had beene deceed theſe words, That *the Synod gathered together by the aſſiſtance of the holie Ghoſt, making a generall Councell and repreſenting the Church militant, hath power immediatly from Chriſt, whereunto all men of what eſtate or dignitie ſoeuer, yea be it the Pope himſelfe, is bound to obay in thoſe things that pertaine vnto Faith; and he that ſhall diſdaine to obay the ſta-*

Concil. Baſilienſi Seſſ. 2.

tutes

An. 1424.
Antonin. tit. 22. cap. 7.

An. 1428.

Monstrelet. vol. 1. An. 1431.

tutes, vnlesse he repent, let him be duely punished. And indeed hee endeuoured al- A
readie to put it off for a yeare and a halfe longer, and to transferre it to Bononia, that thereby (as he sayd) the Greekes might more easily repaire vnto it. For which cause, *Sigismund* fearing delay, wrot vnto him verie vehemently, That vnder pretence of the Greekes, he ought not deferre the peace of the Church among the Latins: That the Bohemians had alreadie accepted of the safe conduct, of whose conuersion there was some good hope, which if it would not be, they would then ioyntly take counsell together of the meanes to destroy them: That seeing they professe to proue their doctrine by the holie Scripture, if the Councell should either be dismissed, or deferred till another time, they would say that the Fathers could not aunswer them; and that the Catholikes themselues, to B
whom so long time Reformation was promised, frustrate of that hope at Pisa and at Constance, would verily deeme all to be but mockerie and collusion: That the Princes also, neighbours of the Bohemians, would make truce with them, as some alreadie haue done, and it may be would ioyne together with them both in their minds and forces. Therefore that he should giue commission to the President, Cardinall *Iulian*, to continue the Councell, otherwise it were to be doubted, that the delaying of the Councell would prouoke *the Laitie to play the mad-men against the Church*. Moreouer, That the Councell it selfe would by no meanes consent to the dissoluing of it, and in that behalfe should be followed and out-borne by the greatest part of the Kings, Princes, Prelats, and of all in generall, who C
would hold him (by good right) for an authour and fauourer of heresies and schismes among Christians; whereby he would be an occasion of a new disobedience in the Church, and of new troubles: and that it would be much better if he himselfe were present in person. *Eugenius* was yet but young in the Popedome, and had not as yet ynough tried his strength: at Rome also was disagreement betweene him and the *Colonni*, whom he had diuersly molested, for to recouer of them the money of *Martin*, which (as it was said) they had craftily gotten into their hands. Therefore thinking it best for him to rest quiet, hee approueth the conuocation of the Councell of Basil, and confirmeth the Legation of Cardi- D
nall *Iulian*, and that so much the rather, for that *Sigismund* came into Italie, whose alliance with the Duke of Milan, and intelligence with the *Colonni*, he feared. But this Prince, otherwise great, either by his owne negligence, or more truely, by reason of pouertie, came thither in so poore a manner, that hee easily put away from him all feare. *We haue seene him* (saith *Valla*) *with few followers about him, liue but as for a day, and he would haue perished for hunger if Eugenius had not fed him, though not gratis, for he wrested from him the Donation. He comming to Rome to bee crowned Emperour of the Romans, could not be crowned of the Pope, but on condition that he should ratifie the donation of Constantine, and also giue all those things anew.* Yea he addeth in indignation, *What is more contrarie, than to be crowned Roman Em-* E
perour, and to renounce Rome? to be crowned of him, whom he confesseth, and (as much as in him lyeth) maketh Lord of the Roman Empire? and to ratifie a donation, which if it be true, leaueth to the Emperour nothing of the Empire? which I thinke children would not haue done. Yea and *Eugenius* adiureth him, before he set the Crowne on his head, presently to depart Rome, and to stay no longer in Italie: and so hee forthwith passed the Alpes, and returned into Germanie. And this is it *Platina* hath:

Platina in Eugenio 4.

In the beginning of his Popedome, moued by the words of the Emperour, Princes, and Prelats, he confirmed the Councel of Basil, euen by his Apostolicall letters: for he was so vexed with warres, that he scarcely had power to breath: but taking heart againe, hee constantly

A *stantly and prudently administred all things*. Thus spake hee in fauour of the Popes.

Whereup *Eugenius* stoutly taketh vpon him to dissolue this Councell, or to assigne another somewhere else, and he publisheth his Bulls; whereby he reuoketh both the Councell and Cardinall *Iulian*, whom he had appointed to preside there; who speedily returneth to him into Italie. The Fathers of the Councell on the contrarie, by their embassadours sundrie times beseech him, That he would come and be there present himselfe, otherwise by dissoluing the Councell hee would giue occasion of scandall: yea they decree, That reuocation can haue no place, and set before him the most grieuous punishments propounded in the Councell
B of Constance, vnlesse he would obey: but if he purpose (which he hideth) to hold another Councell, they declare openly, that there can be but onely one. And that if he breake it off, he with his is to expect the like iudgement of God as in time past fell vpon *Core, Dathan*, and *Abiron*, schismatikes. Lastly, they admonish, cite, blame, accuse, and adiure him, leauing no forme requisit vnobserued or done, they abrogat the Cardinals by him created for to hold another Councell: they suspend him from the Popedome, depose him, pronounce him a notorious schismatike, periurer, heretike, scandalous, incorrigible, obstinat, depriued, deposed, put downe; and as such a one they take from him all obedience, and make a Decree for the chusing another in his roome. All which things in their order reach
C to the yeare 1439. And these things were done, notwithstanding the Emperour *Sigismund* in the meane time was deceased, who had chiefely set forward the Councell, that *Eugenius* also with his had assigned another Councell first at Ferrara, in the yeare 1438, and after by reason of the pestilence there, transferred it in the yeare 1439 to Florence: whither came the Emperour *Paleologus* of Greece, to entreat the succours of the Latines against the Turkes, and for that cause, as it was thought, was the more pliable to the pretentions of the Romish Church. But the Fathers of the Councell of Basil proceed farther to the election of a successor, and prescribe beforehand the forme of the oath that hee ought to take,

Sess. 10, 11, 12, 26.

Sess. 31, 34, 37.

An. 1438.

An. 1493.

namely, *To execute and obserue the Decrees of the Councells of Constance and Basil: al-*
D *so to procure the celebration of generall Councels, and confirmation of elections, according to the Decrees of the sacred Councell of Basil.* They further declare the Councell of Ferrara to be vnlawfull, and none at all, and tearme it a *Conuenticle*: And presently also authorise three Catholike truthes, against certaine *Inuectiues* of *Eugenius*. The first is, *That the power of a generall Councell, representing the vniuersall Church, is aboue the Pope and all other whomsoeuer, is a truth of Catholike Faith*. Secondly, *That the Pope can by no meanes of his owne authoritie dissolue a generall Councell, or prorogue it to another time, or transferre it from one place to another, without the consent thereof*. Thirdly, *That he which obstinatly repugneth the foresaid truthes, is to be iudged an heretike*. And these they handle in a writing published expressly. In

Sess. 37.

Sess. 38.

E the end they enter into the Conclaue, and chuse for Pope *Amades* Duke of Sauoy, absent, by the name of *Felix* the fourth, who a little before did liue an Hermits life at Ripaille, vpon the lake of Lausanne. In the meane time *Eugenius* was not idle in Italie. *Charles* the seuenth, king of France, who held for the Councell of Basil, had sent his gallies into the Ionicke sea, for to meet *Iohn Paleologus*, Emperour of the East, and to giue him to vnderstand in what place the lawfull Councell was held, & to persuade him to take land in France, & thence to conduct him to Basil. *Eugenius* hauing corrupted with money the Generall of the French gallies, breaketh off his course, and draweth him to his part. Whereupon *Eugenius*

taketh

taketh occasion not a little to commend his Councell, by the hope of making an vnion betweene the Roman and Greeke Church, which notwithstanding, as it seemed, continued not long. And so hauing dismissed his conuenticle, he returneth to Rome, where he is receiued with greater applause than before. On the other part, the Councell of Basil continuing still neuertheless, it troubled him: and truce being made betweene the kings of France and England, whereby the souldiers on both parts were dismissed, *Eugenius* taketh the occasion offered, and winneth the Dolphine of France (who was afterward *Lewis* the eleuenth) who of those broken troupes gathered together to the number of thirtie thousand and more, and vnder diuers pretences marcheth towards Basil, but indeed with a purpose (as the Historiographers of Italie doe testifie) to terrifie the Fathers of the Councell for to constraine them to breake it off. When these were entred on the territorie of the citie, the Cantons of the Switzers ran to succour it: There foure thousand Switzers sustained a violence and force neuer before heard of, in a conflict that continued till night; of the Switzers, fighting it out euen to the last gaspe, there hardly escaped an hundred and fiftie, but of the Armignacs (for so they were called) were slaine eight thousand, among which was their chiefe Leader. And thus did that good Father procure the peace of the Church, which was betwixt *Felix* and him miserably distracted; yet there were many that acknowledged neither. And as *Felix* and his fauourers, bold vpon the authoritie of the Councell of Basil, defamed *Eugenius* in his Bulls: so he likewise spareth not *Felix* in his, written to all the Princes from Florence, That this *Felix*, Duke of Sauoy, borne in a countrey infamous for witches and sorcerers, from his youth consulted with them, had this put into his head, That he should be Pope; and that to this end he had assumed the habit of an Hermit, for to set a monstrous head on the Church, as a most false hypocrite; and that he might couer vnder sheepes clothing his wolfish crueltie, That he truely was an Image of *Nabuchadnezzar*, or rather an Idol of *Belzebub* set vp in the Church of God, a *Lucifer*, who said, *I will place my seat in the North, &c.* And worse he would haue said if he could: Whilest in the meane time in his letters and Buls he stileth himselfe, *The true Spouse of the Church*. What dare Antichrist do more? And hence let the Reader judge, what lawfull vocation remained in the Roman Church, when *Eugenius* dieth a schismatike, an heretike, deposed, his Acts reuoked, disanulled, made void, and neuer more thenceforth authorised; and consequently all whatsoeuer ordinations, consecrations, haue proceeded therefrom, and that by the authoritie of so famous a Councell: when on the other side *Felix*, in places of his obedience, raigneth Pope nine whole yeares, by the Councell of Florence excommunicated, anathematized, and his Bulls declared void, and disanulled, and whatsoeuer dependeth of them, if the vocation of the Ministers of the Church proceed onely from the Pope, as from the head.

Now, as we haue said, *Eugenius* coloured his matters with the comming of the Emperour of Greece, and of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who with many Bishops had beene present at his Councell, brought thither by the gallies of the Venetians, countreymen of *Eugenius*. There the Acts of the Councell written in Greeke, doe testifie, that the Pope did the best he could to make himselfe bee seene in his full pride. *In the morning before the first houre of the day we saw Caristinus come running to vs, sent from the Emperour, who told the Patriarch, That the Pope expected, that his Holinesse should goe to him and adore him, and kisse his feet: and the Emperour* (saith he) *hath alreadie insisted and contended three dayes, that he might not doe*

Synodi Florentinæ Acta Græcè conscripta ex Bibliotheca Regia.

ΕΩΘΕΝ λάμποντες, inquit Græca Synodus, καὶ φοβηθέντων ἀφ' ἡμῶν τῶν ἡμέρας ὀφθῆ-

doe it, which in the meane time he declareth to your Holinesse, that you may know in what manner you must come vnto him. This was verie grieuous to the Patriarch, who trusted that he should be receiued in a far other fashion, and should find another affection and certaintie, πληροφορίαν: For when he was yet at Venice, he had said to one of his domestike fauorites, concerning the Pope, I haue determined with my self, that if the Pope be of more yeares than I, I hold him for my Father, if of equall yeares, for my brother, but if he be younger than I, I account him for my sonne: And my mind is, that if there bee any faire house neere vnto his, which hath διάφορον, a priuat passage from the one to the other, let him giue it me, that priuatly I may goe to him, and he likewise to me againe, &c. But when he heard of kissing his feet, he was amazed, notwithstanding hee departed, and we came (when the Courts were alreadie full) to Ferrara, and stayed right against the castle neere the bridge: and before noone there came six Bishops, and they in the Popes behalfe congratulat the Patriarches comming. The Patriarch said, That hee owed him not any such salutation; but for as much (saith he) *as wee are brethren, let vs embrace and kisse each other brotherly, otherwise I will doe nothing. The Patriarch had also other speeches concerning that matter, vnto which they made answer.* And the Patriarch, with all the Bishops that he had brought with him, tooke counsell together, and with one voyce did decree, *That this is neither iust nor meet, nor profitable to be done.* The Bishops of the Pope returne againe in the morning, and *instantly vrge that kissing of feet; but the Patriarch declareth, this instance is vnseemely: for whence* (saith he) *hath the Pope that right? Shew vs what Synod hath giuen it to him, or where it is written, especially seeing the Pope calleth himselfe the successor of Saint Peter? But the Bishops answer, That it is an auncient custome of the Pope, and that all salute him in that manner, Bishops, Kings, the Emperour of Germanie himselfe, and the Cardinalls, who are greater than the Emperour, in as much as they are persons consecrat. Whereunto the Patriarch replied, That this was a new inuention, I will not* (saith he) *absent vnto it, I will neuer do it; but if the Pope be pleased that I salute him brotherly, according to our auncient manner, in that sort I will goe to him; but if he accept not of that, I refuse all, and returne back againe.* At length (saith the Greeke Synod) it came to this, That whereas the Pope thought to haue made the Patriarch kisse his feet in a frequent assemblie, when he could not make him condescend vnto it, was forced at last to receiue him, ἐν ἰδίῳ κελλίῳ, *in his priuie chamber*, and that the Cardinals onely being present. All which things were on each side treated and concluded, before the Greekes would come forth of their ships. For the order of the Councell, the Pope contended, that the Greeke Emperour and the Patriarch, with the Orientals, should sit on the left side of the Temple, and the Westerne peoples on the right hand, and that himselfe at the higher end of all, in the middest betweene both, as head of both, should haue an eminent seat: The Emperour contrariwise debateth, That this

μαν ἡ καισινὸν πολλὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἡμῶν διάφορα, ὃς ἐλθὼν εἶπε τῷ παπεδάρχῃ, ὅπως ἐκδέχεται ὁ πάπας, ἵνα ἡ μεγάλη ἀρμονία σὲ ἑλλῶν φωσκυνήσῃ, καὶ ἀσπάσῃ κῶτο ἢ πόδα αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐνίστατο καὶ ἀναίζετο μὴ ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, διαμενῶν ἐμὲ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ ἀρμονίᾳ σε, ἵνα εἰδῇς πῶς ἂν φωσκυλήσῃ αὐτό. Δεινὸν οὖν ἔδοξε τοῦτο πᾶσι τῷ παπεδάρχῃ, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἀλλὰ ἀνασπασμὸν καὶ διάσεισιν καὶ πλησφορίαν ἐδώρει εὐρίσκειν ἀπὸ τὸ πάπα, ἀλλ' ἐν ὠμῇ εὐπρεπείᾳ εἶπε πρὸς τίνα ἀξίωσιν καὶ ὁμολήσαι τὸ πάπα; ὅτι ἐγὼ ἔχησα εἰς ἐμαυτὸν, ἵνα εἰ μὲν ὁ πάπας φερσπήσῃ μου κατὰ τὸ χρόνιον, ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ὡς πατέρα μου, εἰ δὲ ἴσος ἡμῖν ἐυσεβεῖ κ' τοῦ γένους, ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ὡς ἀδελφὸν μου, εἰδὲ νεώτερος, ὑπηρχέτω μου ὡς υἱὸν μου. Καὶ ὅλως ἵνα εἰ ἦσαν ἰσηλα καλὰ πανῶν τῶν ἰσηλα ἀυτὸ, ἐχάσα κ' δίδου μετέωρον ὑπερῶν τῆς ὁδὸς δῶν ωοὶ ταύτῃλω, ὡς αὐ κ' ἰδίως ωερὶ αὐτὸν διηχήμεθ, ἢ κακεῖθ' ἂν ωερὶ ἐμὲ, &c. ὡς δὲ τὸν τῷ πάπᾳ ἀσπασμὸν ἤκουεν, ὀξετά

place rather belongeth to him. At laſt they agreed, that the Pope with his We- A
ſterne people ſhould ſit on the right hand, the Greeke Emperor with the Eaſterne
people on the left; but *Eugenius* ouerruled ſo farre, that his throne was placed by
the high Altar, the Roman Emperours (though abſent) in the next place, but
ſome degrees lower, and equall with him ſat the Cardinals and Weſterne Prelats:
the Emperour of Greece had his throne ſet right againſt the Popes, and on his
left hand ſat the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, but in an inferiour degree, and e-
quall with him were the ſeats of the Legats of the other Eaſterne Patriarches, of
the Archbiſhops and Prelats, euerie one in his order. And hence may the Reader
diſcerne what the Patriarch might judge of the pride of the Latine Biſhop. But
what may we ſay of *Baronius*, who in diuers places confeſſeth, That the left hand B
in Councels was euer the more honourable. As touching the matter it ſelfe, for
the concluding of the controuerſies of the Latine and Greeke Churches, is made
an inſtrument of a vnion, *Lætentur cœli*, wherein they agree on both ſides, That
the holie Ghoſt proceedeth from the Father and the Sonne: That the Sacrament
may be indifferently made of leauened or vnleauened bread: That the ſoules of
the faithfull that haue not yet ſatisfied for their ſinnes, goe to Purgatorie: That
the Pope of Rome is Head of the vniuerſall Chriſtian Church. All which arti-
cles the Greeke Emperor cauſeth to be approued by the moſt part of his, hoping
he ſhould haue aſſiſtance againſt the Turkes. But *Michael* Biſhop of Epheſus,
with ſome others, doth euer withſtand the ſame, reiecting eſpecially the two later. C
Which is more, when *Ioſeph* Archbiſhop of Conſtantinople was dead, *Eugenius*
would haue them proceed before him to the chuſing of another, promiſing, a-
gainſt his diſpoſition, to ordaine him without money, yea to giue them ſome if
need were; and to depoſe him that did obtaine with him the place of Patriarch:
which he would not doe if they deferred his election till they came into their
countrey. The Greekes perceiuing whereto he tended, namely, that he might en-
ter poſſeſſion of the ſupreme power in the Church by that meanes, and that with
their conſent, anſwer him with one accord, That their Patriarch cannot bee, by
their laws, choſen any where elſe than at Conſtantinople: That it is their cuſtom
he ſhould be choſen and conſecrated in his owne Church: That the Emperour, D
who was not ignorant of theſe ceremonies, would not ſuffer it to bee otherwiſe.
Concilium Flo-rent. Seſſ. vltim. Which the Pope vnderſtanding, though much againſt his mind, with gracious
words he let them depart. Now they were no ſooner returned into their coun-
trey, but they were reiected of their Churches, in this eſpecially, that they had
admitted the ſupreme authoritie of the Pope of Rome, whoſe pride being more
neerely looked into, they at laſt refuſe it in their writings publiſhed, notwithſtan-
ding that he had endeuoured to bind vnto him ſome of the beſt learned, as *Iſidore*
Biſhop of Ruſſia, and *Beſſarion* Biſhop of Nicea, to whom he had giuen a Cardi-
nalls hat, which he choſe rather to weare in Italie than in Greece. And from that
time forth were by the Popes neglected the affaires of Greece, and abandoned E
to the furie of Infidels.

But it is in no wiſe here to be omitted, That during the time that *Eugenius* held
his Councell, partly at Ferrara and partly at Florence, hee publiſhed diuers wri-
tings againſt that Decree of Baſil, That a Councell is aboue the Pope, in which
he did not ſticke to affirme, *That ſo farre was it off that he ought to obey generall Coun-
cels, that then he moſt merited when he contemned the Decrees of the Councell*: and
which is more, he declareth this propoſition to be hereticall, *The Councell is aboue
the Pope*, although both then and euer ſince it was held and affirmed by all the Vni-
uerſities

A uerſities of Chriſtendome. Whence it came, that whileſt the Roman Church
ſayd ſhe is ſuperior to all other Churches, and the Roman Biſhop to all other bi-
ſhops, by this decree of *Eugenius* ſhould the Biſhop of Rome be made ſuperiour
or of higher authoritie than the Vniuerſall Church, and conſequently that preten-
ded infallibilitie of the Church ſhould be deriued not now to the Romiſh Church,
but to one onely man, which is the higheſt degree of Antichriſt in the Church,
according to that of S. *Auguſtine* in his booke of the citie of God, That Antichriſt *Auguſt. de Ciui-tate Dei l. 18. cap. 2.*
ſhould not onely ſit *in Templo Dei, in the Temple of God*, but as Saint *Paule* hath it
eſt verò in Templum, into the Temple, as if he himſelfe were the Temple it ſelfe, he
alone the Church. In the meane time, let the Reader judge of that *Infallabilitie* of
B the Church, repreſented in a Councel, by theſe Councels which at one ſame time
and in one ſame matter, doe decree things directly contrarie.

As touching the affaires of the Bohemians, for which particularly the Empe-
perour *Sigiſmund* had ſo inſtantly requeſted the Councell; the moſt part of the
Churches, terrified with the perfidious treacherie vſed towards *Iohn Hus*, and *Hie-
rome* of Prague, refuſed to ſend any one thither: but the principall of the Nobili-
tie ouer-ruled the matter, that ſome ſhould appeare, for to render a reaſon of the
innouation in religion imputed vnto them. So ſoone as they came thither, they
were receiued verie curteouſly by Cardinall *Iulian* the Legat, who was not yet
called backe. Then in the Councell he maketh an Oration, wherein he bringing
C in the Church of Rome ſpeaking to them, in his words, and attributing to it ſelfe
alone all that is ſpoken in holie Scripture concerning the Church the Spouſe of
Chriſt, and preſuppoſing that which is chiefely in queſtion, flattereth himſelfe in
this perpetual Elenche: Sheweth that in her power are the keyes of the kingdome
of heauen, That ſhe is without ſpot or wrinkle, That whoſoeuer departed from her
was an Heathen and a Publican, That the decrees of Councels are her decrees,
which are no leſſe to be beleeued than the Goſpels, ſeeing they giue authoritie to
the Scriptures. To this the Bohemians in few words; That they deſpiſed neither
the Church nor Councels, that they had beene condemned at Conſtance with-
out being heard, notwithſtanding that they affirmed nothing but by the holie *Oratio Iulian. Cardinal. Legati in Append. Concilij Baſi-lienſ.*
D Scriptures: and then they propound their Articles; And on both ſides were cho-
ſen ſuch as ſhold enter into conference. The diſputation laſted fiftie dayes, and af-
ter many ſpent on this ſide and on that, it was thought beſt to leaue Theologicall
queſtions, and prouide for the Common wealth, and ſo ſend ſome thither, who
hauing made ſearch how matters ſtood, might compound with them. Here was
the policie, To permit the Communiõ vnder both kinds, to ſuch as in other things
would ſubmit themſelues to the Councell, and proceeded with all rigour to the
reſt that embraced not the ſame condition. Theſe were the auntient Waldenſes,
and their Diſciples, who requeſted that the Church might be reformed in moſt of
the Articles, which are conteined in their and our confeſſions; who for this cauſe
E ſuffered much, both by the warres that *Sigiſmund* made vpon them, and by the
diuiſion and back-ſliding of their companions: Yet doe we ſee their Churches
outliue ſo many miſeries, & vntill theſe times conſiſt and continue moſt flouriſh-
ing and largely propagated. As touching the Fathers of the Councell of Baſill,
they ſeeme to be ſomewhat aſhamed of that Decreee of Conſtance, concerning
the Communion vnder both kinds: And whereas they of Conſtance ſayd, *Al-
though Chriſt hath inſtituted the holie Supper vnder both kinds, &c. Yet notwithſtan-
ding, &c.* Theſe of Baſill ſay, hauing well examined the Diuine Scriptures, and
the doctrines of the holie Fathers, *That the faithfull of the Laitie or of the Clergie*

communicating, are not bound by the commaundement of the Lord, to receiue the Sacrament of the Euchariſt vnder both kinds, of bread and wine; altering and wreſting the deciſion beſide the purpoſe; whereas indeed the Bohemians complayned not, that they were conſtrained to a whole Communion by the Romiſh Church, but that they were excluded from *it*: And what greater neceſſitie can there be to a Chriſtian man, than to ſticke vnto the precept and preſcript rule of his Sauiour? Theſe are euer their ſubtile deceits. Laſtly, this Councel of Baſil had forbidden to exact or pay Annates, vnder pain of Simonie; *Eugenius*, who willingly would looſe nothing, complaineth as of an iniurie done to the Church, That this could not, neither ought to haue beene done, without hauing firſt conſulted with *Eugenius* and his Colledge of Cardinals; *If any pretended abuſes in them, they ought to haue prouided againſt them, without priuation of the ſubſtance, that ſo Iuſtice and peace might meet each other*: euidently abuſing the Scriptures. For, ſaid he, *whence ſhall the Apoſtolike See defray charges, in prouiding for the neceſſities and commodities of the vniuerſal Church, and for thoſe things that belong vnto peace, and the extirpation of hereſies and errors?* And with the ſame reaſon ouerthroweth he that which they had ordained concerning indulgences, election, cauſes and vacations of Scribes and Abbreuiators of the Court of Rome, and other like pillages. And this was not the leaſt cauſe why he would diſſolue the Councell. An Authour of thoſe times, not to be ſuſpected, ſaith, That he was ſo prodigall of Indulgences, that the Engliſhmen, who perceiued it, commonly ſayd, *Rome commeth now to our gates. The church of Rome is a great harlot, for now ſhe proſtituteth herſelfe to euerie one that offereth money. And all being full of pardons, the Popes negotiators at length gaue indulgences for a ſupper, for a lodging, for a draught of wine or beere, for tennis play, and ſometime for brothelrie or leacherie.*

Reſponſ. facile per Domin. Anton. Auditorem pro parte Eugenij.

Thomas Gaſcoigne in Dictionario Theologico.

We are not to omit that *Eugenius*, who from the time of *Martin* his predeceſſour had accuſtomed himſelfe to warfare, and all the time of his Popedome had beene entangled in warre, made ſuch a wound in Chriſtendome, as hath bled euer ſince. *Vladiſlaus* king of Hungarie, had made peace with the Turke. *Eugenius* ſendeth vnto him Cardinall *Iulian*, who promiſing vnto him ſome ſuccours, and a Nauie at Sea to ſtay and incumber the enemie, perſuadeth him to breake that peace, *ſeeing that it could not ſubſiſt with the enemies of Chriſt without his commaundement*: whereupon, enſueth a bloudie battaile, in which the Turkes had the victorie; *for to ſhew vs* (ſaith *Æneas Siluius*, after Pope *Pius* the ſecond) *That oaths ought to be kept, not onely with the domeſtick friends of faith, but alſo with the enemies thereof.* In that battaile was ſlaine king *Vladiſlaus*, a patterne of ſingular valour, and of renowned Nobilitie; Cardinall *Iulian* was wounded, and in his retiring is ſlayne of the Chriſtians themſelues, as Author of this miſerable diſcomfiture, by the deſloyaltie of which he was inſtrument. And from this misfortune aroſe others without end, and without number; ſo daungerous is it for any to enterpriſe any thing againſt faithfulneſſe and beyond his vocation. Memorable againſt perfidious perſons, is that which we read in the Hungarian Hiſtorie: *when Amurath beheld his armie put to flight by king Vladiſlaus, not without great ſlaughter, pulling forth of his boſome the Articles of peace ſolemnely ſworne, vnfoldeth it, and lifting vp his eyes ſtedfaſtly vnto heauen, ſaith, Theſe are, O Ieſu Chriſt, the couenants of peace which thy Chriſtians haue made with me; they haue holily ſworne by thy Diuine Maieſtie, and haue violated the faith giuen in thy name; they haue perfidiouſly denied their God. Now, O Chriſt, if thou be God, I beſeech the reuenge here theſe thine iniuries & mine; and to them that as yet acknowledge not thy name, ſhew the puniſhment of violated*

Æneas Syluius l. 1. Epiſt. 81.

Bonfiny Hiſt. Hungar. Dec. 2. lib. 6.

ted faith. Scarcely had he ſaid theſe words, who expected the laſt of extremities againſt himſelfe, when the battell, which before had beene doubtfull, enclined towards his ſide, &c. This happened in the yeare 1444, from which time the ſtate of Chriſtendome could neuer well recouer it ſelfe. *An.* 1444.

Moreouer the Councell of Baſill, or at leaſtwiſe they which in their name wrot againſt the Bohemians, on their part ſet forward the progreſſe of abomination. For when thoſe Churches had determined not to admit any doctrine that was not grounded on holie Scripture, Cardinal *Cuſan* was charged by letters to confound them with this Axiome, which they were not aſhamed to maintaine, *That the Scriptures can by no meanes be of the eſſence of the Church, either begun or continued, but onely of the ſeemely order thereof.* Item, *That the Church is not knowne by the Goſpell, but the Goſpell by the Church.* Item, *That ſo much the more worthily is the word of God giuen of God, by how much the farther off it is from all Scripture, yea and from all vocall word:* That by this reaſon he might reduce all things to the Church, which they call Catholike, from the Catholike to the Roman, and at laſt draw them from the Roman to their Councell. And when thoſe Churches replied, That that was not the mind nor voyce of the auntient Church, which had otherwiſe celebrated the holie Euchariſt, and had in another ſence interpreted the Scripture, than now in theſe dayes it is: *Let not this moue thee* (ſaith he) *that in diuers times, diuerſe are the ceremonies of Prieſts; and that the Scriptures be found applied to the time, and diuerſly vnderſtood; ſo that in one time they be expounded according to the vniuerſall ceremonie then currant, but the ceremonie being changed, the ſence thereof again is changed: Wherefore, although of the ſame precept of the Goſpel the interpretation of the Church be other than in times paſt, yet this ſence now currant in vſe inſpired for the gouernement of the Church, ought to be receiued, as beſitting the time and as the way to ſaluation*: The reaſon followeth, *becauſe the iudgement of the Church being changed, the iudgement alſo of God is changed.* And by this accoũt, whether it be their Church or their Councell, it is not onely extolled aboue the holie Scripture, but alſo aboue God himſelfe; who is held, if we beleeue them, to change his counſell after their pleaſure: of which doctrine truely euen the Iewes in their Thalmud, and the Turkes in their Alcoran would be aſhamed. And when afterwards the Popes haue reduced the vniuerſall authoritie both of Councels and of the Church it ſelfe, to the perſon of the Pope alone (*Eugenius* in the Councell of Florence, *Pius* the ſecond in his eloquent bull on that matter, and others afterward) it followeth that the Pope is exalted aboue the holie Scriptures, yea aboue God himſelfe, and is therfore to be accounted for him, of whom the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, *He exalteth himſelfe againſt all that is called God or that is worſhipped, ſo that he ſitteth in the Temple of God as God*; who dare correct God, alter the ſence of his word after his owne pleaſure & commoditie? And thus Reader thou ſeeſt, how this Myſterie of Iniquitie ſtill aduaunceth forward.

Cardinal. Cuſanus Epiſt. 2. & 3. ad Bohemos.

2. Theſ. 2.

Oppoſition.

The precedent progreſſion is intermixed with ſo many and mightie oppoſitions, that there ſeemeth to be no need of any other; notwithſtanding, as ſighes encreaſe according to the euill, ſo in this place aboundeth vnto vs verie manie. The Emperour *Sigiſmund* had framed certaine Articles of reformation, to be exhibited to the Councell of Conſtance; diuers others alſo in diuers Nations had conceiued alſo ſome patternes. *M. Peter de Alliaco*, Cardinal of Cambray, is particularly

ticularly commaunded to write these things, for to shew them to the Councel in
An.1415. the yere 1415, the first of Nouember, foure monthes after that *Iohn* the foure and twentieth had renounced the Popedome, the Seat being vacant, two yeres before *Martin* was chosen to succeed, during which space this matter of reformation seemed fittest of all to be thought vpon. The Preface of his discourse is by a place of S. *Bernard* vpon the *Canticles, Sermon* 33. *A rotten vlcer spreadeth it selfe at this day ouer all the bodie of the Church, so much the more desperat, by how much the more it is farre and wide extended; and by how much the more it is inward, so much the more it is dangerous. For if an heretike enemie should openly arise, he might be cast out, and so wither; if a violent enemie, she might perhaps hide her selfe from him: but now whom shal she cast out, or from whom shall she hide her selfe? All are friends, and all enemies, &c. they are the ministers of Christ, and serue Antichrist, &c. The wound of the Church is inward and incurable, & therfore in peace her bitternesse is most bitter.* And this place haue we aboue alledged at length, out of which he draweth this conclusion, Seeing that the Church from henceforth was fallen from euill to worse, vnlesse betimes it be looked to and preuented, after the horrible darknesse of so many schismes, much more horride things were in very few daies to be expected. He prosecuteth afterwards by degrees those things that he thinketh doe belong to reformation of the vniuersall body of the Church: First, That it is necessarie there should be eftsoons held generall and Prouinciall Councels for the correction of abuses, especially generall, which can with greater authoritie correct both all sorts of persons, and all things. Neither are we to expect remedie from the Church of Rome, as if it were able to satisfie all cases that fall out: *Many* (saith he) *suspect that she hath dissembled these things, and for this cause hath neglected the holding of Councels, that she might the more fully beare dominion according to her owne lust and pleasure, and vsurpe the more freely the rights and prerogatiues of other Churches:* That before the time of *Constantine*, because the Church might not with free libertie hold Councels, it hath fallen into diuers heresies; therefore no maruell if in these later times, through neglect of Councels, it fall into diuers schismes, and innumerable other euils *ad hæreses dispondentia*, which dispose it to heresies: That generall Councels are first of all necessary for the reformation of the body of the Church, especially of the Roman, *which is* de arduis pertinentibus ad fidem, *difficult in things pertaining to faith*; in as much as that which the Glosse saith (*That the Pope ought to require a Councel when matters of faith is debated*) is not to be referred onely to the articles of faith, but to those things that belong to the state of the faithfull Church: whereas otherwise it would be too dangerous a thing to commit our faith to the iudgement and fancie of one man alone. Lastly, that now, if euer, was a fit opportunitie, either to procure the vnion of the Greekes with the Latines, or to represse the designements of the Turks, who after they haue rent and torne in peeces the Empire, will with all violence rush vpon the Church, and so make way for Antichrist: *And already* (saith he) *many very godly deuout men, not without cause, doe feare* præsentialiter, *presently both the one and the other ruine*; namely, of the Empire by the Turks, and of the Church by Antichrist, 2. For the reformation of the Court of Rome: That for the auoiding of schismes, which proceed from the factions of the Cardinals, it is sufficient to haue of euery each Prouince but one onely Cardinall: Also that the Pope ought to prouide remedies, & cut off the grieuous burdens wherwith the Roman Church oppresseth other Churches, seeing that the Greeke Church is alienated from it because of her exactions, excommunications, and statutes: and that to take away those exactions, it were meet she should abate of her pompe, of her excesse, and of

Dist. 19. c. Anastas. & ibid. Glossa & Archid. dist. 15.

of the number of the Cardinals: Excommunications, which after the example of the Primitiue Church, for to make them the more to be feared, ought not come forth but for graue and weightie causes; whereas in these dayes they are thundered forth for verie light and for the most part temporall causes, and the Anathemaes themselues; whereupon they are growne into contempt with all men: That there be a meane vsed in Statutes, Canons, and Decrees, which oblige to mortall paines, and of which may be said that of our Lord to the Pharisies, *They lay burdens on mens shoulders, which they wold not touch with the top of the finger.* And this article reached very farre. 3. For the Prelats, That they should be chosen capable in doctrine, exemplarie in manners, resident in their charges, *moderat in diet and expence, abstaining from corporall armes, from secular affaires, cutting off all simonie:* That it was necessarie to declare, that many obseruations are of that kind, that they are rather counsels than precepts, He bringeth for example; *Lent*, to be moderated out of the circumstances, the Seruice to be abridged to a deuout and entire breuitie, the varietie of Images in Churches to be repressed, a meane and bounds to be set in new Holidayes, Churches, and Saints; on Sondayes and solemne feasts onely to abstaine from labour, and out of the Diuine Seruice to banish and put forth all Apocripha Scriptures, new prayers, and to be short, all nouelties. 4. For religious persons, That their great number and diuersitie is altogether pernitious, whilest the one boasteth and is proud in his Rule against the other; aboue all, the begging Friers ought to be bridled, being burdensome to the people, *dammageable to spittles and hospitals and to other truely poore and needie wretches, preiudiciall also to the Curats and poore of Parishes, and likewise, if it be well considered, to all estates of the Church: Those Preaching money-gatherers aboue all, because they defile the Church with their lyes, and make it ridiculous, and the office of Preaching contemptible.* Monkes after the Canon of Chalcedon, to be restrained in their monasteries to fastings and prayer, excluded from Ecclesiasticall and secular affaires, and to be debarred from all studies, Diuinitie excepted, seeing it is euident, *That the Court of Rome, in contemning Diuines, haue preferred to all Ecclesiasticall degrees the students of gainefull sciences, when neuertheless the Primitiue Diuines haue edified the Church, which some wrangling Lawyers haue destroyed, and now seeme to bring to extreame ruine; so that now this horrible prouerbe is vsed of some, That the Church is come to that state, that it is not worthie to be gouerned by any but reprobats.* Neither doe they withdraw themselues from the iurisdiction of Ordinaries against the holie Decrees, by humane priuiledges obtained by importunitie: *For it is not a little to be doubted* (saith hee) *whether such men are in state to be saued.* All which things, although they respect more the circumstance than the substance of Christian religion, yet are they in no sort touched in that Councell. Moreouer, this same *Peter de Alliaco* in his Questions, hath disputed, *Vtrum Petri Ecclesia lege reguletur, Whether the Church of Peter* (meaning the Roman) *may be ruled by a law*: where he concludeth affirmatiuely, and subiecteth both the Pope and the Roman Church to a Councell. Yet there wanted not at the same time, euen in France it selfe, busie spies of the Pope, who maintained contrarie positions; for in the yere 1429 one Erier *Iohn Sarazenus*, of the order of Preachers, durst teach and maintaine these same that follow: First, *That all powers and iurisdictions of the Church, which be other than the Papal power, are from the Pope himselfe, as touching their institution and collation.* 2. *Such like powers are not* de iure diuino, *of diuine right, nor immediatly instituted of God.* 3. *It is not found that Christ hath expressed such powers; to wit, different from the Papall, but only that supreme power to whom hee hath committed the foundation of the Church.* 4. *When-*

Petrus de Alliaco in Vesperijs.

ſoeuer any Statuees are made in any Councell, the whole authoritie giuing force to thoſe A
Statutes, reſideth in the Pope alone. Fiftly, It is not expreſly ſhewed by the text of the Go-
ſpell, That the authoritie of iuriſdiction was beſtowed on any of the Apoſtles, ſauing one-
ly on Peter. Sixtly, To ſay that the power of iuriſdiction of inferiour Prelats, whether
they be Biſhops or Curats, is immediatly from God, like as is the Popes power, is after a
a ſort repugnant to the truth. Seuenthly, Like as no flower, no bud, neither yet all flow-
ers and buds together, can doe any thing in the tree, which are all ordained for the tree,
and deriued from the tree; ſo all other powers can de jure, *by right doe nothing againſt the*
chiefe Prieſthood, or Prieſt, beeing inſtituted by him. (Here after is ſaid, that the Spiri-
tuall power is the Pope, as ſayd Hugo de Sancto Victore 2. De Sacramentis: *out of which*
it may ſeeme, that here by chiefe Prieſthood hee meaneth the Pope.) Eightly, That the B
Pope cannot commit Canonicall ſimonie, prohibited by the poſitiue law. The profeſſors
of Diuinitie in Paris, being ſolemnely aſſembled on the eighth day of March, and
hauing duely weighed theſe poſitions, condemne them publikely, and com-
pell the ſaid *Iohn* to abiure them, and force him to anſwer vnto others contrarie,
which here doe follow: *Firſt, That all powers of iuriſdiction of the Church, which are*
not the Papall power, are from Chriſt himſelfe, as touching their primarie inſtitution and
collation, but from the Pope and from the Church, as touching their limitation and mini-
ſteriall diſpenſation. Secondly, Such like powers are de jure diuino, *of diuine right, and*
immediatly inſtituted by God. Thirdly, It is found in holie Scripture, that Chriſt hath C
founded the Church, and hath expreſly ordained the powers diuers from the Papall.
Fourthly, Whenſoeuer in any Councell any Statutes are made, the whole authoritie giuing
vigour to the Statutes, reſideth not in the Pope alone, but principally in the holie Ghoſt,
and in the Catholike Church. Fiftly, By the text of the Goſpell, and by the doctrine of
the Apoſtles is expreſly ſhewed, That the authoritie of iuriſdiction was beſtowed on the
Apoſtles, and on the Diſciples ſent of Chriſt. Sixtly, To ſay that the power of iuriſdicti-
on of inferiour Prelats, whether they be Biſhops or Curats, is immediatly from God, is
conſonant to the Euangelicall and Apoſtolicall truth. Seuenthly, Any power, that is to
ſay, of the Church, by right may doe ſomething, and in certaine caſes, againſt the Pope.
Eightly, Any whoſoeuer that is but meere man, hauing the vſe of reaſon, of whatſoeuer D
dignitie, authoritie, and preheminence, yea though he be a Pope, may commit ſimonie. Laſt-
ly, If I haue vttered or written any other things, which ſeeme contrarie to the foreſayd
truthes, or which are otherwiſe written, I will not ſtand in them, but will and entreat
that they be accounted for not ſayd or written; and all other things whatſoeuer, which may
ſeeme to yeeld occaſion of ſcandall or errour. The Acts of all which are ſolemnely kept
in the Arches of the Sorbone.

The Councell of Baſil was able perhaps to take in hand a reformation with more courage than that of Conſtance; but it had *Eugenius* to contend with, who, as before we haue ſeene, defended ſtoutly euen the leaſt articles, ſo that by ad-monitions, gainſayings, and oppoſitions, he left nothing vnattempted. Not- E withſtanding the hiſtorie of the Councell of Baſil, written by *Æneas Syluius*, then Clerke of the Ceremonies, who was there preſent, and ſince *Pius* the ſecond, and therefore a moſt fit witneſſe, aſſureth vs, that many things were there grauely pronounced according to the truth: although he plainely ſheweth, that *Eugeni-us* had intruded into it many of his, which were incorporated and had taken oath in the Councell, and yet neuertheleſſe in all things tooke the part of *Eugenius*, *An.*1438. who were vulgarly named the Griſean ſect. In the yeare then 1438, when *Euge-nius* had aſſigned his Councell at Ferrara, to the preiudice of that of Baſil, the Emperour *Albert* came in betweene to be a mediator of peace, and for that intent aſſembled

A aſſembled a Parliament firſt at Norimberg, and after at Mentz, wherein were preſent the Deputies of the Councell of Baſil, of all nations: in *Eugenius* name appeared none in ſhew, yet verie many in deed, who ſet forward his intention. The Fathers of Baſil conſented, that for the commoditie of the Greekes the place of the Councell ſhould be changed. *Eugenius* for to retaine his authoritie, would haue the Councell of Baſil bee diſſolued. In the meane betweene both was the Emperour, who would haue it ſo to be transferred, that it ſhould be thought diſ-ſolued: Neuertheleſſe he found ſo much reaſon in the proceeding of them of Ba-ſil, that he gaue them for Protector of the Councel *Conrade de Windzberg*; where-by he manifeſted both that he approued the Councell, and diſliked the wiles of
B *Eugenius*, namely that which the Author noteth, *The embaſſadours requeſted that the Fathers would repaire and transferre the Councell to another place; which one thing Eugenius ſeemed to haue ſought, that ſo he might either diſperſe the Fathers of the Coun-cell, or take away the libertie thereof.*

During the Parliament of Mentz, was diſputed among the Diuines in the Councell of Baſil, of the perſon of *Eugenius*, the one part affirming, *That he is an heretike*; others, *That he is a relapſe*, and ſome denying both: *the more grieuous ſen-tence carried it away, That he was an heretike and a relapſe both together.* The Diuines therefore ſet downe in writing eight Concluſions (which they call Truthes) and ſend copies of them throughout all the world, which were ſuch; *Firſt, It is a*
C *Truth of Catholike Faith, That a ſacred generall Councell hath power aboue the Pope, and all other whomſoeuer. Secondly, That a generall Councell lawfully aſſembled, cannot, with-out the conſent of the ſame, be by the Pope of Rome his authoritie, either diſſolued or tranſ-ferred, or prorogued for a time; and that is of the ſame Truth. Thirdly, That he which obſtinatly oppoſeth himſelfe to theſe Truthes, is to be iudged an heretike. Fourthly, Pope Eugenius the fourth hath repugned theſe Truthes, when firſt by the fulneſſe of Apoſto-like power he attempted to diſſolue or transferre the Councell of Baſil. Fiftly, Eugenius be-ing at length warned by the ſacred Councell, hath reuoked the errours repugnant to theſe Truthes. Sixtly, The diſſoluing or transferring thereof, the ſecond time by Eugenius at-tempted, is contrarie to the Truthes aforeſaid, and contayneth an vnexcuſable errour con-*
D *cerning faith. Seuenthly, Eugenius enterpriſing againe to breake vp, or transferre the Councell, is fallen into his errours formerly reuoked. Eightly, Eugenius being admoni-ſhed by the Synod to reuoke the diſſolution or tranſlation by him attempted, for the ſecond time, perſiſting in rebellion after his contumacie declared, and erecting a conuenticle at Ferrara, declareth himſelfe obſtinat.* Neuertheleſſe the Fathers would haue theſe yet publikely be examined by all the Doctors both of the Ciuile and Canon Law, for the ſpace of ſix dayes, *Lewis* Cardinall and Archbiſhop of Arles, ſitting Preſident, a man of great learning and courage, and they would that all ſhould ſpeake their opinion of them. The Abbot of Palermo, vulgarly called *Panormi-tan*, tooke vpon him the defence of *Eugenius*, yet durſt not denie that hee was an
E heretike, but onely that he was a *relapſe*, whom he would rather ſhould be called a *Prolapſe*, becauſe from a *relapſe* is no returne. On the contrarie *Iohn de Segouio*, a Spaniſh Diuine of great fame, ſtifly maintaineth out of his owne ſayings, *That he is an Infidell rather than a beleeuer, a member of Sathan rather than of Chriſt*; op-poſing to that ſingular Gloſſe alledged by *Panormitan*, *That the iudgement of the Roman Church ought to be preferred before all the world*, the authoritie of S. *Hieronie*, *Orbis maior eſt vrbe, The authoritie of the whole world is greater than of one onely citie.* The Biſhop of Arges proceedeth, *That the Pope is onely the Miniſter of the Church.* *Panormitan* waxing in choler, contendeth, *That he is Lord thereof.* *Segouia* replieth,

Take

Take heed what thou ſayeſt, Panormitane, *that is a more honourable title for the Biſhop of Rome, whereby he calleth himſelfe the Seruant of the ſeruants of God. For that is taken from the ſaying of Chriſt to his diſciples, when they asked which of them ſhould be the greateſt; for you know that he anſwered, The Princes of the Gentiles rule as Lords ouer them, &c.* But the Archbiſhop of Lyons, Embaſſador of the French king, ſtoutly *proued by many reaſons, that Eugenius was an heretike, and deteſted the lacke of courage of them, that had created ſuch a man Biſhop of Rome.* The Biſhop of Burgos Embaſſadour for Spaine, inſiſting on the three former concluſions, concludeth out of all the Law diuine and humane, *That the Councell is aboue the Pope, that he is an heretike which denieth it.* But comming to other things, which properly reſpected the fact of *Eugenius*, *It ſeemed* (ſaith the Authour) *that he ſomewhat departed from himſelfe, and was no more Burgenſis; neither did that grace appeare in his words, nor that grauitie in his ſpeech, or chearefulneſſe in his countenance, and if he could haue ſeene himſelfe, perhaps he would haue beene abaſhed at himſelfe: For who* (ſaith he) *did not then ſee the force of the truth, which furniſhed this man, ſpeaking for it, with ſentence and words; but ſpeaking againſt it, tooke away from him that verie eloquence which naturally was ingrafted in him? Yet thus much modeſtly ſhewed both he and Panormitan, that they ſayd ingeniouſly, That the iudgement of the Diuines was to be beleeued, and not their opinion who were not inſtructed in the holie Scriptures.* What Doctors of the Canon-law are theſe? what aſſeſſours or aſſiſtants of Popes and of Councels, which neglected to read the holie Scriptures.

The Authour proceedeth to declare, what was done vpon thoſe three concluſions: vpon the firſt, namely, which hath two points, *Whether the Councell be aboue the Pope, and whether Catholike faith commaundeth to beleeue ſo*; And for the Popes authoritie was ſolemnely cited; *Thou art Peter and vpon this rocke &c.* Item, *I haue prayed for thee Peter, &c.* By conference then of places, and by the expoſition of the Fathers, they manifeſtly proue, that theſe things were promiſed to the church, not to *Peter*, much leſſe to the Pope: and indeed, that many Popes haue grieuouſly erred, and of theſe they produce examples; That the Church, which is repreſented by a Councell, is the mother of all the faithfull, and by conſequent of the Pope, whence of *Anacletus* and *Calixtus* it is called *Mother*; That the Church is the Spouſe of Chriſt, the Pope onely his Vicar, a Vicar, who can neuer be aboue the Spouſe, who is one bodie with the bridegroome: That theſe words euer in their mouth, maketh nothing for them, *Whatſoeuer yee ſhall bind on earth, &c.* for this power was giuen to the Church not vnto *Peter*, for edification not for deſtruction, which conſequently may be taken away from the Pope, if he abuſe it, who is onely Vicar and Steward of the Church; therefore not equall to the Church, ſeeing Chriſt ſendeth Peter himſelfe to the Church, *tell it* (ſayeth he) *to the Church*, which if he will not heare, he ought to be accounted an heathen and a publican: That this Church ought to be heard by the Pope, in a generall Councell lawfully aſſembled: And that all thoſe Canoniſts, which buzze into his eare, that the Pope cannot be iudged but by god alone, that the firſt Seat is iudged of none, that though he ſhould leade multitudes of ſoules with him into hell yet is it lawfull for none to ſay vnto him, *what or why doeſt thou ſo*; doe moſt ſhamefully flatter him: *That thoſe decrees are the words of the Popes themſelues*, labouring to enlarge the fringes of their garment: That thoſe places alſo of Scripture, *Thou ſhalt be called Cephas, &c. I will giue vnto thee the keyes, &c. I haue prayed for thee, &c. Feed my ſheepe, &c. Launch forth into the deepe*, and the like, are induced againſt the true meaning of the holie Scripture; which they proue both by forcible reaſons, and

and by good and well applied places of the Fathers: That the Pope, if he obey not the Church, may be depoſed by it, ſeeing he is not the naturall head thereof, but grafted in, which may no leſſe be cut off than the reſt of the members, if hee ill execute his charge, if he be for the deſtruction or dammage thereof, be caſt into the fire, if he bring not forth good fruit, and be troden vnder foot in the ſtreet, if he be vnprofitable: Which is the opinion of S. *Hierome*, interpreting the *vnprofitable ſalt, That the Prelat fooliſh and vnſauorie in preaching, chiefely in Peters chaire, is to be caſt forth of doores, that is, to be depoſed, that he may be troden vnder feet of ſwine, that is, of Diuels, which beare rule ouer the euill Prelat, as ouer a beaſt of their flocke.* And this not onely for hereſie, but for whatſoeuer crime whereby the Church is ſcandalized. And this ſo much the more truely, for that the Pope, to ſpeake properly, is not the Vicar of Chriſt, but of the Church; and the Lord and Maſter may by all right depoſe his Vicar or Lieutenant, whoſe power ceaſeth when the Maſter is in preſence: ſo likewiſe doth the power of the Pope when a Councell is gathered, wherein remaineth fulneſſe of power. Here this doubt came in their way, *But the calling of a Councell, doth it not belong to the Pope alone?* Yea (ſaith he) if that haue place, who ſeeth not that the ruine of the Church is neere at hand, and will preſently enſue? For who knoweth not that hee which will ſinne, will ſinne without puniſhment? And who wil beleeue that a Pope will aſſigne a Councell for to repreſſe and reforme himſelfe? Neither doe I find (ſaith he) either by hiſtories, or by the Acts of the Apoſtles themſelues, that Popes alone haue aſſembled Councels: *The firſt of all Councells, where Mathias is ſubſtituted in place of Iudas; I find to be gathered not by the commaundement of Peter, but of Chriſt, who commaunded his Apoſtles, that they ſhould not depart from Hieruſalem, but ſhould expect the promiſe of the Father. The ſecond for the election of Deacons, was not aſſembled by Peter alone, but by the twelue Apoſtles, for it is written, Then the twelue called the multitude together: The third for the taking away of Circumciſion, and other legall rites, was gathered by commune inſpiration, as it is written, The Apoſtles and Elders came together. The fourth for the permiſſion of certaine legall things, ſeemeth to be aſſembled by Iames the brother of the Lord.* The ſame was alſo in the Primitiue Church, and ſince by the authoritie of the Emperours, yet ſo, as that the Popes conſent was requiſit according to reaſon, but on condition that the greater part carrie it away. And much more the Councell, being once aſſembled, cannot be by the Pope reuoked, ſeeing he himſelfe is a part of it, which ought to giue place to the greater, and from it to depart, maketh him guiltie of ſchiſme. And thus much for the firſt *Truth*, whereon the ſecond dependeth, *That the Pope cannot diſſolue a Councell*, otherwiſe, at the firſt word he ſhould heare of correction, he would bethinke himſelfe of this remedie. There remained the third, *whether this of Catholike faith is ſo to be beleeued*: Which they ſhew affirmatiuely, becauſe we are held to beleeue whatſoeuer is in the Goſpell; now in it, ſay they, is *dic Eccleſiæ*, on which words the Councel of Conſtance hath grounded this Decree, That the power of a Councell is aboue the Pope, vnder paine of hereſie. And ſo theſe three firſt Concluſions reſt moſt firme, by conſequence of which the others alſo are approued.

Now this deciſion was to be applied againſt *Eugenius*, and part of them who had conſented in theſe *Truthes*, deſired that the ſentence ſhould be deferred, ſome hoping they ſhould haue better of him, others, by reaſon that many Biſhops yet ſtayed in the Parliament of Mentz, famous men, whoſe Suffrages might ſeeme to be expected. And *Panormitan* tooke occaſion thereupon to inferre, That the Biſhops ought to be ſtayed for, and that inferiours haue not in Councell a Suffrage

deciſiue,

deciſiue, but onely *conſultatiue*: Vnto which added *Ludouicus Romanus*, *That argument is not to be taken out of the Acts of the Apoſtles, whoſe examples were rather to be admired than imitated; neither is it there manifeſt, that the Apoſtles had called the Elders out of their duetie; there is onely declared that they were preſent, out of which nothing can be inferred.* Which ſpeech all wondering at in ſo great a man, crie out *Blaſphemie.* Then therefore *Lewis* Cardinall of Arles, *A man of all other moſt conſtant, and borne to the gouernement of generall Councels, taking vp the words of all the Orators that had ſpoken*, declareth, That all theſe doubts were without cauſe, That theſe Concluſions had beene maturely determined and weighed, That the embaſſadours of all the Princes had giuen vpon theſe their ſentence, which were the chiefeſt men in the Church, That the Biſhops were in fault that they were not preſent, That to ſuch as were preſent greater reuerence was giuen than in any Councell before, and indeed greater authoritie, for ſo much as their prerogatiues are fully reſtored vnto them, *whom they placed in their former ſtate, and haue made them which were not Biſhops, but ſhadowes, to be true Biſhops*: That euen they which now do moſt draw back, haue in their writings auouched the ſame *Truthes* (meaning by thoſe words of *Panormitan*, and *Ludouicus Romanus*.) *But* (ſaith hee) *the Presbiters are not ſo to be put downe, who in the Councell of the Apoſtles had a deciſiue voyce*; and in like ſort alſo in the auncient Councels: That in time paſt the Biſhop and the Presbiter, or Prieſt, was but one and the ſame; in ſo much that S. *Auguſtine* ſaith on theſe words, *I will giue vnto thee the keyes, &c. That our Lord gaue* judiciariam poteſtatem, *iudiciarie power* to Biſhops and Prieſts, *eſpecially ſeeing they haue more done their duetie in the Councell than the Biſhops*; theſe fearing to loſe their dignities and their delights, thoſe for ſo juſt a cauſe not dreading any loſſe, nor yet death it ſelfe: That the Councell hath now ſat eight yeares, ſo that there cannot be pretended any headlong proceeding, nor any ignorance. And moreouer, the threats of ſome Princes are inferred beſide the Purpoſe, who are wiſer than to attempt any thing in preiudice of the Councell; and they themſelues alſo being taught by the word of God, not to feare them that can kill the bodie only, but him that can caſt the ſoule into hell. Laſtly, That ſeeing the embaſſadors of *Eugenius* dare preach euerie where their new doctrine, *That the Pope is aboue the Church*, they ought not deferre the publication of thoſe three Concluſions: yea *That they ſhould imitat the Apoſtle Paul, who would not for one houre forbeare Peter, not walking according to the truth of the Goſpell with a right foot*: But that the other things, which reſpect his perſon, might be deferred, *leaſt Panormitan exclaime more than needs.* At theſe words *Panormitan*, *Ludouicus Romanus*, and others, made a great tumult, and greatly vpbraided him, That he had related thoſe Concluſions at Louaine, and at Colonia; which he himſelfe alſo denied not. And verie hardly could *John de Segouia* obtaine ſilence to be made, though all did take an exceeding great delight to heare him ſpeake: He then ſtrongly confirmed the ſentence of the Preſident, & after many forcible arguments, *The followers of Eugenius* (ſaith he) *preach hereſie all the world ouer, neither doth any ſay vnto them that they ſhould surceaſe: but to you that intend to publiſh the truth, a thouſand things are whiſpered in your eares, for to make you be ſilent, &c. And to you my Lord Preſident, I ſay, that you muſt rather pleaſe God than Princes: If you therefore depart hence without concluſion, know that you ſhall render an account thereof in the ſeuere iudgement of God.* And at length the Cardinall of Arles pronounceth ſentence, whereby the minds of the contrarie partie were ſore troubled. The Councell had eſtabliſhed eight *Concluſions*, yet with intention to retaine onely the three former: *Theſe* (ſaith he) *in the name of the Father,*

Father and of the Sonne, and of the holie Ghoſt, I conclude. This ſaid, he roſe vp cheerefully, and very many ſtriuing, kiſſe the skirts of his garments, it being the common opinion, That this was rather a worke of the holie Ghoſt, than of him. *Panormitan* being much aſhamed, retireth to his lodging, and in his chamber *complaineth of his king* (the king of Arragon) *in that he had compelled him to fight againſt the truth, and to loſe his reputation, and his ſoule.* And the Author addeth, That notwithſtanding his proteſtation, he had ſeene him oftentimes in his ſtudie complaining of his Prince, that he was carried away with the counſell of others: and the Archbiſhop of Arles vpbraideth him, that none was more eagre in publiſhing the errours of *Eugenius*, none more readie to the Monitories and ſuſpenſion, and therefore that he ſhould examine his conſcience. Now in the end, the Decree is read and publiſhed, and the Hymne *Te Deum* ſung according to cuſtome, with the aſſent of the embaſſadors of the Princes, yea of the Emperour and of the king of France, notwithſtanding the endeuours of the aduerſe parties to the contrarie: and they proteſted by the mouth of the Archbiſhop of Tours, That what they had moued to the contrarie, had not beene for that they doubted of the truth and holineſſe of thoſe Concluſions (for which they were euen readie to ſuffer martyrdome) but that they might reſerue to themſelues ſome way of treating a peace. The ſame Authour noteth, That the peſtilence waxing hot at Baſil, many of the Prelats departed into diuers places, who at the point of death receiuing the Sacrament, ſaid to their friends that ſtood about them, *We are within few houres to appeare before the tribunall ſeat of God: All yee which be preſent pray to God to conuert them who acknowledge Gabriel* (to wit *Eugenius*) *for Pope, becauſe they cannot be ſaued in that eſtate*; teſtifying euen to the laſt gaſpe, that they will dye in the faith of the Councell of Baſil. And notwithſtanding all this danger, the Cardinall of Arles would not depart till he had fully brought to paſſe both the depoſition of *Eugenius*, and the election and coronation of a new Pope, which was *Amade* Duke of Sauoy, called *Felix* the fourth. Then, becauſe he had beene maried, grew a queſtion whether he might be choſen; it was determined, That *not onely he who hath had a wife, but he which yet hath one, may be admitted: For why elſe (ſay they) doe our Doctors diſpute, whether one that hath a wife, being choſen Pope, is bound to yeeld the duetie of mariage to his wife, but becauſe alſo a maried man may be receiued? Theſe haue both alſo (as you know) Popes in mariage ſtate, neither was Peter, the Prince of the Apoſtles, without a wife. Why doe we now obiect theſe things? It may be it were neuer the worſe if many Prieſts did marie, Sacerdotes quam-plures vxorari, becauſe many would be ſaued in a maried Prieſthood, which in a barren are damned.* Some do note, That the Cardinall of Arles, to whom the prayſe of this whole action is referred, being ſent from the Councell into lower Germanie, in his returne, verie hardly eſcaped an ambuſh which *Eugenius* had layd againſt him; ſo that he ſeemed not without cauſe to haue ſaid in a certaine Seſſion of the Councell, *Chriſt was ſold for thirtie peeces of ſiluer, but I was ſold for a farre greater price, for forty crownes of gold, deliuered and payed by Gabriel* (ſometime Eugenius) *that I might be taken priſoner, and preſented vnto him.*

It is worthie remembrance, That when *Eugenius* had ſent Legat *Iulian* Cardinall of Saint Angelo to the Councell of Baſil, & preſently after ſent him commaundement to diſſolue it: *Iulian* laied open vnto him by letters, how great an iniurie he ſhould doe himſelfe; and brought many reaſons againſt it, among others this, That the Bohemians, who had beene called thither, would by good right ſay, *Is not heere the finger of God ſeene? Behold armies haue ſo often fled from*

Epiſt. Iulian. Cardin. Legati in Germ. ad Eugen. Papam.

from before them, and now the vniuersall Church also flieth. Behold they can neither be A
ouercome with armes, nor by learning. Whereas hee alledged his warres, although he most certainely foresaw, that he should lose Rome and the whole patrimonie of the Church; that he ought rather forgoe them than breake off the Councell, seeing that the saluation of one soule, for which Christ died, is deerer vnto him than all the temporall demaine of the Church, than the whole world, than heauen it selfe. If not (saith he) *Now is the axe layed to the root, the tree leaneth ready to fall,*
neither can it long persist. For the feare also hee was brought into, least the Councell would take away the temporall of the Church; *A wonderfull mat-*
ter (saith hee) *if this Councell did not consist of Churchmen, it might perhaps bee*
doubted: But what Church-man is there, will consent to this determination, not on- B
ly because it were against faith, but because it would redound to their owne detri-
ment, &c. But I feare, least it happen vnto vs as it did to the Iewes, who said, If wee
let this man goe, the Romans will come and take away our place and our nation: So
likewise we, if we say, If we admit the Councell to be kept, the Lay-men will come and
take away our temporaltie. But as by the iust iudgement of God it came to passe, that
the Iewes lost their place, which would not let goe Christ; so by the iust iudgement
of God it will come to passe, That because wee will not let the Councell be called, wee
shall lose our temporaltie, and I would to God that not also our bodies and soules too.
To that which at last he replied, That the Councell of Basil was not lawful; Yea
rather, answereth he, *it dependeth on the Councell of Constance; if that were a true one* C
then also this. No man hath seemed to doubt, whether that were lawfull, nor like-
wise of whatsoeuer was there decreed: for if any should say, That the Decrees of that
Councell are not of validitie, hee must needs also confesse, that the deposition of Iohn
the foure and twentieth, by vertue of those Decrees, was of no force; If they were of
force, neither could the election of Pope Martin hold good, being done whilst the o-
ther was yet liuing: If Martin was not Pope, then neither is your Holinesse, who were
elected of the Cardinals by him created; it importeth therefore none more than your
Holinesse, to defend the Decrees of that Councell. And let the Reader note the argu-
ment of the Cardinall against the Papists, which call into doubt the authoritie of
these two Councels, and consequently the vniuersall vocation and succession of D
Rome; whereas *Iulian* maintaineth on the contrarie, That there hardly is found
any grounded on so manyfold authoritie. And therefore hee defendeth the De-
cree, whereby is affirmed, That the Councell is aboue the Pope, by the same
reasons and examples, as the Fathers of the Councell of Basil.

It was the ordinarie question of that time; in which besides the decision of the
Councell of Basil, the greatest learned men in particular defend the sentence
of the Councell. And *Æneas Syluius* before he came to the Popedome, in the
Historie of the Councell of Basil, which wee haue aboue abridged, had plainely
Æneas Syluius Epist. 54. & 55. declared his mind. In his Epistle also to *Gaspar Schlicke* the Emperours Chaun- E
cellour, wherein he approueth the Councell of king *Charles* the seuenth, for the
re-vnion of the Church; *It is lawfull* (saith he) *for secular Princes to assemble, whe-*
ther the Clergie will or no, and neuertheless an vnion may be made thereby; for hee
should be vndoubtedly Pope, whom all the Princes obeyed. I see no Clergie-men that will
suffer martyrdome for the one nor for the other partie; Wee all of vs haue the same faith
that our Princes haue, if they did worship Idols, wee would worship them also. And
wee would not onely deny the Pope, but euen Christ also, if the secular power did vrge
it, because charitie is waxed colde, and all faith is perished. How euer it be wee desire
peace, be it by another Councell, or by an assembly of Princes, I weigh not, for wee are
not

A *not to contend for the name, but for the thing: Call bread (if thou wilt) a stone, and giue*
it me when I am an hungrie. Let it not be called a Councell, let it be called a Conuenticle, a
Congregation, a Synagogue, it mattereth not, prouided that schisme be taken away. There-
fore that which the king of France writeth pleaseth me exceedingly, and I would sticke to
his opinion, for he seemeth to permit to our king (to wit, of the Romans) *the assembling*
of this congregation. How farre is he from them who acknowledge no Councell
but that which the Pope is author of? And not without cause truely considering
what he writeth of the Councels of his time to *Lupus* of Portugal: *Now the* *Idem Epist. 104*
Church is a play, such as we see of the ball, whilest with the strokes of the players it is stric-
ken to and fro. But God beholdeth these things from on high, and although he seldome in-
B *flict on earth deserued punishments on men, yet in his last iuagement hee leaueth nothing*
vnpunished. But so soone afterwards as he sat on that chaire of pestilence, hee re-
tracteth, yea when first the Cardinals hat touched his head, he changeth his mind,
and declineth to the left hand, as appeareth in his last Epistles. In the same maner
spake *Laurence Valla*, a Senator of Rome, and wrot a booke of purpose against the
Donation of *Constantine*, at the time when Pope *Eugenius* caused the Emperour
Sigismund to sweare vnto it, and otherwise would not crowne him: and if you
aske what was the state of the Church in his time, *I say, and exclaime* (saith he) *that* *Laurentius Valla de Donatione Constant.*
in my time there hath beene none in the Popedome either a faithfull or a wise Steward, so
much wanteth it that he hath giuen bread and food to the familie of God, that the Pope
C *maketh warre on peaceable people, and nourisheth discord betweene the chiefest cities: the*
Pope with his consumeth both other mens riches and his owne. The Pope pilleth not onely
the Commonwealth, more than Verres or Catilina, or any other robber of the common trea-
surie durst do; but also makes a gain euen of Ecclesiastical goods, and the holie Ghost, which
Simon Magus himselfe detesteth. And when he is of some men admonished and repro-
ued of these things, he denieth them not, but confesseth them openly, and boasteth of it
as lawfull; and by any meanes will haue the patrimonie of the Church giuen by Constan-
tine, wrested out of the hands of them that occupie it: as if that being recouered, Christi-
an religion would be more happie, and not rather more oppressed with wickednesse, luxu-
ries, and lusts, if yet it can be any more oppressed, and that there is any place further left
D *for wickednesse, &c. And in the meane time Christ in so many millions of poore dyeth*
with hunger and nakednesse, &c. There is therefore no more religion, no holinesse, no feare
of God, and, which I speake with horrour, impious men take the excuse of all their wicked
crimes from the Pope. For in him, and in them which accompanie him, is the example of
all wickednesse; so that we may say with Esay and S. Paul, against the Pope and them
that are about him, The name of God is blasphemed because of you among the Gentiles. Yee
which teach others, teach not your selues: Yee who teach that men should not steale, yee
play the robbers: Yee which teach to abhorre sacriledge, commit the same: Yee which glo-
rie in the Law, and in the Papacie, by preuarication of the Law dishonor God the true high
Bishop. And of the Roman people by too much riches lost veram illam Romanitatem,
E *that true Roman heart: if Salomon also for the same cause fell, through the loue of wo-*
men, into Idolatrie, thinke we that the same is not done in the Pope, and in the rest of the
Clergie? Yea so farre is he carried, that he saith, Alledge no more vnto mee thy
Dabo tibi claues, &c. I will giue thee the keyes, &c. to prowe thence thy fulnesse of pow-
er: But wilt thou know (saith he) *what is that* Tibi dabo, *in vertue of which thou mayst*
chalenge to thy selfe that thy soueraigne iurisdiction, read in the Gospell, what Sathan
saith to Christ, Tibi dabo, *I will giue thee all these kingdomes, if thou wilt fall downe and*
worship me, &c. And as for doctrine he complaineth, that it is all euerie where be-
sprinkled with fables: *O wonderfull madnesse of men* (saith he) *which giue credit to*

these old wiues doting tales! But how long is it since this was done? before the comming of the Sauiour, or since? Nothing of these things is knowne. He may be ashamed of their triflings, and more than mimick lightnesse. A Christian man, which calleth himselfe the sonne of Truth and of Light, would blush to vtter such things, which are not onely not true, but also nothing probable or likely, &c. Christian sincerstie hath no need to be maintained by falshood; it is of it selfe sufficiently ynough defended by it owne truth and light, without those fained and deluding fables, most contumelious against God, against Christ, and against the holie Ghost. &c. But our fable-tellers bring in Idols speaking, &c. Neither can I be perswaded that these writers were any other than Infidels, who did it in derision of Christians, &c. We discerne false money, reiect it, and call it in; and shall we not discerne, but retaine, a false Authour? Shall we mixe these fables with good bookes? Shall wee defend them for good? But we had need to set downe here the whole booke.

Nicholas Cusan, by nation a German, Doctor of Diuinitie, and afterward a Cardinall, the most learned of this age, in his books *De Concordantia Catholica*, consenteth to the Councell of Basil, though *Æneas Syluius* nameth him that *Hercules of Eugenius*, and bewaileth, *That so noble a wit had turned aside to defend that schismatike*. In the first booke he defendeth and proueth these Positions, That all the promises of Christ speaking to *Peter, I will giue thee the keyes, &c. The gates of hell, &c. I haue prayed for thee, &c.* are to be refered to the vniuersall Church, and not particularly to S. *Peter*, or his successour, especially seeing many Popes haue beene schismatikes and heretikes: That euerie Bishop hath his seat in the Church, according to the priuiledge of the place which he holdeth, and by that reason the Bishop of Rome obtaineth the same degree of Presidencie which Rome had in old time among the Gentiles; and he addeth on an heape, That the Apostles had chosen *Peter* for their head: but whence doth that appeare? That otherwise, if they should hold place according to the holinesse of him that first sat there, or according to the reuerence of the place, it is not to be doubted but that Ierusalem ought to haue the Primacie, where our chiefe Priest washed his Church with his owne bloud; but that Ephesus, the seat of S. *Iohn*, should be preferred before Alexandria, where S. *Marke*; and so of the rest: That it belongeth to the duetie of the Bishop of Rome, to assemble a generall Councell of all the Churches of whom he is acknowledged; which duetie if hee should slacke to performe, the Emperor ought to supplie it in his stead, least the Church should suffer damage. In the second booke, That this Councell dependeth not on the Head thereof, but on the consent of all which sit there, who ought to contribute what in them is, to the making of the Decrees; so that no prescription may take place to the contrarie, seeing that the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome, euen sitting President, is not greater there than that of euerie Metropolitan in his Prouince: That indeed *Peter* himselfe hath receiued in no wise greater authoritie from Christ, than the rest of the Apostles; neither was there any thing said vnto him, that was not said equally to the others as well as to him, for as much as they are no lesse *Rockes* than *Peter*; so that that which is said, *Vpon this rock, &c.* is to be referred to his Confession, not to his Person: therefore seeing the power of binding and loosing is the foundation of all diuine jurisdiction, it is manifest, that all Bishops, and (perhaps) all Priests, as touching jurisdiction, haue equall power. He restraineth afterwards, *not as touching the execution, quæ sub certis positiuis terminis clauditur, which is limited with certaine positiue bounds*, that is, ordained by mans law; but he addeth, That the cause thereof ceasing, all degrees also of maioritie and minoritie doe cease, so that it returneth againe to naturall right, to wit, to that equalitie. That an

Æneas Syluius l. 1. de Gestis Basilienſis Concily.
Nichol. Cusanus de concord. Catholic. lib. 2. c. 12.
Idem. c. 14. 15.
Ibid. cap. 15. 16.
L. 2. c. 2.
Ibid. c. 8.
Ibid. c. 12.
Idem l. 2. c. 13.

an vniuersall Councell, without all controuersie, is aboue the Bishop of Rome, whose power if in some places it be said to be of Christ, yet in many other places it is held, *That his Primacie is from men, and dependeth on the Canons*. Wherefore, as he may be both judged and deposed by a Councel, so he cannot abrogat, change, or contrarie the Canons of Councels. For proofe whereof wee read, That the Popes legats haue spoken standing in vniuersall Councels, their letters were woont to be examined: And his Decretals are inferior to the Canons, which if the Pope contradict, hee is not heard. All which positions he proueth verie largely, both by the Decrees, and by the writings of the Fathers themselues. In the third booke he euidently proueth by many arguments drawne from out of Ecclesiasticall antiquitie, That it is false, that *Constantine* either gaue the Empire of the West to the Pope, or could giue it; That it is nothing truer, that Popes haue bestowed the Empire on *Charlemaine*, or to any of his successours, or translated it from the Greekes to the Germans, as they pretend; That it is most false, that the Electors of the Empire, were instituted by the Pope, and in his name did proceed in their election: he maintaineth to the contrarie, That the Emperour doth so depend of God alone, that he hath no need to bee confirmed by the Pope, and that he can in no wise be deposed by the Pope: That in his charge the Emperour is the minister and Vicar of Christ, appointed by him supreme keeper and preserver of the Faith; by which reason also he himselfe ought to bee present in Councell; and euerie Prince in his dominions may vse the same and like right: That the Emperours at all times haue assembled vniuersall Councels, and haue defended their order, as Kings and Princes haue vndertaken the care of Nationall and Prouinciall, yet nevertheless the Emperour and the Pope concurring together; this charging the Bishops to be there, and the other exhorting them to their duetie, and commaunding the Lay-men to be present. And that indeed the Pope chalengeth not the conuocation of them to himselfe alone, but affirmeth, that it ought not to be held without his authoritie; yet so, as that the Emperour in case the Pope bee negligent in it, may and ought to commaund and assigne a Councell, *præceptiuè, with authoritie*: That the Emperour did euer sit chiefe in them, assisted with fifteene or twentie of the greatest Noblemen of his Court, to whom he commaunded place to be giuen; yea he himselfe also and his Lieutenants propounded such things as seemed to make for the peace and profit of the Church: That whatsoeuer the Church possesseth in temporall things, is come from the benefits of Emperours, Kings, and Princes, who to cloath him haue stripped themselues. And here he exclaimeth, *What doe the temporalties of Churches profit the Commonwealth, what the Empire, what the subiects? Surely little or nothing. Otho was enioyned to giue the inuestitures of Bishops without money. Wee haue seene whether the Pope hath taken away from the Emperour the sole inuestiture, because the Bishop of Rome hath not onely drawne to himselfe the meere inuestiture without receiuing money, but also onely for money: so that throughout all Germanie all complaine that they are not onely grieuously burdened, but euen destroyed. An enraged desire after the earthly possessions of the Church at this day possesseth ambitious Bishops, so that wee see them seeke after those things after they are promoted, as they did before: all their care is for temporall things, none of spirituall. Such was not the intention of the Emperours, their will was not that the temporall things that they gaue them for their further maintenance, should swallow vp the spirituall.*

Ibid. c. 17. 18, 19.
Ibid. c. 20, 21.
Idem l. 3. c. 3. 4.
Ibid. c. 8. & 9.
Ibid. c. 15.
Ibid. c. 16. & 20
Ibid. c. 21. 28. 30.
Dist. 63. c. in Synodo.

Of the Cardinall *de Alliaco* we haue seene, what Articles of reformation he exhibited in the Councell of Constance: And in the Preface he saith, he hath written

Petrus de Alliaco in Encomio Theologico. Idem in concluſionibus.

ten more concerning that matter. But in his *Encomium Theologicum*, expounding A
theſe words, *Vpon this rocke will I build my Church; vpon Chriſt and his word*, ſaith he.
As alſo, in his concluſions, he tieth the Church to the holie Scripture, maintay-
neth that the Church of Rome may erre, and taketh away the temporall Monar-
chie from the Pope. Likewiſe *Panormitan*, though the champion of *Eugenius* in
the Councell of Baſil; *A priuat faithfull man is more to be beleeued, alledging reaſon or*
authoritie out of the Scripture, than all a Councell, or than the Pope himſelfe, becauſe a
Councell may erre, as at other times they haue erred, &c. Alſo, hee concealeth not,
That the Popes in his age liued in ſuch ſort, that they made it euidently appeare,
that they beleeued not there was another life after this, reſurrection, or judgement.
Againſt the luxurie alſo, pride and tyrannie of the Pope and his Clergie, is extant B
a booke of one *Alain Chartier* Secretarie to king *Charles* the ſeuenth, which ſaith,
That he expected euerie day when a thunder-bolt would fall from heauen on the
Roman Church. But *Thomas* of Redon, a Carmelite and famous Preacher, durſt
doe yet more: he had euer in his mouth the abominations of Rome, which had

Antonin. part. 3. Tit. 22. ca. 10.

need of great reformation. He (ſaith *Antoninus*) *when he had for many yeares preached through Fraunce with verie great concourſe of people, making good motions vnto good, though not according to knowledge, he commeth to Rome with the Embaſſadours of the Venetians, by whom he is recommended to the Pope.* But by the Popes commaund
he was apprehended, at the inſtigation and inſtance of *William d'Eſtouteuille* Cardi-
nall of Rouan, then Vice-Chauncellour, and of the Proctour of the order of the C
Carmelites, and as *an Apoſtate* was ſolemnely degraded and burned. *Mon-*

Monſtrelet. volu. 1. Baptiſta Mantuan. lib. de vita beata. cap. vltimo.

ſtrelet commendeth his pietie and holineſſe. *Mantuan* alſo, in his Booke *De*
vita beata, ſo that he bringeth him in as a true Martyr of Chriſt, in whoſe heart
was reſident the auntient ſeruencie of faith, whom enuie by manifeſt injuſtice
deliuered to the cruel fire. *I make no doubt* (ſaith he) *but that the flames of this man may*
be compared to the fire, not of Scaeuola, but of S. Lawrence. There are alſo read verſes
in his praiſe, in which are celebrated his holineſſe, myracles, and martyrdome;
among which are theſe that follow:

Nicholaus Harlemenſ. in Collectanea.

D

Lippis Lux oculis nocuit, non ſubſtituere
Viuere tam ſanctum, ſœda Romana cohors.

Their poor-blind eyes could not endure the light,
Nor ſilthie Rome that holie man in ſight.

Antonin. part. 3. Tit. 22. cap. 7. parag. 8.

And almoſt the like had happened a little before to *Manfred* of Verſeil. *Man-*
fred (ſaith *Antoninus*) *a man of venerable life, religious, of the order of Preachers, was*
learned and feared God: he preaching in the parts of Lombardie, led by I know not what
ſpirit, ſold the people, That the comming of Antichriſt was neere, and as if he were to
be in his time, he brought in for this, his reaſons out of the Scriptures, chiefely out of the
Apocalyps, &c. He gathered together therefore about foure hundred perſons of e-
uerie age and ſex, and Pope *Martin* would haue diſſolued this aſſemblie, but he
could not doe it, becauſe their conuerſation had gained a good opinion among
all men; though he forbad any thing to bee giuen them, that through need they
might be compelled to returne home. They come then to Bononia, Florence,
and at laſt to Rome, where verie many of them died, *expecting the manifeſtation of*
Antichriſt; but (ſaith *Antoninus*) *without ſeeing him:* he ſhould rather haue ſayd
without knowing him. And *Manfred* ſome time after died at Rome vnder *Eugenius*,
who

A who commaunded Frier *Barnardine*, that monſter of ſuperſtition, to write againſt
him: And *Manfred* on the other ſide reproued his ſuperſtitious doctrine in many
points.

Paulus Æmilius in Carol. 7. Epiſt. ad Epiſcop. Lauzanenſ. in volum. Concil. in Appendice Concil. Baſilienſ.

In our Fraunce, *Charles* the ſeuenth, in the yeare 1438, commaunded a Coun-
cell of the French Church to be held at Bourges, in which, vnder the title of *the*
Pragmaticall ſanction, was read and approued the acts of the Councell of Baſil; and
by this the collations of the benefices of Fraunce, and appeales to Rome, were cut
off. Whereunto belongeth an Epiſtle which we haue in the Councels directed to
the biſhop of Lauzanne, with which were ſent vnto him the deciſions of this
Councell, by him whom the Councel of Bourges had ſent Embaſſador to Rome:
B He ſignifieth to the biſhop of Lauzanne, that he hath in charge with one conſent
from the French Church, that whatſoeuer the Pope endeauours to the contra-
rie, he ſhould in no wiſe conſent to the diſſolution of the Councell of Baſil; And
if any be moued at it, that they are readie to aunſwer, *actum eſt ne agas*. That hee
hath that promiſe from the Chauncellour of Fraunce; that they had heard that
the kings Embaſſadours, allured with certaine promotions, made great ſhew, that
the king would conſent to the diſmiſſion of the Councell, but that they had re-
ſolued to reſiſt him to his face. And there we haue a Treatiſe concerning that mat-
ter, written in the yeare 1434, by *Iohn* Patriarch of Antioch, which he cauſed pub- *An.* 1434.
liquely to be pronounced in the great hall of the Couent of Franciſcan Friers in
C Baſill, *That a generall Councell is aboue the Pope*: It beginneth, *Ad oſtendendum*; *In 3. vol. Concil. in Append. Concil. Baſilienſ. ad oſtendend.*
Where out of the Fathers and by the Decrees, he bringeth it to this, That the
Pope is the ſeruant of the Church, to be chaſtiſed by it, if he doe his duetie amiſſe;
and confuteth at large whatſoeuer is alledged to the contrarie. Let the Reader ſee
the booke it ſelfe in the Councels.

Nilus Archiepiſc. Theſſalon. de Primatu.

At the ſame time, whileſt the Popes boaſted that the Greekes did acknowledge
obedience vnto them, are publiſhed two bookes of *Nilus* Archbiſhop of Theſſa-
lonica, againſt the Primacie of the biſhop of Rome. In the firſt booke he ſheweth,
That the principall controuerſies between the Greeke and Latin Church proceed
from this, that the Pope will not be judged by an vniuerſal Councell; but contra-
D riwiſe, as a maſter among his diſciples will be Iudge in his owne cauſe: whereas he
ought to be ruled by the preſcriptions of the Councel, and contain himſelfe with-
in the Decrees of the Fathers, That the biſhop of Rome, hath not the ſame power
ouer other biſhops, as a biſhop hath ouer his Dioceſans, but hath onely the prero-
gatiue of the firſt ſeat to be higher than other. And here hee enlargeth himſelfe to
ſhew the commoditie and authoritie of Councels. In the ſecond book he teacheth,
That the biſhop of Rome hath not the right of Primacie from Chriſt, nor yet
from S. *Peter*, nor from the Apoſtles, but that the Fathers for ſome cauſes haue gi-
uen vnto him the firſt ſeat, That he is not the ſucceſſour of S. *Peter*, but inaſmuch
as he is a biſhop; by which reaſon alſo all other biſhops are his ſucceſſors, That he
E is not an Apoſtle, much leſſe prince of the Apoſtles, That in thoſe things which
pertain to the rules of faith, they may & haue often erred, That he hath no right to
alledge his, *Tu es Petrus*, becauſe that promiſe reſpecteth the Church of Chriſt,
and not S. *Peter*, and much leſſe him whom they would haue to be his ſucceſſour,
That though we yeeld him to be firſt in order, yet he is not therfore to beare domi-
nation ouer others, this Primacie not inferring an order aboue others, but a co-
ordination with others. Moreouer, he rejected theſe preſumtions of the Biſhop of
Rome, That he is the Iudge of all, & to be judged of none, That he is not biſhop of
a certaine place, but abſolutely biſhop, That he alone by his owne right ought to

assigne an vniuersal Councell, and the like; seeing that the Primacie, or rather first Seat, was granted to him onely, *propter vrbis principatum*, because Rome was the first, or chiefest in order among cities. A

We need not here repeat, how openly and, as they speake, *formally*, the greatest part of the kingdome of Bohemia opposed themselues, earnestly desiring reformation of the Church, according to the holie Scriptures; exhibiting to this end a confession of their Faith to their King, to the Emperour, and to the Councell, and preaching the same publikely in the Temples, which by publike authoritie were then granted vnto them. Also after faith was broken with *Iohn Hus*, how stoutly they defended it by just and necessarie armes, God from heauen fighting for the safegard of that poore people, vtterly frustrating all the endeuours of the Emperour and of the Popes against them, as we haue aboue shewed out of *Æneas Syluius*: for they haue continued without interruption vntill these our times. But it is worth the adding, That those Waldenses who some ages before had brought this light of the Gospell into Bohemia, abode still in the mountaines of Languedoc and Prouence, and in many places within the Alpes, and there kept themselues safe from the persecution of Popes and Papists. In Lombardie also, as witnesseth *Antonine*, vnder the name of *Fratricelli*, were some knowne to the time of *Eugenius*. But in England especially the seed of *Wickliffe* was largely propagated, where, without repeating any thing of Sir *Iohn Oldcastle*, of whom wee haue before spoken, we read of verie many to haue suffered martyrdome for the same doctrine: *William Taylour* Priest and professor of Artes in the Vniuersitie of Oxford, in the yeare 1422, and *William White* in the yeare 1428, Author of many Treatises vpon matters controuerted in that time, was burned for thirtie articles which by word and writing he had defended: He taught, among other things, That the Roman Church was that withered fig tree which the Lord had cursed for barrennesse of faith: *That the Monkes and Friers were the annoynted and shauen souldiers of infernall Lucifer: That against these, the Bridegroome, when he shall come, will shut the gate, for that their lampes are out.* With the same mind also *Alexander Fabritius* in his Treatise intituled *Destructorium vitiorum*, wrot many excellent things against the corruptions of the Romish Church, against the antiquitie of which he opposed this saying of S. *Cyprian*: *If Christ alone* (saith he) *ought to bee heard, we are not to attend what men before vs haue thought fit to bee done, but what Christ first before all hath done. If Christ had knowne, that man might more easily get eternall life by the lawes of Iustinian, than by the law of God, he would haue taught them vs with his owne mouth, and would haue let goe the law of God till another time, which notwithstanding he hath taught with great diligence, and wherein is contained all the doctrine requisit to saluation. Againe, He is a betrayer of the truth, who openly speaketh a lye for the truth, and he which doth not freely pronounce the truth; the Pastors of the Church which refuse to pronounce the truth of the Gospell, and by their euill examples slay such as be vnder them, are traytors, and most manifest Antichrists. The Pastors and Prelats of the Church, take great paines in these dayes for the obtaining of dignities, one in the kings kitchin, another in the Bishops Court, another in seruice of his Lord; but none in the Court of the Law of God. Proud Priests and Prelats, against the doctrine and example of Iesus Christ, doe beare dominion as the kings of the Gentiles. Being vniust, they oppresse theirs with superfluous traditions & vniust constitutions. These moderne Priests doe whatsoeuer flesh and blood reuealeth vnto them, therefore are they cursed of God. Hypocrites, they oppresse the good, persecute the humble seruants of Christ, imprison and burne them, for that they reprooue their voluptuousnesse. Such men murdered Christ, the Apostles* B C An.1422. An.1428. D E

A *Apostles and Martyrs, repeating them for heretikes, for that they taxed their sinnes.* And indeed the histories of all nations are ful of the cruelties which in this age was vsed toward the professors of this truth.

63. PROGRESSION.

Felix the fourth voluntarily deposeth himselfe, and Nicholas the fift remaineth sole Pope. Mahomet Emperour of the Turkes taketh Constantinople with the slaughter of many thousand Christians, and the miserable death of the Emperour Palæologus. Of the pride and corruption of Æneas Syluius, called Pius the second, after he became Pope.

B

NOw after the death of *Eugenius* in the yeare 1447, *Thomas de Sarzana* was created Pope, by the name of *Nicholas* the fift, whilest *Felix* the fourth yet liued and raigned, vpon which occasion many nations remained in neutralitie, namely, Germanie vnder the Emperour *Frederick* the third, whose Secretarie *Æneas Syluius* was, of whom we haue before made mention, one of the most notable defenders of the Councell of Basil. Him had *Eugenius*, knowing his excellent wit, endeuoured by promises to bind vnto him; but being preuented by death, *Nicholas* continued the same batterie, and that so much the more, for that he had heard that *Frederick* had a purpose to come into Italie, to bee crowned at Rome. *Frederick* then by the perswasion of *Æneas Syluius*, who had gotten into great fauour with him, vndertaketh that purposed businesse, and fully finisheth it. And *Nicholas* to content the Germans, consenteth to certaine agreements, contained in the Bull which beginneth, *Ad sacram Petri sedem*, dated in Aprill 1447. In which namely are the Annates brought to some order, and generally are approued and ratified *all the prouisions and expeditions* of what soeuer kind, as well of the Councell of Basil, yet continued at Basil, as of *Felix* the fourth; also other censures, excommunications, Anathemaes, and their releasements, &c. by the Bull which beginneth, *Pr cations, pacis*, dated in Iulie 1449. By which meanes *Nicholas* remained sole Pope, *Felix* voluntarily deposing himselfe from the dignitie, whom hee appointeth his Legat in Germanie: And so was the Councell dissolued. And all this was done by the mediation of the kings of France and England, of *Renatus* king of Sicilie, and *Lewis* the Dolphine. The title of this Bull in the volumes of Councels, is, *The approbation of the Acts of the Councell of Basil.* Yet because they hardly approue the same, they set before it this other title, *The Counsell of Basil is of little force, &c.* Meaning, though it say nothing, that all the things whatsoeuer, which are not expressed in the same Bull, are thereby disallowed, as namely, the sentence whereby the Councell is decreed to be aboue the Pope; and others more of the like nature. Neuerthelesse the force of our argument remaineth still for me, That *Martin* the fift was created Pope onely by vertue of the like sentence giuen at Constance, and otherwise had not beene: That *Eugenius* was chosen by the Cardinals whom *Martin* had made, and since *Nicholas* by them which *Martin* and *Eugenius* had promoted, and consequently all their successors after them: Therefore these are not true Popes, nor lawfull Pastors which they haue ordained, vnlesse these Counsels remaine lawfull, vnlesse their sentences keepe their authoritie. C D E Monstrelet. vol. 3. Summa Conciliorum.

Nicholas hasted to finish this agreement with the Emperour, because of the yeare of Iubilie at hand, the market whereof would be much hindered otherwise: vnto which was made from all parts so great a concourse, that *Platina* recordeth, *when once* Platina in Nichol. 5.

once out of the Vatican hauing seene the image of our Sauiour they returned to the citie, a certaine mule of Peter Barbo Cardinall of S. Marke, was met and stopped, when none of the passengers by reason of the multitude following was able to giue place, so that one & another falling vpon the mule, it was oppressed of the multitude, and two hundred men and three horses were troden downe and choaked on the bridge of Hadrian. Many also falling from the bridge into the riuer, perished in the waters. The yeare following, *Frederick* arriued in Italie, partly for to be crowned, and partly for to marrie *Leonora* daughter of the king of Portugall: *Nicholas* in the meane time being in great care and doubt, least he mindfull of the auntient authoritie of Emperours, would take vpon him the rule of the citie, fortified the gates and the Towers, the Capitol also, and the castle of S. Angelo; and to content the people with some shew of Magistracie, he appointed thirteeen Marshals to command in xiij. quarters of the citie, to each of which he gaue a purble robe: But *Frederick* fearing new commotions in Germanie, made no shew of any such thing. At that time, *Mahomet* Emperour of the Turkes, prepared himselfe to besiege Constantinople chiefe citie of the Christian Empire in the East; and *Nicholas* made large promises of ayd to *Constantine Paleologus, so that he would soyne himselfe to the Catholike faith*, that is to say, make him be acknowledged supreame Bishop by the Greekes: and to this end he sendeth Embassadour to him *Isidore* Bishop of Russia, who after the Councell of *Florence* was ended, had remained in Italie, for a Cardinals hat to that end giuen him; but this businesse alreadie attempted so many ages in vayne, was of greater weight and consequence than could be vpon the verie instant suddenly by tumult determined. So that this Emperour being brought into great extremities, in that verie yeare 1453, in the moneth of May, the citie being taken by force, hee miserably lost his life, with many thousands of men, to the great dishonour and damage of all Christendome. *Antoninus* who liued then, *When the citie of Constantinople* (saith he) *was besieged by the Turkes, the Greekes sent Embassadors to Pope Nicholas, imploring his succours of men and money; whom Nicholas would not heare, thinking it a thing vnworthie, to burthen Italie with impositions, being alreadie exhausted of money for expenses of the warres, especially for that he knew they might helpe themselues with their money, if they would employ it, for the leuying of souldiers.* A goodly consideration, as if for lesser causes his predecessours had not often published many a Croisado, euen against Christian Emperours and Princes. But the truth is, he did it of purpose to make a gaine out of his extreame daunger, to get to himselfe a souereigne commaund ouer the Greekes, which is more than *Antoninus* durst say. In the meane time, that hee might turne the destruction of the Greekish Church to his owne commoditie, he createth *Bessarion* (a Greeke bishop of Nice, whom *Eugenius* had made Cardinall) Patriarke of Greece, on condition that he should depend vpon him; though the Greekes had chosen *Gennadius Scholarius*, who in the middest of those calamities exercised that dignitie. *Bodin* alledgeth out of the booke of *Iacob Sprenger* Inquisitour of witches, a strange dispensation of this *Nicholas*. A certaine German bishop was sicke, whom *Nicholas* greatly loued, he vnderstood by a witch that his sicknesse came of witchcraft, from which he could not be deliuered but by a contrarie charme, by which the witch herselfe that had bewitched him must die: He therefore sendeth in post to *Nicholas*, entreating leaue of him to be cured by the witch; which dispensation *Nicholas* granteth, with this clause, *Of two euils auoyd the greater*. The Bull being receiued, the witch, vnder the Popes authoritie, and at the Bishops entreatie, setteth her hand to the businesse: about midnight the Bishop was restored to health, and at the verie

Antonin. part. 3. Tit. 22. c. 13.

Bodin. in Demonomania. Iacob. Sprenger in malleo maleficarum.

verie same instant the disease passed into her that had bewitched him, whereof she dyed. And they would make vs beleeue, that this Pope dyed of griefe for the losse of Constantinople, but his denying of succours to the Greekes perswadeth vs to the contrarie. From this shipwracke he gathered about him some learned Grecians, but that was properly to build vp the sepulchres of the Prophets; whom before he had suffered to be murdered. But *Alphonsus Borgia*, who succeedeth him by the name of *Calixtus* the third, made a shew of repairing that fault, and presently denounced warres against the Turkes, saying that hee had made a vow to that end a long time before; knowing (but whence had he this prophesie?) that he should be Pope: and shewed written and subscribed with his owne hand in a certaine booke, these words following, *I Pope Calixtus make a vow to almightie God, and to the holie indiuisible Trinitie, That I will persecute the Turkes, most cruell enemies of the Christian name, by warre, cursings, interdictions, execrations, and to conclude, in whatsoeuer manner I can*: and yet was he alreadie decrepit with age. He imposeth therefore a tenth on all the Clergie, and publisheth a Croysado throughout all Europe, according to custome, granting full remission of sinnes to all that contributed to it, so that once in his life, and once at his death, he were confessed: yea and giuing authoritie to whomsoeuer would giue fiue ducats, to absolue and dispence in many cases. And there were set forth to sea onely fixteene gallies, vnder the charge of the Patriarch of Aquileia. *Alphonsus* king of Naples, and *Philip* Duke of Bourgondie, were admonished to crosse themselues for those warres, which they made shew of; *But as the businesse was set a brunt onely with great earnestnesse stirred forwards, so also it easily rested*: And then (saith *Platina*) ad Pontificia negotia animum adijciens, *Applying his mind to the affaires of the Popedome*, he began to canonize Saints, one *Edmund* in England, one *Vincent* in Spaine, and others. Which *Bessarion* seeing, especially how rashly and indirectly the same was done, *These new Saints* (saith he) *make me doubt of the old*. But it behoued them also in this to imitat the chiefe Bishops of the Pagans. Moreouer, for a supplie, in stead of yeelding succours to the Greekes, he ordaineth a bell to be tolled euerie day betweene noone and euening, at the sound whereof whosoeuer did on their knees mutter ouer three *Aue-maries*, and *Pater-nosters*, should haue three yeares, and three fortieth parts of Indulgences. Also hee appointed a generall Procession or Letanie euerie first Sonday of the moneth, in which whosoeuer assisted, should obtaine seuen yeares and seuen fortieth part of Indulgences: besides a prayer in the Masse, for victorie against the Infidels, which who so sayd, should also merit three yeares of Indulgences. In the meane time, if the saferie and good of Christendome had beene seriously thought vpon, there was offered a verie notable occasion; for *Iohn Vainode* in that verie time ouercame *Mahomet* in that famous battell neere Belgrade, whom, his forces being diminished, and he left of our men, he could not follow. But *Calixtus* howsoeuer forgat not to looke to his owne affaires, and therefore *Alphonsus* king of Naples being deceased, and *Ferdinand* his bastard hauing obtained his place, he presently prouided for the chiefest Bishoprickes of the realme, which he durst not doe in the kings life-time: *And which is more* (saith *Antoninus*) *by Bulls he declared, that the realme of Naples vacant pertained to him alone, as a feoffee of the Church, commaunding Ferdinand to forgoe it, and that vnlesse he nor any other whosoeuer, vnder paine of excommunication, should call himselfe king of that kingdome: but that if any pretended there any right, the businesse should first be discussed by him, who dissolueth all oathes of fidelitie or homage which any had yeelded vnto him*. He likewise wrot to the States of the kingdome,

Platina in Calixto 3.

Gulielm. Langeus in Præfat. suæ Hist.

Antonin. part. 3. tit. 22. c. 14.

Antonin. part. 3. tit. 22. c. 16.

dome, That *Ferdinand* was not the ſonne of *Alphonſus*, but one ſuppoſed. And this he did that he might transferre the kingdome to *Iugni Borgia*, his nephew, or his ſonne. From which ſentence *Ferdinand*, moued with anger, appealeth. *Francis Sforcia*, Duke of Milan, his father in law, was alſo grieuouſly offended, proteſting to leaue nothing vnattempted, whereby the ſtate of his ſonne in law may be defended. But thereupon *Calixtus* dieth, who a little before had framed the office or ſeruice of the Transfiguration, with the like Indulgences as hath the feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti*. For it was meet that the Popiſh religion, being meerely humane, ſhould from day to day encreaſe with humane inuentions.

Pandolf. Colenuc. lib. 5. Donatus Boſſius.

Æneas Syluius, called *Pius* the ſecond, a man of great knowledge, I would hee had beene of like conſcience, ſucceeded this *Calixtus* in the yeare 1458: but the Papall chaire ſoone diſcouered what a manner of man he was. He had bin Scribe in the Councell of Baſil, Regiſter of the Apoſtolike letters, one of the twelue which were ordained Cenſors of the Councell; yea had many times ſat chiefe among thoſe that had beene deputed touching matters of faith, and was twice choſen amongſt them which conferred benefices: and if any thing of moment were to be determined by the nations, he was euer choſen chiefe for Italie. He was moreouer appointed embaſſadour in the Councels name, thrice to Strasbourg, once to Trent, twice to Conſtance, once to Franckford, and twice into Sauoy: authour or furtherer of all things that were done in this Councell, the Acts whereof he writeth downe in two bookes, out of which his opinion thereof is manifeſt ynough: In ſo much that when *Eugenius* was depoſed, and *Felix* ſet in his place, he was ſent by *Felix* embaſſadour to the Emperour *Frederick*, to declare vnto him the juſt cauſes of his election, on which occaſion, admiring the dexteritie of his wit, he drew him to his ſeruice. He being ſent to Rome by *Frederic*, to deale with the Pope about his coronation, was entiſed with the delights of the Court of Rome, and in fauour of *Nicholas*, ſold the renunciation of *Felix*: Whereupon he was firſt created Biſhop of Trieſte, and after Cardinall, by *Calixtus*; and by degrees, according to the encreaſe of his dignities, he changed his ſtile, as appeareth to whomſoeuer readeth his Epiſtles, which hee himſelfe hath diſtinguiſhed by degree: Till at length being made Pope, he thought nothing better than to reuoke his former and more laudable Acts, by his Bull ſet forth concerning that matter, bearing the title of *Retractation*; and the things which before he had ſeemed to deteſt in other Popes, hee himſelfe now both prayſed and aduanced forward. This is manifeſt by the Bull which beginneth *Execrabilis*, dated in the ſecond yeare of his Popedome, whereby he forbiddeth to appeale from the ſentences of the Pope to the future Councell; pronounceth all ſuch appeales of Emperours, Kings, Biſhops, &c. to be voyd, vaine, execrable, and peſtiferous; excommunicateth ſuch as haue appealed, not to be abſolued but at the poynt of death. He alſo ſubiecteth Vniuerſities, Colledges, and other corporations, to the Interdict, and inflicted vpon all the puniſhments of high treaſon and hereſie, and the Notaries or letter-carriers, witneſſes, and others which were at thoſe Acts, &c. In another Bull alſo which beginneth, *Inminoribus agentes*, directed to the Vniuerſitie of Colonia, in the yeare 1463, hee profeſſeth, That it repented him that hee wrot the Dialogue and other bookes for the authoritie of the Councell, ſaying that *he had perſecuted the Church of God ignorantly, as did S. Paul*: contrariwiſe affirming the authoritie of the Pope to bee aboue the Church, by the ſame texts, which before he had expounded in a farre other ſence. Wherefore hee declared, That the Pope is the ſoueraigne Monarch of the Church, whoſe ſinnes are left to

An. 1458.

Platina in Pio 2.

An. 1463.

to the judgement of God, ſo that no man may take knowledge of them: And neuertheleſſe at the end *he reuerenced* (ſaith he) *the Councell of Conſtance*, which had decreed the contrarie. But here *Bellarmine* inuenteth a notable diſtinction, That the later Seſſions are approued, not the firſt; becauſe in the firſt the Councel was placed aboue the Pope: and yet notwithſtanding in that Councell *Martin* the fift had beene choſen, and what hee had cauſed to be ordained in the later, tooke force and vigour onely from the firſt Seſſions, whereby it was judged, That the Councell may judge the Pope, arraigne him, condemne, depoſe, and puniſh him, and chuſe another in his roome; all which they had practiſed on *Iohn* the foure and twentieth, *Benedict* the thirteenth, and *Martin* the fift, depoſing the two former, and electing the third: and both the Seſſions, former and later, proceeding from one ſame ſpirit, and from one and the ſame authoritie. But it troubleth them that they know not which way to turne themſelues, when they are demaunded what was the vocation of *Martin*, *Eugenius*, and others, which hath no ground but on the onely deciſion of this Councell and the Councell of Baſil. And here we might ſet before the eyes of *Syluius*, what he hath ſaid of this Councell, and that of Baſil, which now he condemneth, and that not being a young man, as he ſaid, but a man of perfect age, and honoured with principall dignities: *Where is there in the world ſuch a companie of Fathers? where ſo great light of knowledge? where the wiſedome? where is the goodneſſe that can be equall to the vertues of theſe Fathers? O moſt perfect fraternitie, O true Senat of the world, &c.* So that theſe things may not honeſtly now be denied. But as the eye of reaſon is other than the eye of paſſion, ſo is the judgement of an vpright mind other than of corrupt deſire; of *Syluius* ſitting in that moſt honourable aſſemblie, which he deſcribeth vnto vs, than of *Pius* the ſecond raigning in that contagious chaire. And he had caſt out a ſpeech of an expedition into Aſia againſt the Turkes, in the aſſemblie of Mantua, whither the embaſſadours of many Princes were come from all parts, and vnder pretence thereof had impoſed a tenth on the whole Clergie, yea euen vpon all the profits of the Roman Court: but he could not bring it to effect, perhaps becauſe he arrogated too much to himſelfe with the Princes which were of greateſt power: For (ſaith *Stella*) *for the augmentation of the Papall Maieſtie, he feared neither Kings nor Dukes, neither peoples, nor tyrants; but if they ſaw any offending*, that is to ſay, not obeying in all poynts his deſire, *he perſecuted them ſo long both by warre and by cenſures, till he perceiued them to be recouered. And for this cauſe became he an aduerſarie to Lewis King of France, who went about to diminiſh the libertie of the Church in his kingdome; to Borſio d'Eſte, becauſe he fauoured Sigiſmund Malateſta, and the affaires of France, againſt Ferdinand; He perſecuted with terrible execrations Sigiſmund Duke of Auſtria, for that he had chaſtiſed the Cardinall of S. Peter ad Vincula; Hee depoſed alſo the Archbiſhop of Mentz, iudging ill of the Roman Church, and ſet vp another in his roome; He depoſed likewiſe the Archbiſhop of Benecent, for attempting new matters; He depoſed likewiſe the Archbiſhop of Gaunt, for that he would betray Bonient to the Frenchmen: And he brought many townes of Campania into the power of the Church of Rome.* Neither doe hiſtories conceale, that he confirmed the kingdome of Naples to *Ferdinand*, reuoking the Bull of *Calixtus* the third, and that in fauour of the marriage of *Anthonie Piccolhomini*, his nephew, with the ſiſter of the wife of *Ferdinand*, whoſe dowrie was the Earledomes of Maldeburg and Celano: Whereby hee began to ſet himſelfe againſt the rights of our France. *Monſtrelet* addeth, That it was commonly thought *that Ferdinand had giuen Pius a verie great ſumme of gold, partly to be abſolued of his crimes, and partly that he might peaceably enioy his kingdome.* But his ambition cannot

Bulla quæ incipit, Quoniam vt proxime in ſumma Conſtitution. Iohan. 5. Stella in Pio 2.

Monſtrelet. vol. 3.

not better be knowne than in his 396 Epiſtle, where hee offereth and promiſeth the Empire of the Grecks to *Mahomet* king of the Turkes, if he would become a Chriſtian, and ſuccour the Church, that is to ſay, his faction, that hee might the more eaſily rend Chriſtendome, which he vexed with continuall warres, preſuming to perſuade him that that Empire depended on him, and was in his gift, and that ſo his predeceſſors had giuen the Empire of Germanie to *Charlemaine*. It ſeemeth that to him alſo is to be aſcribed, that extraordinarie pompe of *Corpus Chriſti* day: for that which is commonly boaſted of the Temple of S. *Peter*, very fitly agreeth with the Roman ſuperſtition, which neuer is brought to his full height. *Antoninus Campanus*, Biſhop of Arrezzo, in the life of *Pius*, ſaith, *He celebrated at Viterbium the feaſt of the Euchariſt, with an vnaccuſtomed brauerie, the citie being vnder foot ſpread with ſcarlet, ouer head couered with linnen, in which ſtarres of gold ſhined as in the firmament, ſo that the proceſſion went, not ſeeing the skie, betweene flowres ſtrewed an ynch thick on either ſide, with muſick of diuers ſorts. There were ſeene alſo wild men couered with iuie, which with a wonderfull art ſeemed to meet with Lyons & Bears, &c. all the Temple being likewiſe ſpread with ſcarlet*. He alſo canonized S. *Katherine* of Sienna. *Platina* noteth this among his Apophthegmes, *That mariage had beene for great reaſon taken away from Prieſts, but that for greater reaſon it ſhould bee reſtored to them.* But *Onuphrius*, according to his ordinarie cuſtome, raced this out of his edition, and others after him: but we find it in the firſt edition of *Platina*, printed by *Iohn de Colonia* in the yeare 1479, and in many others, how he is prayſed by many. *Volateran* writeth, That his vnmeaſurable ambition ſtayned all his vertues. *Kliberius* his Epitaph was this:

Frigida membra Pij retinet lapis iſte loquacis,
Qui pacem moriens attulit Italiæ, &c.
Vendiderat pretio Gentes & crimina multa
Virtutis ſpecie geſſerat ille Pius, &c.

Here doe the bones of talking *Pius* lye,
Who by his death brought peace to Italie, &c.
Nations he ſold, and many crimes vnfit
He vnder ſhew of vertue did commit.

And he preſently addeth the reaſon, *Nam ſcelus orbis erat, For he was the wickedneſſe of the world.*

Now in the yeare 1494 *Peter Barbo*, a Venetian, the ſiſters ſonne of Pope *Eugenius*, is created his ſucceſſor, by the name of *Paul* the ſecond. Hee was no ſooner entred into the Popedome, but in recompence of the benefits hee had receiued of *Pius* the ſecond, hee putteth downe all the Abbreuiators by him created, without hearing them, and vnder pretence of ignorance, whom *Pius* for their learning had drawne vnto him out of all parts of the world, vtterly depriuing them of their office, without the repaiment of any money. Some tried him by ſupplication, beſeeching him to referre their cauſe to the Auditors of Rota; and *Platina*, who was one of them, ſpake for all: but he anſwered, *Doeſt thou thus call vs vnto Iudges* (ſaith he) *as if thou kneweſt not that all lawes are lodged within the cloſet of our breaſt: Thus is our ſentence, Let them void the place, let them goe whither they will, I paſſe not for them, I am Pope, and it is lawfull for me to diſannull or approue the acts of others according to my owne pleaſure*. *Pius* the ſecond, who reduced the whole

whole Church to one only man, and they alſo that haue ſubiected the holie Scripture vnto him, to wreſt it into whatſoeuer ſence he pleaſeth, may perceiue into what danger they caſt vs, when theſe men after their owne luſt deſtroy each other, and either for pleaſure or hatred ouerthrow all things both diuine and humane. They ſolicit night and day, that at leaſt they may be heard, and being reiected they haue recourſe to a letter: *Being reiected of thee, and diſgraced with ſo notable contumelie, we will diſperſe our ſelues to the Kings & Princes in all parts, & will exhort them to call a Councell, wherein thou mayſt be conſtrained to render a reaſon, why thou haſt ſtripped vs of our lawfull poſſeſſion.* And this had *Platina* himſelfe both written and ſigned. But he was preſently caſt into priſon, fettered with yrons, and declared guiltie of high treaſon for hauing ſowed a ſlanderous *libell, and made mention of a Councel. Platina* defendeth himſelfe, That a libell hath no name ſet to it, but to this on the contrarie he had ſet to his name: That he thought not that it was a crime to ſpeake of a Councell, ſeeing that Councels are in all ages inſtituted by the holie Fathers, as in time paſt the Cenſorſhip among the Romans, leaſt iniurie ſhould be done to any. But he was ſo much the more ſtraitly kept, and ſharply vſed, vntill at the end of foure monethes, by the entreatie of Cardinall *Gonzaga*, he was deliuered, on condition that he ſhould not ſtirre out of the citie. *Paul* had for competitor vnder *Eugenius*, whileſt he was *in minoribus*, the Cardinal *Aloiſio* of Padoua, whoſe grace and fauour did much offend him: he died, leauing great wealth behind him, which he bequeathed by teſtament, with the conſent of *Paul* himſelfe, to the *Scarampi*, his brethren. He ſeiſed vpon all for himſelfe, and retained the *Scarampi*, till the things which had beene tranſported to Florence were brought backe to Rome. Out of theſe particular actions may be judged, what was the conſcience of this man, on whoſe will they will haue the commonwealth depend. *Iames Picinin*, a famous captaine, retained king *Ferdinand*, yea and *Paul* himſelfe, in their duetie. *Francis Sforza*, Duke of Milan, his father in law, ſendeth him to the king, vnder faith giuen, That whenſoeuer he would he ſhould returne againe ſafe. *Ferdinand* caſts him into priſon, with his ſonne, and a while after put him to death, ſaying, *That he falling downe in the priſon it ſelfe, brake his leg, whileſt he beheld at a window, more attentiuely than heedfully, the kings gallies returning with victorie from Iſchia.* It was thought of ſome that *Paul* had a hand in that treacherie, *ſeeing that in thoſe dayes the Biſhop of Milan went verie often to and fro betweene the Pope and the king, and Paul himſelfe ſaid, when he heard of his captiuitie, That the Iudge of Appeales was taken out of the way.* A while after he entred into a conceit, That one *Callimachus*, a Roman, had conſpired againſt him; whereupon, as his fantaſie led him, he taketh hold of all that ſtand in reach, & committeth them to priſon, and that ſo much the more eagrely, for that it was told him that *Lucas Tortius*, a gentleman of Rome, baniſhed to Naples, was ſeene thereabouts with ſome troupes: And *Platina* himſelfe came into his mind, taking a felicitie in his ſuſpitions, whom being apprehended, he commanded ſhould preſently be put to the rack. Although a few dayes after he vnderſtood that this *Lucas* had not ſtirred one foot, and certainly knew that this pretended conſpiracie was altogether vaine and without ground, *Yet he would needs make ſhew, that there was ſome hidden cauſe, leaſt he ſhould be accuſed of lightneſſe.* Wherefore many in the midſt of their torments died, men of good note, whoſe names and dignities the Author ſetteth downe: twentie within the ſpace of two dayes were called in queſtion, and ſifted to the vtmoſt. *Platina* among others, *Whileſt* (ſaith he) *I did hang in theſe torments naked, rent as a theefe and murderer, Vianen-*

Platina in Paul. 2.

giuen him that for a fauor. He ſitteth as another Minos on ſpread carpets, as if he were at a A
wedding, or rather at the ſupper of Atreus and Tantalus. Speaking of loue, he turneth to
me, vrging me to vnfold the order of the conſpiracie, or rather fable, inuented of Calt-
machus. Conſider here, in ſo ſeuere an act, the grauitie of this man, of a Church-
man eſpecially, *whom the ſacred Canons forbid to be preſent at ſuch executions, leaſt if*
death ſhould follow, he ſhould become irregular and impious. He asketh him aboue all,
Whether he had not written to the Emperor, or to ſome Prince, either for to raiſe
a ſchiſme, or procure a Councel; for this was it that principally ſtucke to his heart,
and preſently againe renewed the tortures. At length *Paul* being wearie that hee
could wring out nothing with all thoſe exquiſit torments, commaundeth *Chriſto-*
pher de Verona, his Phyſitian, to tell the poore men, that they ſhould bee of good B
courage, for they ſhould ſtraight be deliuered; who notwithſtanding, as he was a
man of a free ſpirit, plainely ſaid to him in the preſence of many, *That this could*
not ſo ſoone be done, leaſt the Pope ſhould be argued of lightneſſe and crueltie, ſo ſoone to
let goe as innocent, them whom he had taken and tortured with ſo great tumult. Some
time therefore paſſed, that he might not ſeeme to haue done any thing raſhly, and
without cauſe. In the meane time he himſelfe came to viſit them in the caſtle, and
when all other accuſations failed him, he chargeth them with hereſie, That they
had diſputed of the immortalitie of the ſoule out of the opinion of *Plato*, which
Saint *Auguſtine* affirmed to come neereſt to the opinion of a Chriſtian; and for
that they prayſed the auncient Accademie, and condemned the new, *he pronoun-* C
ced them heretikes, which either in earneſt or in ieaſt ſhould from thenceforth any more
make mention of the name of an Accademie. So that if *Lælius de Valla*, a Roman ci-
tizen, and an Aduocat in the Conſiſtorie, had not taken their cauſe in hand; they
had vndergone the puniſhment of hereſie. At length wearied with the entreaties
of the Cardinals, he ſetteth them at libertie, but yet in ſuch a ſort, as that hee euer
watched ouer their ſteps, ſo that they judged not themſelues to be free til after his
death; Death which tooke him by an Apoplexie, when he had ordained that the
Iubilie ſhould be celebrated euerie twentie fiue yeares, which falling in the yeare
1475, filled his mind with hope of exceſſiue gaine. There be ſome which ſay,
That hee was in the night by the diuell *ſtrangled in the verie act of venerie.* And D
Platina noteth, *That he hated and contemned ſo the ſtudies of humanitie, that he called*
the ſtudents thereof by the name of Heretikes. For this cauſe he exhorted the Romans,
not to ſuffer their ſonnes be any longer at the ſtudies of learning, that it was ynough if
they had learned to write and read. Therefore *Genebrard* calleth him *The enemie of*
vertue and learning. Fearing without doubt, that if learning once came to be re-
ſtored, the abuſes lying hid vnder the miſts of ignorance, would bee diſcouered.
And thus much aboundantly ſufficeth to make knowne both his conſcience and
his knowledge. Moreouer, all offices generally were ſet to ſale in his time, nei-
ther was he woont to beſtow Biſhoprickes ſaue onely on them that poſſeſſed o-
ther offices, by the ſale of which they might come by money to giue to him. As E
alſo this was he that extended the Bull *of caſes to be reſerued to the Pope*, ſo farre as
might be, reſeruing to himſelfe thereby ſo much the larger pretence of drawing
money to himſelfe from all parts. The moſt memorable thing that he did for the
good of the Church, was, That he bought, at any price whatſoeuer, all the
moſt exquiſit precious ſtones hee could get, for to enrich the Papall Myter,
and tooke a pleaſure to bee looked on and admired of all men in that brauerie;
for this cauſe he ſometime retained ſtrangers in the citie, omitting the cuſtome of ſhewing
the Sudarium, that he might be ſeene of more people at once. Moreouer, he commaunded
by

Gaſpar. Peucerus.

Chronic. Genebr. part. 2.

Bulla cuius initium Ineffabilis prouidentia in Summa Conſtitut.

A *by publike Decree, vnder a penaltie, That none ſhould weare ſcarlet caps but Cardinals,*
and the firſt yeare of his Popedome he gaue them cloth of the ſame colour, wherewith to co-
uer the horſes and mules when they rode, that the Church of Rome might at length
be brought to the perfect ſimilitude of that Whore deſcribed vnto vs in the Apo-
calyps. And *Platina*, of this *Paul*, in the life of *Hadrian* the firſt, ſaith, *He was ſo de-* Platina in Hadriano primo, in Vetuſtioribus Editionibus. Vide eam quæ prima omnium prodijt. Coloniæ Ann. 1479. Typis Iohannis de Colonia & Iohannis Anterien de Ghe. retzem.
lighted with theſe effeminat delicacies, hauing bought at a high rate precious ſtones from
all parts, and almoſt emptied the treaſurie of the Roman Church; ſo that whenſoeuer he
went forth in publike, he ſeemed ſome Phrygian Cybele with turrets on his head, rather
than a myter. Hence I thinke came, through the ſweat of his very fat bodie, and the weight
of the precious ſtones, that Apoplexie whereof hee ſo ſuddenly dyed: Which hee
B had noted alſo before to haue happened to *Leo Auguſtus* the ſonne of *Conſtantine*
Copronymus. But all this hath *Onuphrius* raſed out, which in the oldeſt editions are
read at large. The like things we read alſo in *Iames* Cardinall of Pauia, in his ſe-
cond booke of Commentaries. And here *Platina* endeth his hiſtorie of Popes.
There is extant an Epigram of him, made by *Iohn Pannonius*, Biſhop and Poet
of thoſe times.

Pontificis Pauli teſtes ne Roma requiras,
Filia, quam genuit, ſat docet eſſe marem.

C Pope *Paule's* a male, Rome need no further triall,
He gat a daughter makes it paſt deniall.

And indeed *Stephen Orichouius*, Biſhop of Ruſſia, telleth vs, when ſhee was
knowne of all men to bee his daughter, he often deteſted ſingle life, whereby hee
could not ſee without ſhame, her whom he might haue lawfully begotten: But
which is worſe, there want not ſome that accuſe him both of Magicke and Sodo-
mie, which I here willingly omit.

OPPOSITION.

D *Pius* the ſecond, as we haue ſeene, hauing ouerthrowne his firſt and beſt wri-
tings, was the firſt that decreed, That the Pope is aboue a Councell, and that it is
not lawfull to appeale from him to a Councell; againſt the Decrees both of Con-
ſtance and Baſil, which had beene with ſo great ſolemnitie both determined and
publiſhed: but notwithſtanding his retractation, he was not preſently beleeued.
Contrariwiſe the Vniuerſities of Paris, Colonia, Prague, Cracouia, Oxford, and
others, the moſt famous of Chriſtendome, conſtantly retained the Decrees of the
ſaid Councels; and not without cauſe, ſeeing that (as *Bellarmine* witneſſeth) they
had beene confirmed by the Suffrages of a thouſand Fathers, among whom, at
E Conſtance, were three hundred Biſhops; at Baſil alſo, by the teſtimonie of *Pius*
the ſecond in his Retraction, with the conſent of all the Vniuerſities, and with the
applauſe of all which ſpake publikely, of *Nicholas Panormitan*, and *Lewis Ponta-*
nus, who (ſaith he) *were accounted the two ſtarres of the world, or the two chiefe and* Æneas Sylvius in Bulla Retract.
moſt famous lights of the Canon and Ciuile Law: Yet neuertheleſſe they approued by words
and writings the Acts of the Councell, condemned the doings of Eugenius, neither was
there any which either would or durſt confute their ſayings; although, as he himſelfe
witneſſeth, they were well affected towards the perſon of *Eugenius*. On the con-
traire, *All* (ſaith he) *with one voyce preferred the Councell before Eugenius, and it was*
held

held for a crime of hereſie, once to mutter any thing againſt the dignitie of the Councell.

Now in the time of *Nicholas* and *Calixtus*, after the *neutralitie* of Germanie was taken away by the meanes of *Æneas Syluius*, for which good ſeruice hee had beene firſt made Biſhop, and after Cardinall, the Germans were offended that the conditions agreed vpon with the Emperour were not obſerued: Wherefore by the authoritie and conduct of *Diether* Archbiſhop of Mentz, they had inſtituted a certaine *Pragmaticall ſanction*, whereby they would prouide for themſelues againſt the grieuances of the Roman Church; and partly decreed of the election of Prelats, collation of benefices, hearing of cauſes, granting of Indulgences, exaction of tenthes, and the like; partly they defended themſelues alſo by way of Appeale, againſt the Pope, if he ordained any thing againſt them; and moreouer, fortified this with a ſtrict league of the Princes. Hence it is that *Syluius* is ſo vehemently moued in his Epiſtle *of the maners of Germanie*, which he wrot in anſwer to *Martin Mayer*, Chauncellour of the Archbiſhop of Mentz; for note, hee was newly made Cardinall of Sienna. This *Mayer* was a man famous in that age, euen by the teſtimonie of *Syluius* himſelfe, and had complained in his Lords behalfe, That the Decrees of Conſtance and of Baſil were not obſerued: That *Calixtus*, as if he were not tied to the couenants of his predeceſſor, exhauſted and ſoaked Germanie, euer and anon reiected the election of Prelats, and reſerued the benefices and dignities of whatſoeuer kind, for his Cardinals and Protonotaries: For (ſaid he) *expectatiue graces are granted without number, Annates or firſt fruits are exacted without any delay of time, openly alſo extorting more than is due. The gouernement of Churches are not committed to them that deſerue beſt, but to ſuch as offer moſt, and new Indulgences are daily granted for to rake in money. Exactions of tenthes, vnder colour of the Turkes, are commaunded to be made, without taking aduiſe of our Prelats. Cauſes which had beene handled and determined in the countrey, are confuſedly drawne to the Apoſtolicall Seat, and a thouſand new meanes are inuented, whereby with a ſubtill wit to draw money from vs, as from Barbarians. And you, vnder this forme, hitherto vnuſuall and vnheard of, haue obtained reſeruation to three Prouinces of Germanie.* And in concluſion, That the Princes being awaked out of their ſleepe, were reſolued to ſhake off that yoke, and to take againe their former libertie, not without great dammage to the Court of Rome. Wherefore, though hee congratulated with him his new dignitie, yet he tooke it ill that theſe euils happened in his time, and ſeriouſly exhorted him to procure a remedie betimes. *But it may be* (ſaith he) *the mind of God is otherwiſe, and his ſentence will preuaile:* Giuing vs in theſe few words, more to thinke of than he expreſſeth. What then doth here the new Cardinall? You may ſee he hath ſtraight changed his ſtile, ſo that to a friend writing friendly, at the verie beginning in an angrie manner, he ſaith, *Thou haſt mixed* amara & rancida, *vnſauorie and bitter things in thy letters:* So much was his taſt then alreadie altered; for afterwards there was nothing ſo vniuſt which he defended not, nothing ſo abſurd which he vttered not, neither feared hee to eſtabliſh the Popes tyrannie, by thoſe verie places which before he had proued to be wreſted into a wrong ſence. To conclude, nothing was with him more execrable than the Pragmaticall ſanction, which before he had pronounced to be ſacred and Canonicall. He vpbraided the Germans, That they were too rich, and ingratefull to the Church of Rome, which of Heathens had made them Chriſtians, of Barbarians Latines: Whereas indeed the Germans had Chriſtian Churches, which S. *Ireneus* commendeth for their notable conſtancie, before the name of Pope of Rome was once knowne, when they which ruled the Church were onely called Prieſts

Prieſts. Neither had hee any mind to ſeeke ſo farre, ſeeing hee could not conceale, *That before the Councell of Nice* ſibi quiſque viuebat, *euerie Biſhop liued to himſelfe*, that is to ſay, gouerned his Church without taking law from Rome, *to the great dammage of the Church* (ſaith he:) who on the contrarie ought to haue added, That by the Decree of that Councell, the Biſhop of Rome had no right of ſuperintendencie ouer any other Churches but only *in ſuburbicarijs*, ouer the neighbour Churches about Rome.

About this verie time, flouriſhed *Gregorie de Heimburg*, Doctour of the ciuile and Canon law, a man of great eſtimation euen at Venice: *Sibilius* calleth him *the chiefeſt of the Germans*. When *Pius* entred into the Popedome, he excommunicated *Sigiſmund* Duke of Auſtria, for that hee could not endure the fawcineſſe of his Legat, but he by the aduiſe of *Gregorie de Heimburg*, appealed to the Councell, and publiſhed his Appeale at Rome; wherof *Pius* vnderſtanding that *Heimburg* was the Authour, he likewiſe communicated him. And becauſe hee dwelt at Norimberg, being Syndicke or Aduocat of the citie, he writeth an Epiſtle to the Burg-maſter and Senat, in which he calleth this forme of appealing from the Pope to a Councell, *A new hereſie and inſpiration of the Diuell, ſeeing that men appeale friuolouſly and by way of mockerie to a Councell, or to that which is no where*; and which they purpoſe to auoyd and hinder by all meanes poſſible. Hee therefore ſignified vnto them that hee had excommunicated *Heimburg*, as guiltie of high treaſon and hereſie, and commaundeth them that they ſhould expell him the citie, confiſcat his goods moueable and vnmoueable, and inflict vpon him all the puniſhments appointed for heretikes. But, from this excommunication alſo *Heimburg* againe appealed to a Councell, yet is conſtrained to depart into Bohemia, where he married a wife and made his abode; vntill *Diether* Archbiſhop of Mentz of the familie of *Heimburg*, being vexed by the Pope, called him vnto him; whereby we may gather that *Diether* did not greatly diſlike his doctrine. In the appeale of *Sigiſmund* that he framed, after hee had layed open the equitie of his cauſe, againſt the vniuſt proceedings of the Pope, he appealed not *from the Pope ill informed, to the Pope better informed*, becauſe he knew his eares to bee ſtopped, but eyther to his ſucceſſour, or to a generall Councell to be celebrated, according to the Decrees of Conſtance and Baſill, and in default thereof, to Ieſus Chriſt Sauiour of the world. In his owne alſo, when *Pius* the ſecond had excommunicated him, he proteſted the verie ſame; but moreouer, examining his Bull and his letters which he had written to them of Norimberg, *Our Sauiour* (ſaid *Pius*) *ſubſtituted Peter Prince of the Apoſtles to the gouernement of the Church. Who knoweth not*, anſwered *Heimburg*, *That Ieſus commaunded all the Apoſtles, That they ſhould goe to preach faith, baptiſme and ſaluation through the world? Who knoweth not, That the promiſe was made to all, That whatſoeuer they did bind on earth ſhould be in heauen?* In which words he plainely taketh away the Popes Primacie, Inſomuch (ſaith he) *that to this day the Catholike Church prayeth to be kept by the continual protection of the Apoſtles, whom our Sauiour himſelfe hath appointed to rule Paſtours and Vicars of ſo great a worke.* And therefore, *who doubteth but that the holie Councels repreſent the place of Chriſt, which haue ſucceeded the aſſemblie of the Appoſtles? ſeeing that the world is greater than a citie. Pius* ſaid againe, *That it is a vaine thing to appeale to a Councell, which is not, and which cannot bee aboue the Pope.* To which hee replieth, *The aſſemblie of the Apoſtles was aboue S. Peter; and like as appeale may bee made to the Apoſtolike ſeat vacant, ſo to a Councell not yet gathered, &c. This is a ſlauiſh ſeruice which he exacteth of vs, and not a filiall reuerence, &c. He calleth me he-*

Æneas Syluius commentat. l. 3. Wimphel. in Profeſſ. adillu ſtres viros Germ. Trithemij Antilogia excuſa Baſilie an. 1551 vbi appellatio vtraq. Krantzius l. 10. Wandal. c. 24. Epiſt. 400. ad Norimbergenſ. Trithem. Chronic. vol. 2. ſub annum 1460.

retike, because I say, That a Councell of all Christendome is above the Pope, but I say, A
The Pope is an heretike, who holdeth the contrarie, &c. He commaundeth my goods to be confiscat, and giueth them to whosoeuer will enter vpon them, willing them therein to doe the worke of Catholike men. This word were verie daungerous, but that the Popes fond trifling is before alreadie well knowne vnto vs, when he made at Mantua so large and so loud a discourse in the behalfe of incestuous embracements, and vices enemies to publique honestie. Lastly, *Pius* sayd, That the Church is not assembled: Hee aunswereth, It is he that hindereth and disturbeth it by his factions; in me is no let, not any fault, &c. One *Theodore* bishop of Feltre, aunswered him in the behalfe of the Pope, heaping together all the places and reasons, whereby the Canonists are woont to defend that fulnesse of power, which Popes doe arrogate to themselues. And B
this againe *Gregorie de Heimburg* confuted from point to point, in an Apologie made expressly against the detractions and blasphemies of *Theodore*. In this particularly he reproached him, That *Pius* after he had exhausted Christendome by his Iubilie, would in the Councell of Mantua wring out the verie last drop, by forging new exactions, vnder colour of making warre against the Turkes; And that he and his Cardinals laughed at it, when he propounded vnto them, what great prouisions were needfull for such a warre; because hee had another thing in his mind. And hence is that wrath of *Pius*, which hee now vomiteth forth against him. Wherefore (saith he) *Your money vnder colour of a militarie expedition against* C
the Turke, shall be conuerted into a wicked and damnable vse, in succour of Ferdinand, conceiued by the damnable embracement of Alphonsus sometime king of Arragon, against Renatus lawfull heire of the kingdome of Sicilie, and that noble Duke of Calabria, the ornament and inimitable patterne of Christian nobilitie, and of militarie glorie: And therefore saith the Pope that Gregorie de Heimburg was borne of the Diuell, because hee is not of the damnable seed, but lawfully begotten, for the Pope is a hater of such, a fauourer of bastards, in whose fauour he made a verie large Oration almost three houres long, and made all Mantua ring with the praises of the bastard Ferdinand. But as touching the question of the Popes Primacie, I entreat the Reader to peruse the Apologie it selfe. In another Treatise of his also against the Primacie he calleth the Roman D
Gregor. Heimburg, in tractat. de Primatu excuso Magdeburgi & in Antilogia Basil. 1555. Item Francofurti apud Wolfang Richeseterum, an. 1607.
Synagogue *Babylon and the Harlot*. And after he had proued that it hath no ground in sacred Scripture, nor in the writings of the Fathers, yea that all these things are of meere vsurpation, contrarie to the institution of Christ, and against the commoditie of the Church, he pronounceth that such tyrannie is not to be endured, and exhorteth euerie one, as it is commaunded in the Apocalyps, to depart from it: Which, that it might be more easily be discerned, he framed a most exquisit antithesis of Christ and the Pope; whereby he manifestly sheweth him to be Antichrist. He accuseth also the Doctours, who either for hope or feare not daring to contradict his errours, confirme him the more by their silence. At last he bursteth forth into this, *Thus for these many yeares it is more free for a man to di-* E
spute and call into doubt the power of God, than of the Pope. For men (saith he) *are drunken with the wine of the said harlot, and inspired with the sweetnesse of this woman; they flatteringly expounded the Scriptures, wresting it for confirmation of errour. And because that Emperours and Kings, either through ignorance for want of accustoming themselues to studies and sciences, or by reason of too much worldlie vanitie that possesseth them, haue not beene able to see it, they haue beene brought to so great a seruitude, that they are compelled to beleeue, for a point of faith necessarie to saluation, That Christ hath giuen the Pope such a fulnesse of power, that he may dispose of all things which are on the earth after the pleasure of his owne will, neither shall any dare to say vnto him,* why

A *why doest thou so, seeing that the Pope himselfe hath power to commaund the Angels?*
In this our age there could hardly be said any thing more cleerely. But the controuersie of *Diether* of Mentz troubled all the Empire: Hee had beene chosen Canonically by the Canons, yea his election confirmed by Pope *Pius* himselfe; but he was not found verie readie in buying his Pall, or in paying his Annates, but the principall clause was, That he opposed himselfe against the Popes exactions of money, vnder colour of the holie warres; whereupon being vexed by *Pius*, he appealed to a Councell, saying, he loued better the wealth of the Germans, than the defence of the Faith: Further, he refused to sweare to the Pope, That he should neuer assemble the Estates, nor the Electors of the Empire, without
B consulting first his intention, either for the election of a new Emperour, or for to obtaine a Councell, or for any other affaire of importance. He therefore reuoked his confirmation, and transferred his Bishopricke to *Adolfe* of Nassau, his competitor, and excommunicated *Diether*, and *Frederick* the Palatine, his fauourer. Hereupon the friends of both parties take armes, *Frederick* (surnamed the Victorious) and *Lewis* Duke of Bauaria, for *Diether*; *Albert* Marquesse of Brandeburg, *Charles* Marquesse of Baden, *John* Bishop of Metz, his brother, *Vlric* Earle of Wirtemburg, and *Lewis Niger* of Bauaria, for *Adolfe*. The battell was fought, wherein *Diethers* part had the victorie, most of the Princes being taken prisoners by the Palatine: whereupon they fell to this agreement, That *Adolph* should possesse till his death the places which he had surprised, and that *Diether* should peace-
C ably enioy all the rest, and also should succeed *Adolfe*, whensoeuer he should decease, which happened six yeares after. And this was the fruit of ouerthrowing the Pragmaticall sanction, which *Pius* said would be so profitable to the Church.
Krantzius in Saxon. l. 12, c. 1. Naucler. vol. 2. Gener. 49.

Neither was France better contented with the Decree of *Pius* the second than Germanie, and so much the lesse, for that *Pius*, to gratifie *Ferdinand* bastard of *Alphonsus*, had troden vnder foot the right of the Frenchmen in the kingdome of Naples. He therefore sent a Legat into France, for to aboliish the Pragmatical sanction, which was there obserued by vertue of the Councell of Basil, and moued the king by letters in these words: *If thou be the sonne of obedience, wherefore*
D *doest thou hold and defend the Pragmaticall sanction? Eugenius warned thee to leaue it, as not being according to God: the same did Nicholas and Calixtus, as the cause of great euill and discord in the Church, and yet thou wouldst neuer heare the voyce of the Church.* And the king was somewhat moued with these words. But the Court of Parliament of Paris came to him, and earnestly declareth vnto him of how great importance it was for the Christian Commonweale, the want whereof would most certainely bring foure principall inconueniences; *First, A confusion of the whole Order Ecclesiasticall: Secondly, The depopulation of the subiects of the kingdome: Thirdly, An emptying the kingdome of money: Fourthly, The ruine and totall desolation of Churches.*
All which they at large lay open vnto him from point to point. This their admo-
E nition may be seene at large, recited by *Iohn* Cardinall of Arles, comprehended in 89 Articles in the workes of *Peter Pithou*, which is worthie the Readers perusing. There, among other things, they declared vnto him, out of the holie Scriptures, the practise of the Primitiue Church, Canons of Councels, Decrees of the Fathers, ordinances of Popes themselues, and by the lawes of Christian Emperours and Kings, especially of ours, That the Election of Bishops, Abbots, and other Prelats of the Church, doth no whit depend, and neuer haue depended of the Bishop of Rome. That such was neuer the intention of *Charlemaigne, Lewis* the Meeke, *Philip Augustus*, S. *Lewis*, *Charles* the Wise, and others, who haue euer ordained

dained and maintained Canonicall election: ſo that whatſoeuer things are done otherwiſe, is by meere vſurpation. Then they come to ſpeake of the pillages and buying and ſelling of the Court of Rome, which in France alone doth amount to many millions of gold, of which they ſet downe examples, draw a roll of them, and caſt vp the particulars. For what doe they ſay? that in one onely Dioceſſe, in one yeare, the expectatiue graces are found to bee in number ſix hundred, &c. Whereupon the Pope was ſo moued, that (as *Iames* Cardinall of Pauia writeth to king *Lewis*) when he heard of a refuſal, he cried out, *Guerra, Guerra vſque ad capillos.* But knowing wel that this king was diuerſly intangled with many affaires, and hauing found out his eaſie diſpoſition, & that he wold do all things of his own head, he could warily obſerue him; *That thus had Conſtantine the great, the two Theodoſius, Charlemaigne, and many other of his predeteſſors, gotten themſelues an immortall name and a neuer-fading glorie*; to wit, by aboliſhing the Pragmaticall ſanction. And what can be farther off from the truth, and therefore what more vnworthie? But principally becauſe he heard his humor was in many things to goe contrarie to his fathers doings, and wold be abſolutely obeyed in what he pleaſed, he there taketh hold, and tickleth him in that: *We commend* (ſaith he) *this, among other things, that without the aſſemblie and conſultation of many, thou haſt reſolued to take away the Pragmaticall. Surely thou art wiſe, and ſheweſt thy ſelfe to be a great king, which art not gouerned, but doeſt gouerne, &c. Thou doeſt that which is meet for thee, knowing that the Pragmaticall ſanction is without God, thou haſt decreed to baniſh it out of thy kingdome, and wilt not enter into deliberation whether thoſe things ought to bee done or no, which thou knoweſt are to be done: This is to be a king, and a good king, whom good men loue, and euill doe feare, &c. Betimes make knowne thy wiſedome, as tonis it is, ſo to the whole world, to the end that none may ſay, he was a long time vnwilling, becauſe long in deliberating. And if the Prelats and vniuerſities require any thing of vs, let them haue recourſe to vs, and make thee their Mediator.* Knowing without doubt, if the matter once had come to deliberation, he ſhould ſurely haue had againe the repulſe. And he addeth, *Neither do we doubt, but that when thou wert exiled* (namely, when he was out of his fathers fauour) *as it were out of the kingdome, thou wouldeſt often ſay with thy ſelfe, O, if I one day ſit on my fathers throne, I will doe many acceptable ſeruices to thee O God. Surely I will not ſuffer thine inheritance to be ſpoyled by the furie of the Turkes, &c.* But what doth he conclude of this? *Now ſhew thy ſelfe gratefull to his diuine goodneſſe, ſeeing he hath made thee his ſonne king, and hath reſtored the kingdome with great glorie, and for ſo great benefits doe this againe for him, take away the Pragmaticall ſanction, as thou haſt promiſed our embaſſadour to doe, and that done, which is no hard thing to doe, addreſſe thy ſelfe wholly to the ſuccouring of Chriſtian religion againſt the Turkes, &c.* Thus to abrogat this law, which reſpected onely the Canonicall election of Biſhops, and the reſtraint of the pillages of Rome, was a matter of greater importance with him, than the purpoſe or vow of making warre againſt the Turkes. So then *Lewis* reſolued to diſannull it, vnder colour that it had beene publiſhed in the time of ſchiſme, although he concealed not, to encreaſe the benefit, *That it had beene concluded in a great aſſemblie of Prelats, and with great deliberation of time, and was now hardened and had taken firme footing.* But to what purpoſe he ſo eagrely purſued this buſineſſe anon after appeared: whereof wee haue a ſhew and example in the letters of *Iames* Cardinall of Pauia, to *Francis Spinola: William Cardinall of Hoſtia* (ſaith he) *told vs a ſtorie of an Abbie in France, famous for wealth and religion, of which there was an Abbot old and decrepit, who ſeeing himſelfe vnprofitable in his charge, for conſcience ſake would leaue the adminiſtration of the ſame. I know*

Jacob. Cardin. Papienſis in Epiſtolis.

Æneas Syluius Epiſt. 387. data Rome 26. Octob. 1461.

know not what Biſhop, whoſe Church was farre thence, requeſted that the Abbay ſhould be giuen him in Commenda. The Abbay as we haue ſayd, was of great fame in Fraunce, hauing no ill in it for which it had need to be commended. It was apparant, that hee required it not for deſire of good worke, but for couetouſneſſe. In comming therfore to ſpeake their opinions, the Cardinall de Porto, who was next to the Cardinall of Hoſtia, I feare, Holie Father (ſaith he) that verie ſhortly we ſhal heare that al the Abbayes in France will be in Commenda, ſo that there will not any remain that hath an Abbot; for whatſoeuer we ordayne there, is nothing elſe but Commenda's. That kingdome will one day, when we leaſt looke for it, riſe againſt vs, and not beeing able to endure our vnprofitable miniſterie, will attempt ſome great matter againſt thy ſeat. The Pope approued his iudgement, and added, That from the Popedome of Calixtus till that day, he thought there were more than fiue hundred Monaſteries giuen in Commenda; that is, in leſſe than nine yeares. And yet in his Epitaph among his triumphes is obſerued this exploit, *Pragmaticam in Gallia abrogauit, hee aboliſhed the Pragmaticall ſanction.* Wherefore *Pius* beeing dead, who in foure yeares ſpace, had taught Fraunce ſufficiently what great dammages would enſue thereupon, complaints for the Pragmaticall ſanction are redoubled: whereupon, the king commaunded his Court of Parliament to ſet downe vnto him in writing the cauſes of this complaint, which it did, and deliuered them vnto him againe in eightie ſixe Articles, vnder this Title, *For the libertie of the French Church againſt the Court of Rome.* The principal Articles are the 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, in theſe words: *Whereas many things had been decreed in the holie Councels of Conſtance and Baſill, conſonant or agreeable to the auntient Canons, and to the royall ordinances aboueſayd. King Charles the ſeuenth the king, who then was Dolphin, being preſent, together with the Princes of the bloud Royall, the Prelats, and the Colledges Eccleſiaſticall and Scholaſticall, and in the hearing of the Embaſſadours both of the Pope of Rome, and of the holie vniuerſall Councell; at length he receiued thoſe Decrees, and confirmed them by his Edict, which commonly wee call Pragmaticall. And theſe things were done at Bourges in the yeare* 1438. *This ſanction therefore was euer held to be of ſo much the more authoritie, becauſe it had the originall from the holie Councels, in which the Pope, or his Legat ſat Preſident. For there had beene neuer any law made in Fraunce before that time, which had authoritie and force from the vniuerſall Church.* 16. *From that time forth the kingdome better proſpered, and had greater authoritie and glorie than euer before, and more plentie and abundance of all things. Guienne and Normandie can witneſſe, what terrour it was to the enemies, out of which places they were expulſed and caſt out.* 17. *The obſeruation of this ſanction dured the ſpace of twentie and three yeares, and now ſince hath ceaſed theſe foure yeares: When in the meane time men of excellent probitie and grauitie haue gouerned and ruled the Churches without moleſtation and diſturbance; of which ſome for the ſingular ſanctitie of their liues, after their deceaſe were had in reputation for miracles, as Michaell Biſhop of Angers, the Archbiſhop of Arles, and many others.* 18. *Contrarwiſe, of the abrogation of theſe Canons, Decrees and Conſtitutions, innumerable inconueniences would ariſe, which ſeeme may be referred to foure kinds:* Thoſe ſame which were obſerued in the admonition afore mentioned. But the king being troubled either with continuall warres, or with ſuſpitions, from time to time put off the buſineſſe to a generall aſſemblie. Yet (ſaith *Mouſtrelet*) in the yeare 1467, *Paule* the ſecond being Pope, the king graunted his letters to his Legat being come from Rome, in the moneth of September, for the abrogation of the Pragmaticall ſanction, which were exhibited and publiſhed in the Chaſtellet of Paris, without any contradiction or diſturbance. But he addeth, on the firſt day of October following, *M. Iohn Balne* (who after

Platina in Pio 2

Mouſtrelet in chronologiquet.

after was Cardinall) *came to the hall of the Palace royall at Paris, to procure the publi-* A
cation of the ſame in Court: Where he findeth M. Iohn de Saint Romain, the kings Atturney generall, who verie ſtoutly oppoſed himſelfe againſt the execution of the ſaid letters, whereat Balue was verie much diſpleaſed. Balue threateneth him, That the king would not be well content with it, and would diſplace him from his office: But he deſpiſing his threats, anſwered, That the king might take away his office from him, yet neuertheleſſe he was reſolued rather to loſe it, than he would either doe or ſuffer to be done any thing againſt his conſcience, or to the detriment and diſhonour of the king and kingdome. And to Balue he ſaid, That he might bluſh for ſhame, for hauing vndertaken the diſpatch of ſuch a buſineſſe. And after that the Rector of the Vniuerſitie of Paris, and the Deputies of the ſame, came to the Legat himſelfe, and appealed from him and from the effect of B
his ſaid letters, to the Councell, and in whatſoeuer place it ſhould be made. They alſo went to the Chaſtelet, where they requeſted, that their oppoſition might be inregiſtred there.
Theſe are the words of *Monſtrelet:* and it is not to be omitted, That this *Iohn Balua*, being Biſhop of Eureux, was made a Cardinall, and a little after conuicted of treaſon againſt the king and kingdome. The yeare following, one M. *Iohn Loyre*, by vertue of certaine Bulls from the Pope, interdicted the citie and Dioceſſe of Niuers, vſing the authoritie of the Officiall of Beſanſon: But by the ſentence of the Court it was decreed the twelfth of December, at the ſuit of the kings Atturney generall, and of M. *Peter Chartres*, Doctor and Profeſſor of Diuinitie in the Vniuerſitie of Paris, That notwithſtanding the Interdict the Diuine Seruice C
ſhould be continued, and the Churchmen compelled vnto it, being by the kings power ſet into their temporalties: That alſo the ſaid *Loire* and Officiall ſhould be layd hold on, and be held to procure at their owne charges the abrogation of the Bulls.

Neither wanted there in all places ſome, who in the middeſt of the tyrannie powred forth their ſighes euen before the Popes. *Dominicus* Biſhop of Breſcia in Italie, wrot a Treatiſe which he directed to *Pius* the ſecond, and intituled it, *The Reformation of the Court of Rome*; truely mild ynough according to the times, and yet ſometime not without a ſting: *If* (ſaith he) *we conſider the former Popes and their* D
Acts, the Cardinalls, the Biſhops, Protonotaries, and other Prelats, Penitentiaries, Subdeanes, Auditors, Clerkes of the Chamber, Acolythes or vnder miniſters, Chamberlains, Aduocates, Proctors and others appointed in diuers degrees and offices, wee ſhall ſurely
Lament. 4. *weepe with Ieremie, Oh, how is the gold become ſo dimme! the moſt fine gold is changed, the ſtones of the Sanctuarie, that is, the Prelats, are ſcattered in the corner of euerie ſtreet, that is, of the broad wayes, which lead to deſtruction, in the corners whereof they are, as Gregorie expoundeth it. Her Nazarites were purer than ſnow, and whiter than milke, more ſplendent than precious ſtones, or poliſhed Saphires; but now their face is blacker than a coale, and they are not knowne, to wit, for good, &c. By this deformation and ſpot of the Court, and of Clergie-men, eſpecially of the Prelats, Eccleſiaſticall cenſure ſeemeth to* E
be weakened, and obedience diminiſhed. Why is this, but for the contemptible life and workes of Prelats, becauſe they ſeeke their owne, and not what is Ieſus Chriſts. But the reformation and amendment hereof belongeth to the Pope, who as head of the reſt
De cenſ. Rom. l. 6. 2. 7. Cum Paſtoris 6. q. 1. ex merito 1. q. 1 Fertur. ver. Hinc igitur. *ought to performe it, and diligently looke to it. But he that would correct others, ought first looke to himſelfe, and them that be about him: Becauſe the life of the Paſtour is an example to others. And if the head languiſh, the reſt of the members are infected, and when the Paſtor is wounded, who will applie the medicine to cure the ſheepe? Whereupon, when the Phyſitian is ſicke, it will be ſaid vnto him, Cure thy ſelfe, &c.* And to this purpoſe he bringeth many Canons. Of Indulgences: *So often as* (ſayth hee) *the*

Pope

A *Pope went forth in publike on ſome feaſtiuall day, was giuen a plenarie Indulgence, againſt the cuſtome of auncient Popes: notwithſtanding that by ſuch vndiſcreet and ſuperfluous Indulgences the keyes of the Church are contemned, and penitentiall ſatisfaction weakened.* De pœnis & remiſſ. c. Cum ex eo s. Adhæc. *Out of this conſideration it followeth, that about giuing of expectatiue graces greater conſideration ought to be had, and not thus giuen euerie where on all ſides, and indifferently: becauſe by ſo great a multitude and confuſion, for the moſt part, benefices are granted to perſons vnworthie, & great matter of contention ariſeth thereby.* Againe, *By the euill example and ſcandall which they giue to Lay-men, they ſeeme that they are come to this that S. Bernard ſpeaketh in his ſermon vpon theſe words of the Goſpell, I am the good ſhepheard.* And becauſe it is verie long,
B let the Reader take the paines to ſee it in the booke it ſelfe, wherein he diſcourſeth of all the corruptions of the Roman Church in his time. At Padoua taught *Anthonie Rozel*, a famous profeſſor of the Ciuile Law, who in his booke of *Monarchie* affirmeth, That the Pope is not Lord of the world, That he hath no power ouer the Emperor, no temporall ſword, neither any authoritie aboue other Biſhops. There is extant beſides, other Treatiſes of the ſame Author, *Of the power of the Emperor and of the Pope, and of both the ſwords, and of the authoritie of Councels*, printed at Venice in the yeare 1487.

Neither feared alſo *Roderick Sanchio*, a Spaniard, Biſhop of Zamora, and Refe- *Roderic. Zamorenſ in ſpeculo vitæ humanæ excuſo Argentorati apud Iohan. Prif. An.* rendarie of *Paul* the ſecond, to ſay in his booke *Of the Myrror of mans life, That the*
C *Pope doth not applie himſelfe to wiſedome, nor to laudible ſtudies, neither for the peace and quiet of Chriſtian people, but onely vnto earthlie things: That the Prelats doe not, neither can teach, for that they are altogether vnlearned, giuen to their belly and to* 1507.
whoredome; and yet bind on the backes of poore Chriſtians, diuers inſupportable burdens of traditions, which in the Primitiue Church either were not at all, or were left to mens libertie. *In the Primitiue Church* (ſaith he) *the faithfull were not bound with the commandements, cenſures, and pains of ſo many Canons & Decrees. Neither were there then ſo many ſnares of laws & conſtitutions, of excommunications or cenſures, from which the faithfull, though neuer ſo careful & fearful, can by no meanes be ſafe or warrant themſelues. There was not ſo many faſts comanded, nor vigils, nor ſilences, nor*
D *Diuine Seruice for day and night, enioyned daily to be ſayd. Laſtly, there was not ſo many feaſts to be kept, nor ſo often confeſſion, and communication of the bodie of Chriſt, nor ſo many obediences to be yeelded, &c. So that of the Prelats of the Church may be rightly ſayd that of Chriſt, Which bind vnſupportable burdens, &c. Whence* (ſaith he) *if any of the like things were obſerued in the Primitiue Church, it was onely voluntarie, which as then was no ſinne to tranſgreſſe, becauſe it was not then forbidden.* And yet notwithſtanding this ſame wretch was not aſhamed to flatter *Paul* the ſecond in the ſame *Idem ep. l. 1. s.*
booke, *That the Pope is not onely ordained to humane principalitie, but to diuine; neither*
to commaund onely ouer men, but alſo ouer Angels; not for to iudge the quicke onely, but
the dead; not in earth alone, but in heauen alſo; not to rule ouer the faithfull onely, but
E *ouer Infidels: Aduanced* (ſaith he) *to that verie ſame dignitie, to the ſame iuriſdiction and power, and to the principalitie ouer the whole world.* So that hee bluſheth not to applie vnto him the places of the Prophets, and of the Pſalmes, which the holie Ghoſt hath onely ſpoken and meant of the onely Sonne of God; and he moſt highly extolleth him aboue that *ſtammering Moſes and his brother Aaron both together.* So that truth and flatterie, two contraries, proceed out of one and the ſame mouth. In Germanie *Herman Ried* wrot a booke, wherein he repreſented the *Herman. Ried. de vita & honeſtate Clericorum.* corrupt maners of the Clergie, by a compariſon of what they ought to bee, and what in his times they then were: *There are* (ſaith he) *many Clergie-men, who follow*

low not the counsell and sentences of the Fathers, receiue not the holie Scripture, but de- A
spise the canons of the holie Fathers. These are they which hate and deride vnderstan-
ding and Catholike men, who weigh the grieuousnesse of the crimes of the Clergie, and
endeauour with watchfulnesse to crie out against their false dealing: Yea, they affirme
them to be fantasticall men, disturbers of the peace, hauing corrupt and polluted consci-
ences, &c. And so is verified of them that saying of S. Hierome, There is not a crueller
beast in the world, than an euill Clergie-man or Priest; for he suffereth not himselfe to
be corrected, neither will he euer heare the truth, &c. Such and the like are by their Pre-
lats permitted publikely so to liue: Prouided, that they giue euerie yeare a certaine sum
of money to their Officials. Moreouer, how many are there publikely tainted with Si-
monie? insomuch, that not being able to conceale their simonie, to shift it off, they expresse B
it with other tearmes, & persuade themselues that so the word simonie be not heard, it will
not be perceiued: It is (say they) an ordinance or statute of the Church. Others more sub-
tilly to shift it off, doe say, That the Pope doth it by his fulnesse of power, who may in such
things dispence, admit and ordaine: And that then it is simonie and sinne, onely when
the Pope did forbid it, or ordaine to the contrarie; but let that saying cease, which is ve-
rie erronious to affirme. The state of the Church was neuer in so great daunger from the
beginning of the world, as it is to be seene at this present. There haue been indeed grea-
ter persecutions and vexations of the Church, but there were euer holie and deuout men,
who endued with the grace of the holie spirit, comforted the faithfull, instructing
and strengthening them. And now the Church seemeth to be set in securitie; but such C
holie men are nowhere to be seene. Therefore the Church decreaseth in faithfull men
and in kingdomes, it pineth away in persons, notwithstanding the libertie it hath.
And before, when it enioyed not so great libertie, but was furnished with those holie
men, it dayly encreased and augmented, as to him that will search the Historiographers will
plainely appeare. These things Saint Barnard partly noted in his time, in his foure and
twentieth Sermon, and vpon the 72 Psalme, They are the Ministers of Christ, but
serue Antichrist. Which places, because we haue aboue coted them, is needlesse
here to trouble the Reader withall.

Hierome de norma viuendi c. 5.

Stephan. Brulifer, de timore seruili de paupertate Christi cum sermonibus variis apud Andream Bocord. Paris an. 1500. Idem in 4. lib. sentent. Bonauent. Basil. per Jacob. de Pforzeim 1501

In Fraunce, *Stephan Brulifer*, Doctour of Sorbonne, of the order of Francis- D
can Friers, whose bookes were Printed at Paris and at Basill, in the yeares 1500
and 1501, taught publiquely in lectures, in disputations and by writings, That
neither the Pope, nor a Councell, nor the Church can prescribe an Article, sta-
tute, or ceremonie, which bindeth the conscience of a Christian: That their pow-
er consisteth onely in this, to take care that the commaundements of God bee
kept, to preach his word, to administer the Sacraments so as hee hath instituted
them, taking heed that they bring in nothing besides that which hee hath com-
maunded: As touching justification, which is attributed to merits, that it is a
diuelish doctrine; seeing that the Lambe sacrificed hath satisfied Gods justice for
vs, of which S. *Iohn* crieth, *Behold the Lambe of God, which taketh away the sinnes of* E
the world. But when the Sorbonne would not endure him, he committed him-
selfe to the protection of *Diether* Archbishop of Mentz. And what shall wee say
of *Platina*, that famous Historiographer of Popes, not speaking of *Paule* the se-
cond his Master, which perhaps might bee imputed to some hatred, but of the
Popes and Church in his time, plainely without spleene. In the life of *Marcelline*
(speaking of the persecution of *Diocletian*) *Eusebius* (saith he) *sheweth, That God per-*
mitted that calamitie, which they suffered, because of the maners of Christians corrup-
ted by too much libertie and indulgence, principally of the Churchmen, whose peruer-
nesse the iustice of God would bridle by this persecution, seeing dissimulation to be in
their

Platina in Marcelino.

A *their countenance, guile in their heart, and deceit in their words. For these, striuing who*
should excell each other in enuie, pride, enmities, and hatreds, seemed to sauour rather of
tyrannie than Priesthood, being altogether forgetfull of Christian pietie, and prophaning
rather than celebrating the diuine mysteries. But what thinke wee shall become of our
age, wherein our vices are encreased so exceedingly, that hardly haue they left any place
of mercie for vs with God? How great is the couetousnesse of Priests, and chiefely of them
which haue soueraigne power, how great their lust appeareth euerie where, how great
their ambition and pompe, how great their pride and sloth, how great their ignorance
both of themselues and of Christian doctrine, how little their religion, and rather in
shew than in truth, how corrupt their manners, which euen in prophane men (whom they
B *call seculars) were detestable, there is no need to speake it: They commit sinnes so openly*
and in sight, as if they sought prayse thereby. There will come (beleeue mee) there will
come the Turke, the enemie of the Christian name, more violent than Diocletian and
Maximian: he alreadie knocketh at the gates of Italie. We, negligent and sleepie, at-
tend a common destruction, prouiding rather for priuat pleasure than for common vtili-
tie. In the life also of *Stephen* the third: *Pietie and religion is now become so cold,* Platina in Ste-
that they will not pray to God, I say not bare-footed, but hardly in their hose and buskins. phan. 3.
Speaking of a certaine procession from Lateran to S. Peters: *They weepe not as*
they goe, or during the time of Diuine Seruice, as those holie Fathers, but laugh, and that
impudently (I speake euen of them whose scarlet robes makes them more obseruable;)
C *They sing not hymnes, for that seemeth to them seruile, but iests and tales they tell among*
themselues, to stirre vp laughter. What need many words? The more talkatiue any is, and
the more wanton, the greater prayse he deserueth thereby in that corruption of manners.
This our Clergie feareth seuere and graue men; Why so? because they had rather liue in so
great licentiousnesse, than obey him that admonisheth them, or constraineth them to doe
well: and for this cause Christian religion groweth daily worse and worse. The like wee
read in many places, whereby he left inregistred what he judged of his times; not
daring so freely to doe it in the liues of them that then raigned, or had left after
them their *creatures*, as they call them, of whom he might receiue iniurie. Let vs
adde *Anthonie de Rosellis*, a Tuscan, a famous Doctor both of the Ciuile and Ca-
D non law, who in his learned bookes concerning that matter, teacheth, That no
temporall jurisdiction belongeth to the Pope, and in spirituall he subiecteth him
to a Councell: Which bookes were printed at Venice in the yeare 1487; but by
their *Index Expurgatorius*, they haue caused them to be raced out.

It remaineth to say something of them that spake openly, being sequestred
from the Pope. *Platina*, in the life of *Paul* the second, telleth vs, That in the towne
of Poli, neere Rome, were detected many heretikes, and the Lord of the place
with eight men and six women was taken, who being brought to *Paul*, were ve-
rie ignominiously vsed. And behold the heresie: *They were* (saith hee) *of that*
sect which wee say is of a peruerse opinion of mind, for that they sayd, That none of
E *them which haue beene since Saint Peter, was truely Christs Vicar, sauing onely they*
who haue imitated Christs pouertie. Let the Reader note here the stile of *Platina*,
which sheweth that he speaketh out of other mens judgement. And as for the
Bohemians, in the beginning of the Popedome of *Pius* the second they set forth
their Apologie and Confession of Faith, against the calumnies wherewith they
were traduced among the people, which were too long here to be inserted: But
they are conformable to the doctrine of the reformed Churches of this kingdom,
and are defended by the same places and reasons both of the holie Scriptures and
Fathers. But this fell out well for them, that after diuers miseries, was chosen

king with common conſent of the States, *George Prodebraccius*, a great captaine, and a profeſſor of their religion, who reſtored the condition and fliding ſtate of theſe Churches. And as he conſtantly perſeuered therein, notwithſtanding the threats of the Emperour and Pope, hee was excommunicated by *Paul* the ſecond, and his Eſtate expoſed to the firſt inuaders thereof. *Matthias* king of Hungarie tooke vpon him the conqueſt of this Prouince, by the inſtigation of *Rodolfe* the Popes Legat, with the approbation of the Emperour *Fredericke* the third, and by the fauour of many of the great men of the kingdome. But after many battels fought with variable ſucceſſe, he could not bring his purpoſe to paſſe. And in the meane time this valiant Prince was thereby hindered from the neceſſarie warre, which he had proſperouſly made againſt the Turkes, being accuſed of ingratitude, for that he had ſet vpon *George*, to whom he was verie notably obliged, for hauing generouſly ſet him free out of priſon without any ranſome, and alſo giuen him his daughter in mariage, when he was choſen king of Hungarie. In hatred of which fact, euen after the death of *George*, when *Matthias* was declared king by the Pope, the States of the kingdome of Bohemia would neuer giue their conſent vnto it, but preferred before him *Vladiſlaus* ſonne of *Caſimir* king of Polonia, who, although he was oftentimes inſtigated by the Pope againſt *George*, yet would neuer be perſuaded to take armes againſt him, iudging it a thing vnworthy, vnder pretence of the Catholike Faith to violat the faith giuen to each other. And this bringeth vs to the yeare 1470.

64. Progression.

The Atheiſme of Sixtus the fourth, and his abhominable and wicked life, whom Innocent the eighth ſucceeded both in the Popedome and in all impietie. Of Alexander the ſixt, by what drueliſh meanes he attained the Popedome, and of his abhominable inceſtuous life, and miſerable death. Charles the French king paſſeth into Italie with a mightie armie, and of his valiant proceedings there.

NOw it was thought that the Popes were come to that height of impietie and tyrannie, that they could hardly aſcend to a higher ſtep; and yet by that which followeth we ſhall eaſily perceiue, that they found meanes to adde both a ridge and pinnacles to that building. It is beyond all beleefe, eſpecially we reporting it, had we not their owne Authours to witneſſe it againſt them. In the yeare 1471 *Francis de Rouere*, borne in Sauoy, Generall of the Franciſcans, got the Popedome, who was called *Sixtus* the fourth. Of this man *Onuphrius* giues this teſtimonie, That for his great learning, as long as hee was Cardinall, all queſtions that concerned matter of Faith were committed to him. Where let the Reader note from that which followeth, vpon whoſe faith the Catholike Faith depended. At the firſt onſet he made ſhew of calling a Councell at Lateran, vnder a twofold pretence, The reformation of the Church, and The holie Warres. The cauſes were both verie plauſible, both for the allaying of the grieuous gronings of good men, and the freeing them of their feares. But the place was not thought ſo fitting, being that, out of which there neuer came any thing profitable to the Church. The Emperour *Frederick* deſired that it might be in the borders of Germanie, and at the inſtant requeſt of the Archbiſhop of Carnie, who gaue his beſt aſſiſtance to forward the Reformation, the Emperour and Princes called an aſſemblie

A ſemblie of many Biſhops at Baſil. But *Sixtus* hearing thereof, ſent *Angelus* the Biſhop of Stueſſe to the Senat of the citie, threatening to interdict them, if they ſent not the Archbiſhop to Rome bound hand and foot, & accounted not the reſt of the Biſhops that were with him for excõmunicat perſons. But the Senat of Baſil not enduring that ſo great a wrong ſhold be offred vnto them in a free citie, the Legat excommunicating them, departed in choler. *Frederic* neuertheleſſe perſiſted in his purpoſe, but yet the better to pacifie *Sixtus*, he deſired that the Councel might be called at Vtina in Friuli a countrey in Italie; but that pleaſed him not neither. This difficultie, ſo ſoone as he ſaw he had ouercome, & withall eſtabliſhed his ſeat with the mutuall Legations of Princes, hee bent all his endeuours to the encreaſe B of the honour and greatneſſe of his friends and kindred. *Volateran* and *Onuphrius* ſay in expreſſe tearmes, *That he was accounted by the iudgement of all verie louing and indulgent towards his kindred, for whoſe ſakes hee had done and granted many things*, præter fas juſque, *againſt all lawes humane and diuine*. Hee created therefore two Cardinals, and that not without a myſterie, *Peter Riere*, whom hee had brought vp from a child with his brother *Ieronimo*, and *Julian* his brothers ſonne, who was afterward *Julius* the ſecond: *Peter* being in a ſhort time ſtrangely inriched, *became ſo ſumptuous, that he ſeemed to be borne to ſpend money; for he conſumed in thoſe two yeares wherein he liued a Cardinall, two hundred thouſand crownes in his ordinarie houſhold expence, left fortie thouſand crownes in debts, and other infinit riches and moueable goods. He died weakened and worne out with pleaſures.* But C neuertheleſſe a Legat (a mad choyce it was) in Italie: It is he whoſe prodigious prodigalitie *Baptiſta Fulgoſius* deſcribeth to be ſuch, that hee vſually gaue to *Tire-ſia* his harlot pantofles wrought all ouer with pearle: of whom likewiſe *Baptiſta Mantua* writeth theſe verſes, wherein *Iupiter* thus ſaluteth him in hell:

Volateran. & Onuphr.

Baptiſta Fulg. dict. & factor. memorab. l. 9.

Baptiſta Mantuanus in Alphonſo l. 4.

At tu implume caput, cui tanta licentia quondam
Fœmineos fuit in coitus, tua furta putabas
Hic quoque prætextu mitræ impunita relinqui?
Sic meruit tua fœda Venus, &c.

D But thou, O Bauld-pate, who once mighteſt freely
Glut thy deſires with womens companie,
Thinkſt thou thy Myter can here thy theſts defend?
Such hath the deſert of thy leacheries been, &c.

To the reproach and ignominie both of Pope *Sixtus* and himſelfe. Of *Julius* we ſhall ſpeake hereafter in his place. Hauing prouided for theſe two that were neereſt vnto him both in bloud and affection, he bent his endeuours to the promotion of the reſt of his kindred. He made therefore his brother *Ieronimo*, brought vp E with him, the Prince of Forlie and Imola, whether by right or wrong hee regarded not; whom he maried to *Catherina* the baſtard daughter of the Duke of Milan, hauing firſt beſtowed a hat vpon *Aſcanius* the Dukes ſonne, to get his fathers conſent. Preſently after he raiſed *Leonard* his brothers ſonne, whom he maried to a baſtard of king *Ferdinands*, and made him Gouernour of Rome. He made *John* alſo, the ſonne of Cardinall *Iulian*, Prince of Soria and Senogallia, who maried *Joan* the daughter of *Frederick* of Montefeltro, Duke of Vrbin, from whom came *Franciſcus Maria*, who (his vncle dying without heires male) obrained the dukedome: and in this manner did he exalt diuers others. He was ſo liberall (ſay the writers

writers of thoſe times) that many times hee gaue one and the ſame thing to diuers; from whence roſe many diſſentions. Such art hee had in the rayſing of troubles and tumults, that, whether by right or wrong, he made warre againſt the whole world; againſt *Vitellius*, the Florentines, the *Columni*, *Ferdinand*, and others, though, for the moſt part, with bad ſucceſſe. Neither doe theſe writers conceale, that by reaſon of a griefe he conceiued, for that peace that was concluded betwixt the Venetians and the Duke of Ferrara, he died, notwithſtanding that this warre, by reaſon of the multitude of confederats on both ſides, had ſet all Italie on fire. Heare what his Epitaphs ſay:

Non potuit ſæuum vis vlla extinguere Sixtum:
Audito tandem nomine pacis obit.

All force cruell *Sixtus* defied,
Yet heard the name of peace, and died.

Againe,

Dic vnde Alecto pax iſta refulſit, & vnde
Tam ſubitò reticent prælia? Sixtus obit.

Tell me *Alecto*, whence is this our peace?
Pope *Sixtus* is dead, and therefore warres ceaſe.

Againe,

Pacis vt hoſtis eras, pace peremptus obis.

As peace thou defiedſt, ſo by peace thou diedſt.

But where he wanted force, there he practiſed treacheries; and therefore ſaith the Epitaph,

———*Fraudis dolique Magiſter,*
Et ſola tantum proditione potens.

———A Maſter of fraud and deceits,
And onely powerfull in working treacherous feats.

For, to aduance *Ieronimo* he endeuoured to make himſelfe Lord of Florence; but *Laurence* and *Iulian de Medicis* withſtood him, againſt whom he ſtirred vp *Francis Pazzi*, a Prince of the contrarie faction, to giue an attempt againſt their liues: And to manage that buſineſſe with better ſafetie, he ſent *Raphael Riere*, the Cardinall of S. *George*, a young man, and nephew to *Ieronimo*, to Florence, to giue heart to the conſpirators; who on a day, in the Church of S. *Reparade*, and in the middeſt of Diuine Seruice, aſſaulted the *Medices*, killed *Iulian*, and wounded *Laurence*, who being receiued by the Sextens into the veſterie, eſcaped. The rumor hereof ſpreading it ſelfe through the citie, the people aroſe, and the Archbiſhop of Piſa, of the houſe of the *Salniati*, *Iacobus Poggius*, and diuers others of the conſpirators, were apprehended, and preſently hanged out at a window, the Archbiſhop himſelfe in his Pontificall habit; *Paſſio*, *Anthonie*, *Volateran*, and one *Stephen* a Prieſt, were likewiſe executed. The Cardinall of S. *George* was taken priſoner, and the whole plot in ſuch ſort diſcouered by *Monteſicco*, the contriuer thereof, that it eaſily appeared that Pope *Sixtus* was the chiefe of that conſpiracie; to whom neuertheleſſe, leaſt they ſhould prouoke him too farre, they redeliuered his Cardinall:

nall: But he, for as much as they had put the Archbiſhop to death, though apprehended in a manifeſt and apparent offence, and had layd hands vpon the Cardinall, interdicted the Florentines, and denounced warre againſt them. But *Laurence* being verie wiſe, found a meanes to appeaſe *Ferdinand* king of Naples, and to alienat him from the Pope; who, had not the Turke at that time, by the taking of Otranto, troubled all Italie, had prepared himſelfe for a reuenge. At the laſt being diſappoynted of his enterpriſe touching Florence, hee made peace with the Venetians, againſt *Hercules* Duke of Ferrara, with this purpoſe: That by his ruine he might increaſe the power of *Ieronimo*: But preſently after, watching his beſt aduantage, he turned his furie againſt the Venetians themſelues. Hee ſpent a great maſſe of money in theſe warres, for the preſent ſupplie whereof he deuiſed many meanes: Writers therefore doe note, that he inſtituted new Colledges for money, whereby the Roman robberies were much multiplied; Theſe were the Regiſters *minoris præſidentiæ*, Soliciters, Recorders, Ianizaries, Stradiots, Mameluchi, which he ordained for a certaine ſumme of money. Likewiſe nine Notaries of the Apoſtolike Exchequer, &c. *By which meanes* (ſaith *Onuphrius*) *the libertie of the Roman Court being as it were caſt into fetters, all the diligence of induſtrious and painefull wits was taken away, thoſe offices being now ſold for money onely, which were woont to be freely beſtowed vpon learned and honeſt men. Hee was likewiſe the firſt that ſold the offices of the Procuratorſhip of the chamber, of the Notariſhip Apoſtolike, of the Protonotariſhip of the Capitoll, of the Notariſhip of the Colledge, of the meaſuring of ſalt, of the Chamberlainſhip of the citie. He deuiſed new impoſts, augmented the old, exacted diuers tithes of Eccleſiaſticall perſons, not without great note of auarice*; and all this out of an immoderat deſire to inrich his kindred. He celebrated likewiſe the Iubilie in the yeare 1475, which was reduced by his predeceſſor to the fiue and twentieth yeare, who prepared for him that harueſt of Indulgences. But it ſhall be neceſſarie at the laſt to know what maner of man he was that granted them. *Amongſt the bawds of theſe later times there was none more famous than Sixtus the fourth, who built at Rome a goodlie brothel houſe, wherein, according to the example of Heliogabalus, he nouriſhed multitudes of ſtrumpets, wherewith he furniſhed his friends and followers, gathering by this whorſh merchandize no ſmall commoditie to his treaſurie: For the Curtiſans of Rome did yet pay weekely* Iulium nummum, *a Iule to the Pope, which yeareli rent amounts many times to the ſumme of twentie thouſand ducats. And in ſuch requeſt is that office with the principall of the Church, that the rents of the bawds are caſt vp with the reuenewes of the Church: For I haue heard them* (ſaith he) *in this ſort caſt vp their accounts, He hath two benefices, one cure of twentie ducats, a Priorie of fortie ducats, and three whores in the brothel-houſe.* By what better meanes could he aduance the kingdome of the Whore? Let vs adde hereunto that which *Weſellus* of Groning, Doctor of Diuinitie, ſaith in his booke of the Papall Indulgences, a man in thoſe daies famous for his knowledge in the three Tongues, and therefore called *Lux mundi*, *The light of the world*, who liued in the time of this *Sixtus*. *At the requeſt of Peter Riere, Cardinal of S. Sixtus, and Patriarch of Conſtantinople, and of Ieronimo his brother, & of the Cardinal of S. Luce, who had had the chiefeſt place belonging to the hunting vnder Paul the ſecond, he permitted Sodomie the three hotteſt moneths of the yeare, Iune, Iulie, and Auguſt, with this clauſe,* Fiat vt petitur, *Let it be done as it is requeſted.* And therefore *Iohannes Sapidus* in his Epitaph had good reaſon to ſay,

Onuphr. in Sixto 4.

An. 1475.

Agrippa de vanitate Scientiarum c. 64. de Lenonia.

Weſellus ſeu Basilius Groningenſis de Indulgentijs Papalib.

———*Deflent ſua Buſta Cinedi,*
Scortaque, lenones, alea, vina, venus.

A ——Buggerers bewaile his death,
Whores, bawds, dice, wine, and leacherie.

Againe,

Pœdico inſignis, præd, fucoſus adulter,
Gaude priſce Nero, &c.

A buggerer, a theefe, a falſe adulterer,
Reioyce old *Nero*, &c.

And it followeth verie aptly, according to Saint *Paul*, *Rom.* 1.

B *Referat vt viuens cœleſtia numina Sixtus,*
Sic moriens nullos credidit eſſe Deos.

As *Sixtus* when he liued mockt God, ſo he,
When that he died, beleeu'd no God to be.

Trithem. de ſcriptorib. Eccleſ. Fra. Leandro Alberti de viris illuſtribus Ordinis Prædicatorū. Alani de Rupe Compend. Pſalterij Mariani & de Myrac. Rozarij liber vnus An. 1483.

And yet this good man in the meane time writ bookes of the conception of the Virgine *Marie*, authoriſed that execrable booke of *Alani de Rupe*, a German and Dominican Frier, forged and preached for Goſpell a certaine Roſarie, gathered out of the Virgine *Maries Pſalter*; and thereupon inſtituted a new Societie, for the credit whereof *Iames Sprenger*, Prouinciall of Germanie, deuiſed certaine C myracles, which *Sixtus* approued and defended with his Bulls and Indulgences. There was likewiſe a booke printed, in the beginning whereof we read, That the Virgine *Marie* entring into the cell or chamber of this *Alani*, the doores being locked, and hauing wouen a ring with her haire, maried her ſelfe therewith vnto him, offering her ſelfe vnto him to be kiſſed, and her breaſt to bee handled and ſucked, in as familiar manner as a wife to her husband. Many other the like blaſphemies there were in that booke, by which let the Reader conſider in what a bottomleſſe gulfe of impietie the ſuperſtitious minds of men were by theſe Atheiſts ouerwhelmed.

Innocent the eighth, a Genowais, of the familie of *Cibo*, ſucceeded in the yere D 1483: after ſuch a predeceſſor it was a hard thing to bee thought execrable (and yet he was no whit better than the former) that he ſhould fill Rome with ſeditions, Italie with fire and ſword; it was nothing ſtrange, ſince it was a matter long ſince determined, That there was no miſchiefe that befel Italie but through the Popes. He tooke from *Virginius Vrſinus* the gouernement of the Apoſtolike Palace, to gratifie Cardinall *Iulian*, who then began to ſhew his force; whereby the citie was brought into great danger: Yea he troubled all Italie, by defending the Earls of Aquila againſt *Ferdinand* their King and Lord, *Enforced thereunto* (ſaith *Onuphrius*) *by the counſell of men ill aduiſed*; whereby he got nothing but charge, ruine, E and diſhonour. Seeking therefore a meanes to ſupplie his wants, and to fill his treaſurie, he followed the ſteps of *Sixtus*: He ordained fiftie two *Plumbatores Bullarum*, *Bulliſts*, by which meanes he got ſix and twentie thouſand crownes, *Certis Eccleſiæ prouentibus attributis*, As a ſubſidie out of the reuenewes of the Church. He added ſix and twentie Secretaries, who paid euery one as it were for a fine two thouſand fiue hundred crownes, which came to ſixtie thouſand crownes. He put to ſale the office of the Preſident *de Ripa*, and created thirtie officers, who payed two hundred crownes apeece: and this was ſaid to reſtore the Church. He made peace with *Ferdinand* becauſe he could not otherwiſe chuſe, whom neuertheleſſe vnder

Onuphr. in Innocent. 8.

A vnder a pretence of non-payment of tribute, he excommunicated, depriued him his kingdome, and pronounced *Charles* king of Fraunce (who had promiſed him to come preſently with his armie) the lawfull heire; which he afterward in his owne perſon performed, grounding himſelfe vpon the laſt will and teſtament of *Renat* king of Sicilie, and of *Charles* the Earle *du Maine* his brother, who tranſferred all the right they had vpon him. But *Innocent* had no other purpoſe but by this meanes reuerſing all the Bulls of his predeceſſours, to be reuenged vpon *Ferdinand*. As touching his priuat life, let vs giue credit to *Volateran*, though in tearms somewhat too honeſt, he expreſſe his diſhoneſtie. *Iohn Baptiſta Cibo a Genowais, after the death of Sixtus, ſat in the chaire, and was called Innocent the eight: He was heretofore a poore boy, brought vp with the ſeruants of Alphonſus king of Sicilia, but yet of* B *excellent beautie. From thence he came to Rome, where he was receiued into the familie* in Contubernio *of Philip Cardinal of Bononia: Afterwards he was made Biſhop of Sauona, and then of Melfe, and Dataire of Sixtus, who made him in the end Cardinall, for his ſweet and ciuile cariage, wherein he exceeded all men,* vſque ad vitium, *euen in vice it ſelfe: For he many times embraced men of baſeſt conditions.* Is the Popedome to be gotten by ſuch meanes and manners? He had before his Popedome, ſixteen children, eight ſonnes, and eight daughters, of which there were onely two lyuing, when he obtayned the See, whom he endeauoured to raiſe to the charge of the Church, *diſtributing* (ſaith the Hiſtorie) *a great maſſe of money, gathered by his* C *indulgences for an imployment againſt the Turke, to his children and kinſfolke.* Others add, *That he was the firſt of all the Popes, that openly made his boaſts of his baſtards, and contemning all auntient diſcipline, tooke care to enrich them. Onuphrius* ſaith, *That his ſonne Fraucis, and his daughter Theodorina his baſtards, hee enriched beyond reaſon. To Fraucis he gaue certaine Townes neere the Citie, and married him to the daughter of Lawrence de Medices, and Theodorina to Gerard Vſumar of Genoa, a man verie rich.* Hereupon ſaith *Marullus* in an Epitaph,

Quid queris teſtes, ſit mas an fœmina Cibo,
Reſpice natorum pignora certa, gregem,
D *Octo nocens pueros genuit, totidemque puellas;*
Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma Patrem.

Why ſeekeſt thou witneſſe to proue *Cibo* a man,
Looke on his brats, faire gages, deny't if thou can:
Eight baſtard ſonnes he got, and as many daughters,
Worthily then may Rome, count this man a *Pater*.

His Epigrams alwayes alluding to that triall of the ſex ordayned after the deceipt of Pope *Ioane*. But he concludeth,

E *Spurcities, gula, auaritia, atque ignauia deſes*
Hoc octaue iacent, quo tegeris, tumulo.

Vncleaneſſe, auarice, ſloth, gluttonie,
Are here Octaue intombd, where thou doeſt lye.

And leaſt there ſhould be no place left for ſuperſtition, they made men beleeue at that time, when *Petrus Conſalnus de Mendoza* repayred the Church of the holie croſſe,

croſſe, that there was a fragment of the title of the croſſe of Chriſt written in three Tongues, found incloſed in the wall: This coſinage the letters themſelues bewraied, for in ſtead of Ναζωραῖος it was barbarouſly written Ναζαρηνος with an e, & in the accuſatiue caſe plurall: were all thoſe famous Roman Antiquaries blind? At that verie time *Baiazet* the Emperour of Turkie, ſent vnto him for a preſent, the poynt of that ſpeare of *Longinus* wherewith the ſide of Chriſt was wounded, that he might thereby win him to ſet a ſurer gard ouer his brother *Gemes*, whom he had then in his power; of that *Longinus* whoſe name they deriued from the word Λογχη. Who knowes not theſe fooleries, and knowing them can endure them? From hence there ſprung a wonderfull harueſt of indulgences vnder *Alexander* the ſixt his ſucceſſour, who neuertheleſſe gaue leſſe credit to theſe things. But *Innocent* tooke more care to ſend out his Bulls againſt thoſe that payed not their yearely penſions at their day appointed; whom he puniſhed with excommunication, and depriuation of thoſe benefices they poſſeſſed. In ſuch and the like expeditions the zeale of the Church then appeared. Now to theſe abhominations what could be added to make vp the heape in theſe times? And yet *Rodericus Borgia* (called *Alexander* the ſixt) ſtayed not here. For, as ſome report that he came to the Popedome by a compact with the Diuell, ſo his actions bewrayed the Diuels conditions. Doubtleſſe in this all Authours agree, that there was neuer any that aſcended to that dignitie by worſe meanes. *Volateranus* and *Onuphrius* ſay, *That he obtayned ſo high a dignitie by the endeauours of ſome Cardinals corrupted with ambition and auarice, who afterwards had experience of his ingratitude, and receiued condigne puniſhment for their wicked aſſiſtance, and their voyces they then made ſale of. Of theſe the principall was Aſcanius Sforti a who ſold himſelfe at a high price, that hee that of the whole order was the moſt wicked, might in ſtead of the beſt be choſen Pope.* And there they relate how he ouerthrew them all, ſome by exile, ſome by impriſonment, ſome by violent death, ſome he ſtrangled, ſome he poyſoned. But *Guicciardin* more exquiſitely, *He was choſen Pope* (ſaith he) *by meanes of the diſcord that was betwixt the Cardinals Aſcanius Sforti a, and Iulian of S. Peter* ad vincula: *But add withall thereunto, That by a new example in the ſight and knowledge of all men hee bought the Popedome, partly with money, partly with the promiſe of his greateſt offices and benefices, by which meanes he got the Cardinals voyces, who contemning the commaundement of the Goſpell, were not aſhamed to ſell the power vnto him, to make traffique of the ſacred treaſures, by a celeſtiall authoritie, and in the moſt high, and principall part of the Temple, that is to ſay*, according to that of the Apoſtle, *ſitting in the Temple of God, &c. To this abhominable negotiation, many amongſt them were drawne by Cardinall Aſcanius, not onely by perſuaſion but example, who being corrupted by an infinit deſire of riches, bargained with the Pope, that for a reward of this his great wickedneſſe, he might haue the Vice-Chauncellorſhip, which was the principall office of the Court of Rome, enriched with moſt pretious furniture. But the Pope could not anoyd, neither for the time to come the iudgement of God, nor for the time preſent the infamie, and iuſt hatred of men, filled by reaſon of this election with aſtoniſhment and horrour, becauſe it was made by diſhoneſt meanes, and the nature and condition of the man knowne vnto all: And among others to the king of Naples, who though in publique he diſſembled his griefe, yet he opened it to the Queene his wife, and that with teares, from which he was woont to refraine, euen at the death of his children, becauſe they had choſen a Pope, who would proue dangerous not onely to Italie, but all Chriſtendome: A diuination not vnworthie the wiſedome of Ferdinand, for there was in Alexander a quick and ſubtile wit, a deepe reach of iudgement, a marueilous force to perſuade, and in all affaires*

Summa conſtitut. in Bulla cuius initium admirabile ſacramentum. Bulla cuius initium Apoſtolicæ cameræ inſum. conſtitut.

Hieron. Marius in Euſeb. cap. Onuphr. in Alexand. 6. Volaterran. in Anthropologia. Guicciard. lib. 1

faires whatſoeuer an incredible care and dexteritie. But his many vices did farre exceed theſe his vertues. His maners were verie diſhoneſt; there was in him no ſinceritie, no ſhame, no truth, no faith, no religion; but rather vnſatiable auarice, ambition beyond meaſure, more than brutiſh crueltie, and an infatiable deſire to raiſe his ſonnes, which were many in number, whether by right or by wrong, to the higheſt dignities, among which one of them in all manner of wickedneſſe was equall with the father. And here let the Reader againe compare theſe manners with thoſe gifts that are neceſſarie for a Biſhop, remembred by *Paul* 1. *Timoth.* 3. The onely end therefore of all his endeuours, was to encreaſe the honour and greatneſſe of his ſonnes, whom hee was not aſhamed to acknowledge to be his to the whole world: for he would not haue them accounted for nephewes, as others were woont to doe, the better to couer their ſhame. In the firſt Conſiſtorie he created *Iohn Borgia*, his ſiſters ſonne, Cardinall: but he was vpon the ſudden ſtricken with a ſtrange feare. *Charles* the eighth, king of Fraunce, attempting the poſſeſſion of the kingdome of Naples, came with a great power into Italie, being inuited by *Lodouicus Maurus*, Duke of Milan, and other Princes of Italie: againſt whom *Alexander* made a league with *Alphonſus* of Aragon, heire to his father *Ferdinand* in the kingdome of Naples: The principall conditions were theſe, That *Alexander* ſhould inueſt *Alphonſus* into the kingdome of Naples, at the ſame rate that he did his father, and ſhould ſend his Apoſtolicall Legat to put the Crowne vpon his head: That hee ſhould create *Lodowicke* the ſonne of *Henrie*, who was *Alphonſus* his baſtard brother, Cardinall: Againe, That *Alphonſus* on the other ſide ſhould pay to the Pope thirtie thouſand ducats: That he ſhould giue to the Duke of Candia, the eldeſt ſonne of *Alexander*, in the kingdome twelue thouſand ducats of yearely reuenew, and the firſt of the ſeuen principall offices that ſhould be voyd: That he ſhould maintaine at his charge three hundred men at armes, to be alwayes readie when need ſhold be to ſerue him: That vpon *Cæſar Borgia*, his other ſon, by him made Cardinall, he ſhold beſtow benefices to a certain yerely value. Here the Author noteth, That he made him Cardinall *after that he had proued by falſe witneſſes, that hee was the lawfull ſonne of another, becauſe otherwiſe hee could not haue beene capable of that dignitie.* What impudencie was this, hauing before commonly called them, and publikely ſhewed them to be his ſonnes?

In the meane time *Charles* prepared a great armie for this voyage, notwithſtanding that *Alexander* did ſometimes dehort him from it with his Briefes, ſometimes threaten him with his Eccleſiaſticall cenſures. But yet finding himſelfe in theſe ſtraits, it was thought expedient for him and his confederat *Alphonſus*, to flie vnto *Baiazet* the Prince of the Turkes, and by embaſſadours ſent to that purpoſe, to lay open vnto him their imminent danger. It fell out happily with them at that time, that *Gemes* the brother of *Baiazet* was detained priſoner at Rome, a man famous both for his valour and wiſedome; who being ouercome by his brother in the plaines of Bythinia, retired himſelfe to Rhodes, where being taken by *Aubuſſonius*, the Great Maſter of the Order, for a ſumme of money was deliuered to *Innocent* the eighth; whereupon there was that friendſhip betwixt *Innocent* and *Baiazet*, that *Baiazet* payed vnto him a yearely penſion of fortie thouſand ducats, which *Alexander* his ſucceſſors did afterwards receiue, *Philip de Comines* ſaith ſixtie thouſand, to the end that a ſtrong gard might be ſet ouer *Gemes*, leaſt if hee ſhould eſcape, he ſhould trouble his Empire. Vpon this occaſion *Alexander* and *Alphonſus* giue *Baiazet* to vnderſtand, That it was the purpoſe of the king of France, hauing ſetled his affaires in Naples, to paſſe ouer into Greece: which was the

Paulus Iouius l. 2.

Phil. Comin. in Hiſtor. Carol. 8. c. 19.

the more eaſily beleeued, becauſe hee was not ignorant how many troubles the French had raiſed, and how many ſlaughters they had made in Aſia. The warres of *Charles* growing hot, they ſent Legats againe vnto him, *Alphonſus* making choyce of *Camillus Pendon*, *Alexander* of *Gregorio Bucciardo* of Genoa, being both skilfull in the Turkiſh language; *Bucciardo* being employed before in the like ſeruice by Pope *Innocent*. Theſe promiſed to ouerthrow the forces of *Charles*, ſo he would ſupplie them with ſome great ſummes of money: Whereby he ſhould redeeme the State of Greece from deſtruction, and entertaine warre in the kingdome of another, *and ſhould haue for a bulwarke of his Empire the citie of Rome and the kingdome of Naples*. Theſe embaſſadours were honourably receiued by *Baiazet*, and ſo much the rather, becauſe hee had receiued the ſame newes from other parts: *He therefore gaue thankes to the Pope (ſpeaking to Gregorie) that he that had the higheſt place in Chriſtendome would be pleaſed ſo friendly & louingly to giue him in time admonition, notwithſtanding he were of another beliefe touching God, and of different maners touching men.* He aduiſed him to returne into Italie, his embaſſadour *Dantius* accompanying him, by whom he ſent money, and committed other matters of ſecrecie vnto him to that purpoſe. *Amongſt other matters giuen vnto him in charge* (ſaith *Iouius*) *there was a letter written in Greeke, wherein Baiazet with great art perſuaded the Pope, That he ſhould prouide that by ſome meanes or other his brother might be taken out of the way by poyſon; which if he would performe, hee promiſed him vpon his faith two hundred thouſand ducats, and freely to beſtow vpon him the vnſeamed coat of Chriſt, as ſome few yeares before he had ſent the point of that ſpeare wherewith Longinus pierced the ſide of Chriſt.* From hence let the Reader iudge with how inward a commerce of wickednesſe theſe two were joined, ſince he durſt giue that counſell to the Pope, which the moſt wicked men of the world, practiſed in all manner of villanie, durſt not haue done one to another. It fell out in the meane time, that the ſhips wherein they paſſed the ſeas, were taken neere Ancona by *Iohn de la Rouere*, brother to Cardinall *Iulian*, an enemie to the Pope, and a friend to the Frenchmen, who ſeiſed vpon all the money as due vnto him from the Pope, and ſo *Dantius* was inforced to make a journey by land to Ancona, to ſaue himſelfe. But *Alexander* being verie much moued herewith, ſought new meanes to continue this entercourſe and agreement with *Baiazet*. With which Papall zeale he likewiſe diuerted the Croyſado, or money gathered in Spaine, vnder a pretence of bearing the croſſe againſt *Baiazet*, to this vſe: *For* (ſaith *Guicciardine*) *king Ferdinand excuſing himſelfe, That his armie by ſea could not ſo ſpeedily be readie, for the defence of the kingdome of Naples, for want of money, hee conſented that the money gathered in Spaine, in the name of the Apoſtolike ſea, vnder a colour of making warre againſt the enemies of the Faith, ſhould be employed to that vſe.*

But *Charles* neuertheleſſe paſſed through all Italie without reſiſtance, being led as it were by the hand of God, opening not onely the gates before him, but the walls too, and comming neere Rome, where the Pope had fortified himſelfe with the forces of *Alphonſus*, and other his confederats, hee demaunded paſſage, and to be admitted into the citie, commaunding his enemies to depart, and not diſſembling, That if *Alexander* obeyed not, he would make his way through the citie with his ſword. *Alexander* hereupon was much troubled in his mind, *Fearing leaſt Charles preſuming vpon the title of Moſt Chriſtian, which the kings of France doe much glorie in, ſhould with his people, being a nation renowmed for their religion, turne his mind to the reformation of the Church: a terrible thought to him, whoſe conſcience told him by what infamous meanes he had obtained the Popedome, and how with great infa-*

infamie he had adminiſtred it. Moreouer he feared leaſt he ſhould be perſuaded by the Cardinals of Colonna, Sabelli and others, to require the publication of a Councell; *with which one voyce, ſaith Iouius, the Popes of Rome are more terrified, than with any other human accidents whatſoeuer*: But partly reſtes himſelf vpon that aſſurance which *Charles* had giuen him, not to attempt any thing againſt his dignitie, and partly becauſe being in theſe ſtraits he ſaw no ſurer courſe to be taken, he retired himſelfe to his caſtle S. Angelo, ſuffered the king to enter the citie, and ſent away *Ferdinand* Duke of Calabria, the ſonne of *Alphonſus*, that he might not ſee his ruine before his eyes. *Charles* therefore entred Rome, the laſt day of the yeare 1494 with his whole armie, his enſignes diſplayed, and his lance vpon his thigh, no otherwiſe than he entred Florence a few dayes before. Neither muſt we forget, that the armie of the king comming neere Oſtia, *ſome twentie fadome of the wall fell to the ground*, euen there where the King had prepared to enter, and neere about the ſame time, there fell about fifteene fadome of the antemure or outward wall of the caſtle S. Angelo, as if the walles themſelues had inuited the king to enter. Here there wanted not ſome that were verie earneſt with the king, to remoue *Alexander from his ſeat, a man odious to the whole world, telling him that it would not be leſſe glorious to him to deliuer the Church of God, from the tyrannie of a wicked Pope, than it was to Pipin and Charlemaine to deliuer the good Popes, from ſuch as did vniuſtly oppreſſe them*. But *Alexander* beeing directed by a more deuout Councell, hauing *by preſents, and promiſes corrupted thoſe that could preuaile moſt with him*, they ſo pacified the king that he came to this agreement, That *Alexander* ſhould deliuer to the king the caſtles of Ciuita vecchia, Tarracina and Spoleto, vntill he had conquered the kingdome of Naples, That hee ſhould offer no wrong to the Cardinals and Barons that were ſubject to the Church, or ſeeke to reuenge himſelfe vpon thoſe that had taken his part, That hee ſhould inueſt *Charles* into the kingdome, That foraſmuch as there might be good vſe made of *Gemes*, *Baiazets* brother, in the warres againſt the Turke, he would deliuer him into his hands, That he ſhould pronounce *Charles* Emperour of Greece, Laſtly, That he ſhould leaue with the king, *Ceſar Borgia* his ſonne, for three moneths, as an Embaſſadour in outward ſhew, but in effect an hoſtage for the performance of theſe promiſes. All which for the moſt part he performed, becauſe hee could no otherwiſe chuſe: but yet ſo as that his accuſtomed falſe faith might alwayes appeare. For when he ſaw that he muſt needs deliuer *Gemes*, yet hee was verie careſull to ſatisfie his brother *Baiazets* requeſt, who, ſaith *Guicciardine*, *had long time made good vſe of the auarice of the Vicars of Chriſt, that hee might poſſeſſe his Empire in peace*, and therefore he was no ſooner come to Naples, but he dyed, *not without manifeſt tokens of a ſlow poyſon giuen him to drinke to ſhorten his life*. The king had demaunded for the better aſſurance of this treatie, and the performance thereof, the caſtle S. Angelo, the Cardinals openly proteſting, That *Alexander* would not otherwiſe haue any reſpect to his faith and promiſe. Whereupon, the great artillerie was thrice brought forth of the Palace of S. Marke, where the king lodged, to haue beene planted againſt the caſtle, but by the like art as before, this purpoſe was altered; and ſo returning into the Vatican, *Alexander* receyued the king, who with bended knee kiſſing his feet, was preſently admitted to kiſſe his cheeke. And another day celebrating the Maſſe, he held the baſon of water to waſh his hands; *which ceremonies the Pope cauſed to bee paynted in a gallerie of the caſtle of S. Angelo*: As being euer the manner of the Popes, to take that to be a duetie which is done of curteſie.

Paule Ioui l.2.

Philip Comineus in vita Caroli 8.c.16.17.

Guicciard.l.2.

Charles

Charles therefore hauing continued at Rome three weekes, he tooke his journey towards Naples, and hauing in a ſhort time brought the kingdome to his obedience, he tooke order for his returne into Fraunce. But in the meane time, *Alexander* prepared new difficulties, joyning himſelfe in league with *Maximilian* the Emperour, the kings of Spaine, the Venetians, and *Lodwick Sforcia*, who being terrified with the ſucceſſe of this magnanimious Prince, deuiſe how they might oppreſſe him in Italie; to which purpoſe againſt his returne into Fraunce, they rayſed an armie, in the playne of Fornoue of fortie thouſand men; which he encountred with eight thouſand men or thereabout, which hee choſe out of the garriſons of Naples, and with an incredible valour made his way through the middeſt of them. But being returned into France, and preparing for a ſecond expedition, in the yeare 1497, and in the moneth of Aprill being taken with an apoplexie, he ſuddenly dyed. *Comineus* reporteth, That *Hierome Sauanarola*, who was then taken for a Prophet at Florẽce, being asked whether the king could paſſe without the perill of his lyfe, anſwered, *That ſome difficulties he ſhould haue in his iourney, but yet they ſhould all turne to his glorie, yea though he had but a hundred ſouldiers with him; for that God by whoſe conduct he came into Italie, would likewiſe return him ſafely into his countrie: But foraſmuch as he had not procured the reformation of the Church according to his duetie, &c. there hung a ſcourge ouer his head, and God had pronounced a ſentence againſt him which he would execute elſewhere.* Moreouer, hee addeth, That hee foretold many things publikely in his Sermons, that the king ſhould returne, *That he might reforme the Church with his ſword, and expell the tyrans out of Italie, and that therefore this charge was impoſed vpon him by God, which if he did not, he would ſharpely be reuenged on him.* Which he had likewiſe many times by letters ſignified to the king, and that not long before his death. *The ſcourge* that *Sauanarola* ſpake of, *Philip de Comines* enterpreteth to be the death of the Dolphin, which ſtrucke him to the verie heart; and the ſentence prouounced by God, to be the ſuddaine death of *Charles*, which he deſcribeth to be verie miſerable, and to that end he repeats this Hiſtorie.

An. 1497. *Philip. Comineus in vita Caroli 8. c. 26. 51.*

Philip. Comineus in vita Carol. 8.

Guicciard. l. 3. *Alexander* therefore being freed from ſo great a feare, bends all his endeauors to the aduauncement of his children: But (ſaith the Hiſtorie) not without *domeſticall misfortunes and tragicall examples of whoredome and crueltie, horrible to the Barbarians themſelues.* From the firſt entrance into his Popedome, he reſolued to conferre all the temporall power he could vpon the Duke of Candia his eldeſt ſonne; *Ceſar Borgia* his younger ſonne, Cardinall of Valentia, wholly alienated from his profeſſion of Prieſthood, tooke it impatiently that this place of dignitie ſhould be taken from him by his brother, *and no leſſe was he moued againſt him, for that he had a greater part than himſelfe in the loue of Madame Lucretia ſiſter to them both.* One euening therefore hauing ſupped together with their mother *Zanoccia*, walking alone through the citie, he cauſed him to be murdered, and ſecretly to be caſt into Tyber. The report went, *That in the loue of Lucretia not onely the two brethren did concurre, but the father alſo*; who being once Pope, tooke her from her firſt husband, be being now too baſe, and ſhe to great too be his wife, and married her to *Iohn Sforza* Lord of Pezaro. Afterwards, not enduring her husband to be his corriuall, this ſecond marriage being conſumat, by the ſentence of certaine Iudges choſen by himſelfe, and witneſſes ſuborned to that purpoſe, as if *Iohn* had been vnfit for marriage, he likewiſe diſſolued, or rather brake. It is *Guicciardine* himſelfe that ſpeakes it, and therefore we haue the leſſe need of the verſes of *Pontanus*.

Hoc

Hoc iacet in tumulo Lucretia nomine, ſed re
Thais, Alexandri filia, ſponſa, nurus.

Lucrece by name, in deed *Thais*, lyes vnder this ſtone,
Alexanders daughter, his ſons wife and his owne.

Againe,

Humana iura, nec minus cœleſtia,
Ipſoſque ſuſtulit Deos,
Scilicet liceret (heu ſcelus) patri
Natæ ſinum permingere.

Gods lawes and mans, he God himſelfe denies,
O wickednes that with his daughter lyes.

Now ſo long as *Alexander* was in doubt of the authour of the death of his ſonne, he was ſtrangely moued therewith, and made a ſhew of changing the courſe of his life; but ſo ſoone as he was aſſured of the truth thereof, he returned to his old vomit, and thought it neceſſarie to diſſemble the matter. *Onuphrius* ſpeakes more ſignificantly, *Winking at that outragious ſinne of paricide*, hee determined with himſelfe at what price or perill ſoeuer to aduance *Borgia* the paricide. It would be perhaps too long, and to ſmall purpoſe, here to relate the deeds of this monſter. Comming one morning into the Conſiſtorie, he put off his Cardinals hat, and openly profeſſed that he would be a man of warre. Hee made a voyage into France, where, with the leaue and good liking of *Lewis* the twelft, who at that time needed the Popes helpe for the conqueſt of Milan, he maried *Charlotta* of Albret, and was made Duke of Valentia: by which meanes *Lewis* found *Alexander* more willing to yeeld to that diuorce, which he pretended. Being returned at the laſt into Italie, preſuming vpon the authoritie of his father, he attempted the ruine of all the Vicars, or Lieutenants of the cities of Romania; for the effecting whereof there was no kind of crueltie, treacherie, treaſon, which hee put not in practiſe, ſtabbing ſome, poyſoning, ſtrangling others. And his father ſtriuing as it were to exceed his ſonne, practiſed the like againſt the chiefe Barons of the citie; in ſo much that *Volateran* and *Guicciardine* are wearie with deſcribing his wickednes. *Machiauel* himſelfe ſetting downe the true pourtract of a tyran, preferres the example of *Borgia* before all others, as *Xenophon* in *Cyrus* deſcribed a lawfull Prince: *And all this impietie* (ſayth *Guicciardine*) *among others, proceeded from the Prince of our Chriſtian religion:* the which that he might the better with money maintaine, beſides thoſe rapines and robberies hee was woont to commit through the whole countrey, *Alexander* found out new at Rome euerie day, as a new Colledge of foureſcore Regiſters, who payed euerie one ſeuen hundred and fiftie crownes, a creation of ſix and thirtie new Cardinals, who for the moſt part payed well for it; a wonderfull tribute impoſed vpon the Mores, who being driuen out of Spaine by the Catholike king, *Alexander* for lucre receiued into Rome. Addehereunto diuers Cardinals and Prelats poyſoned, whoſe goods he chalenged to himſelfe. *Doubtleſſe* (ſaith *Onuphrius*) *he had a purpoſe to haue put in practiſe the like experiments vpon the reſt that were rich, had hee not by the wonderfull prouidence of God haſtened his owne death, by the fatall errour of the cup-bearer:* for he was a man borne to the ruine of all Italie. *He had an infinit number of tale-bearers, and*

Guicciard. l. 5.

Onuphr. in Alexand. 6.

Volaterran. in Antropol. l. 22.

and the leaſt ill word that might bee was death. Rome (ſaith Volateran) that was woont A to be a refuge and ſanctuarie for all other nations, and in former ages a tower of defence, was now become a publike ſhambles: and for as much as it was lawfull for his to doe whatſoeuer pleaſed them, there was no ſafetie by night in the citie, nor by day in the fields: All places were full of theeues and robbers. And in the middeſt of all theſe diſorders (ſaith he) Alexander celebrated a Iubilie, ſelling it by his Bulls to as many as either could not, or refuſed to come. Being told that Cæſar Borgia had loſt an hundred thouſand ducats at play, his anſwer was, That theſe were the ſinnes of the Germans. So good opinion had he of his owne wares. The end at the laſt crownes the

Guicciard. l. 6. worke: In the greateſt height of all their hopes (ſayth Guicciardine) Alexander ſupping in a Vine neere the Vatican to enioy the coolenеſſe of the ayre, he was ſuddenly carried, deſperatly ſicke, into the Palace, and the next morning he died, blacke, ſwollen, and B beyond all credit deformed: which happened, as it is credibly reported, by reaſon of poyſon, in this manner. Cæſar Borgia, his ſonne, Duke of Valentia, had reſolued with himſelfe to poyſon Adrian Cardinall of Corneto, in whoſe vineyard they were to ſup that night. He ſent therefore before certaine flagons of poyſoned wine, which he cauſed to be deliuered to a ſeruant of his, with a ſtrict commaund that no man ſhould taſt, or touch it. It happened, that before the houre of ſupper Alexander came, who being verie hot and thirſtie, called for wine, and becauſe his ſupper was not yet brought from the Palace, the partie to whom the wine was giuen in cuſtodie, thinking that charge that was giuen him for the ſafe keeping thereof, was becauſe it was a more excellent wine than the reſt, filled C ſome of that wine that the Duke had ſent to another purpoſe, and gaue it to the Pope. It happened that whileſt his father was drinking the Duke came in, and dranke of the ſame wine too; but the ſonne (ſaith he) partly becauſe hee was young, and partly becauſe hee vſed preſent remedies, eſcaped, though oppreſſed with a long and a grieuous ſickneſſe. Hee addeth, For it is moſt certaine, that both the father and the ſonne were woont to vſe poyſon, not onely to bee reuenged of their enemies, or to ſecure themſelues againſt daungers ſuſpected, but alſo to ſatisfie their vnſatiable deſire of riches, and to ſpoyle the richer ſort of their goods, Cardinalls and Courtiers that had neuer offended them. Thus they tooke out of the way the Cardinall of S. Angelo, who was verie rich, and thus diuers others of their neereſt and moſt faithfull friends and followers, as the Cardi- D nalls of Capua and Modena. To conclude, there was (ſaith he) a wonderfull concourſe of people out of all parts of the citie, who with vnſpeakable ioy came to Saint Peters Palace to glut their eyes, if they could, with the ſight of the dead carkaſſe of this ſerpent, who with his vnbridled ambition, perfidious treacherie, horrible crueltie, monſtrous luxurie, inſatiable auarice, ſelling without difference or reſpect, things holie and prophane, had infected the whole world. In the ſelfeſame manner ſpeakes Onuphrius the Popes Hiſtoriographer: His treacherie was more than Punicall, his crueltie barbarous, his couetouſneſſe and extortion vnmeaſurable, his deſire to enrich his children, whether by right or by wrong, vnſatiable. Hee was ſtrangely giuen to women, by whom hee had foure ſonnes and two daughters. His principall courtiſan was Vannoccia a Roman, E whom for her ſingular beautie, pleaſant carriage, and admirable eloquence, in the time of his meaner fortunes hee tooke for his wife. Which giues credit to diuers Epitaphes, which otherwiſe might haue beene attributed to Poeticall libertie. Wee onely will reſpect theſe few:

Vendit Alexander Cruces, Altaria, Chriſtum,
Emerat ille prius, vendere iure prteſt.

Pope

A

Pope *Alexander* ſold Altars, Chriſt and his Croſſe,
He bought them, had he not ſold, had liued by the loſſe.

Againe,

Tot regna vertit, tot Duces Letho dedit,
Natos vt impleret ſuos, &c.

Kingdomes he ouerthrew, Dukes he did kill,
And all this his childrens purſes to fill, &c.

Againe,

B *I nunc Nerones vel Caligula nomina.*

Speake now no more of *Caligula* or *Nero*.

The reſt yee may read elſewhere; namely, in the Epigrams of *Sanazara*, an excellent Poet, which hee writ of him and his daughter *Lucretia*; wherein there is an abridgement of all his wickednеſſe both publike and priuat. But the Spaniſh *Index Expurgatorius* hath wiſely prouided that they ſhall bee raſed out in all future impreſſions. *Martus* reporteth, That by the helpe of the diuell hee got the Popedome, and that without his counſell he did nothing. And hee noteth, That he carried himſelfe verie kindly towards *Petrus Mendoſius*, a Spaniard, and C Cardinall of Valentia, to the end he might abuſe the Marqueſſe of Zaneta, his baſtard. What can the diuell himſelfe adde to this wickednеſſe? And yet this is that man whom *Wicelus affirmeth to be alwayes reading, or imployed about ſome holie exerciſe or other, and euer meditating how to withdraw the Princes of Chriſtendome from ciuile warres, to ioyne againſt the Turke*: That man who graunted thoſe goodlie Indulgences to as many as vſited the title of Chriſt his Croſſe at Rome, in the Church of the holie Croſſe of Hieruſalem, ſaid to be found in the time of *Innocent* the eighth. Can any man doubt but that hee hereby mocked the Croſſe of Chriſt? That man who in the yeare 1494, in his rage, publiſhed with his owne D mouth a pardon for thirtie thouſand yeares, to as many as would ſay a certaine prayer before the Image of Saint *Anne*, the mother of the bleſſed Virgine; *Benedicta ſit ſancta Anna mater tua, ex qua ſine macula & peccato proceſſiſti, &c.* Where were now the Dominicans, who preached a contrarie doctrine? This is that man who diuided the world amongſt the Princes, gaue to *Ferdinand* of Aragon, and to *Iſabel* of Caſtile, the Weſt Indies, diſcouered at that time by *Colombus*. But by what right, if not by that wherewith he bound himſelfe before to the Prince of the world, euen to him that ſaid vnto Chriſt, *All this will I giue thee if thou wilt fall downe and worſhip me.*

Iacob. Sanazar. l. 1. & 2. Epigram.

Lugd. 1560.

Hieron. Marius in Euſebio Captiuo.

Summa conſtit. in Bulla cuius initium inter cætera diuina.

E

Opposition.

Now in the Hiſtorie of theſe three Popes, deſcribed by their owne friends and followers, wee haue a kind of hidden, or rather publike Oppoſition againſt their tyrannie: For is there not here a liuelie picture of Antichriſt, whoſe name onely, as Painters vſe to doe, they haue concealed? leauing to vs not onely to diuine who he ſhould bee, but to pronounce this verie man to be *the man of ſinne*, euen Antichriſt himſelfe. Let vs neuertheleſſe ſee, amongſt other Authors of that age, whether it will not more manifeſtly appeare. *Albericus de Rozate*, an excellent

Alberic. de Rozate in. 2. bene a Lonor. col. 6. num. 18. C. de Quadrienni præſcriptio.

lent Lawyer, defendeth, as many had done before, That the Empire depended not vpon the Pope, That the Emperour needed not his confirmation, That they who thought otherwiſe, were guiltie of treaſon, and their goods to bee confiſcated, That the Popes, according to the preſent ſtate of their affaires, haue ſometimes exalted, ſometimes depreſſed the Empire, to the end they may get vnto themſelues a power both ouer temporall and ſpirituall. And theſe are his verſes: *Idem in verbo Rome.*

Curia Romana non petit ouem ſine lana,
Dantes exaudit, non dantibus oſtia claudit.

The Courts of Rome without the wooll refuſe the ſheepe,
Giuers they heare, againſt no giuers the doores they keepe.

As likewiſe that of the Donation of *Conſtantine: I haue heard of men of great credit, that there was then heard a voyce from heauen, ſaying, To day is the poyſon of Aſpes ſowed in the Church of God; and they ſay that this is to be found in the auncient authentique writings, and ſo doth the ſaid M. Iohn of Paris report in his booke of the Papall and imperiall power, C. 21. Hieronimus Paulus Catalanus* a Canon of Barcelone, and Doctor of both lawes, Chamberlaine to *Alexander* the ſixt, in his booke of the practiſe of the Apoſtolike Chauncetie, feares not to ſay, *That the Donation of Conſtantine was not* de facto. *Read Laurentius Valla, and Pope Pius in his Dialogue, neither haue I read any thing of any ſuch Donation, in any approued writer, eſpecially thoſe that haue written that age, or the next vnto it. For neither doth Euſebius, who was a diligent writer, and enquirer into Chriſtian affaires, make mention thereof, &c. nor Ierome, nor Auguſtine, nor Ambroſe, nor Baſil, nor Iohn Chryſoſtome, Amian, nor Beda, nor Oroſius. And it is apparent, that for aboue three hundred yeares after Conſtantine, the Emperours had the gouernement of the citie by Dukes, Preſidents, and Exarches, vntill the time of Innocent the ſecond, as it plainely appeareth in the Hiſtories and Chronicles.* To which purpoſe he alledgeth many places out of the Digeſts, the Code, and the new Conſtitution. *And in the life of Phocas the Emperor we read that Pope Boniface obtained the Panteon of him. If therefore you will know from whence the Church had her lands and reuenues, ſee the Acts of Charles the Great, of Pipin, and of Pius in the ſayd Dialogue, and the collections newly gathered by Bartholmew Platina, the Liberarie keeper in one great volume, wherein he hath gathered all the inſtruments appertaining to the ſtate of the Church, as touching their temporalties, eſpecially the acquiſition of their lands, reuenewes, and rights vnto them, vpon the renuew whereof I haue likewiſe beſtowed ſome paines. Of the ſayd Donation and cure of the leproſie of Conſtantine, read that which Remus the Biſhop of Padua hath writ at large in his hiſtorie of the liues of the Popes.* Both the one and the other (the Donation and the Cure) grounded vpon one and the ſame vanitie. *Mancinellus* was yet more bold, who vpon a ſolemne day, about the houre of proceſſion, mounting vpon a white horſe, according to the cuſtome, made an Oration at Rome before all the people, againſt *Alexander* the ſixt, openly reprehending his abuſes, his ſcandalous life, and foule abhominations; and hauing ended his ſpeech, exemplified it before their eyes. *Alexander* therefore cauſed him to be apprehended, and commaunded both his hands to bee cut off: which were no ſooner healed, but vpon another feaſtiuall day, with the like boldneſſe he ſpake againe. But by the commaundement of *Alexander* his tongue was preſently cut out, whereof he died. *Machiauel* the Secretarie of Florence, in his hiſtorie, ſaith plainly, That vntill the time of *Theodoricus* king of Lombardie

Which is that Church that is called Maria rotunda.

Hieron. Marius in Euſebio Captiuo.

Machianellus Hiſtoriæ Florentin. l. 1.

bardie the Pope had no temporall juriſdiction, yea was hardly acknowledged to haue any ſuperioritie in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, aboue the Church of Rauenna, but that power and authoritie that it hath, it got afterwards by diuers guiles and ſubtilties, ſometime taking part with the Greekes, ſometimes with the Lombards, vntill they had ouerthrowne both the one and the other. But eſpecially their greateſt power they attained vnto by the wicked abuſe of their excommunications, indulgences, and publication of the Croſſe: but yet ſo, that at what time they thundered moſt in countries and kingdomes moſt remote, they were in greateſt contempt at Rome, hauing much adoe to reſide there, notwithſtanding they promiſed not to intermeddle with ciuile cauſes, but Eccleſiaſticall onely. Hee likewiſe ſaith, That they were the authors of all the warres in Italie, after the time of *Theodoricus* king of the Gothes, and in his owne time, of all thoſe troubles that were in Italie: That the Cardinals were but ſimple Curats of the Pariſhes in Rome, increaſing afterwards by little and little in wealth and honour, and pride and titles, and habiliments, as the Popedome, and the contention for the Popedome increaſed. And in the handling of this ſubiect he concludeth the firſt booke of his Florentine hiſtorie, which it ſhall not bee amiſſe for the Reader to take a view of. *Guicciardine* alſo, the Standard-bearer of the Church of Rome, writ the like diſcourſe in the fourth booke of his hiſtories, but the place was carefully raſed out: but it was afterwards printed by it ſelfe at Baſil, in 8°. in Italian, Latine, French. The title of the booke is, *Franciſci Guicciardini loci duo, &c.* which it were not labour loſt to read. *Baptiſta Mantuanus*, a Carmelite, a man famous for his learning in thoſe times, in many places, but eſpecially in his ninth Eclogue, freely deſcribeth the ſtate of the Church of Rome in his time, which he ſaith was in ſuch ſort degenerated, that the ſhepheards and their dogs were become rauening wolues, and thoſe whom they ſhould feed and defend, they deuoured. But let that which he hath in his third booke of Calamities be to vs in ſtead of the reſt.

——Petrique domus polluta, fluente
Marceſcit luxu, nulla hic arcana reuelo.
Non ignota loquor, licet vulgata referre,
Sic Vrbes populique ferunt, ſic fama per omnem
Iam vetus Europam, mores extirpat honeſtos.
Sanctus ager ſcurris, venerabilis ara Cynedis
Seruit, honorande Diuum Ganimedibus Ædes.
Quid miramur opes, ſecidinaque ſurgere tecta?
Thuris odorati globulos & cinnama vendit
Mollis Arabs, Tiryq; veſtes; venalia nobis
Templa, Sacerdotes, Altaria ſacra, Corona,
Ignis, Thura, preces, ſæclum eſt venale Deuſque.

——And Peters houſe defil'd, pines with exceſſe.
I name not things vnknowne, nor ſecrets I rehearſe,
Things common let me ſpeake, all countries ſay the ſame,
Yea, through all the parts of Europe, it is the ſame,
That honeſtie from Rome is fled, that holie place
Serues ieaſters, buggerers the Altars doe diſgrace.
The houſes of the gods with Ganimedes are fild.
Why doe we admire their wealth, the houſes they build?

Arabia Frankincense and Cinamon sells, A
The Tirians goodlie garments; Rome all things else,
Temples, and Priests, Altars, and Crownes, they sell for pelse,
Fire, Frankincense, prayers, heauen, and God himselfe.
And all this in Italie.

Neither were they silent in Germany; for it is noted, that about these times the prouerbes were verie common, *The neerer to Rome the worse Christian: In the name of God begins all mischiefe* (for this was the beginning of their Bulls) *He that goes once to Rome sees the man of sinne, he that goes twice knowes him, hee that goes thrice brings him home with him*; that is to say, being neere the man of sinne, is made like B him. But among the learned many haue left behind them a good testimonie of their conscience. *John* of Vesalia, a Doctor and Preacher at Wormes, was accused before the Inquisitors for holding these propositions; That Prelats haue no authoritie to ordaine new lawes in the Church, but to perswade the faithfull to the obseruation of the Gospell: That the best interpreters of the Scriptures expound one place by another, because men obtaine not the spirit of Christ but by the spirit of Christ: That the Doctors, be they neuer so holy, are not to be beleeued for themselues, and the Glosse as little: That the commaundements of the Church bind not to sinne: That the elect are saued by the onely mercie of God: That the Popes Indulgences are vaine, and so are the Chrisme, Lent, difference of C meats, holie-dayes, auricular confession, pilgrimages to Rome, &c. But for as much as he impugned the opinions of *Thomas*, the Frier-Preachers, who were of the Inquisition, were moued against him. *Diether* also, Archbishop of Menza, to auoyd that suspition of heresie the Pope had of him, was enforced to yeeld vnto them, in so much that without any respect of his yeares, or his long sicknesse, they proceeded against him, whereby he was enforced to reuoke his opinions. He that writ his examination, which bare date the yeare 1479, saith, and takes God to witnesse, That he was compelled to that recantation that he made, and the burning of his bookes, M. *Engeline* of Brunswic, a great Diuine, and M. *John Keiserberg*, withstanding it, *both men learned and free, addicted to neither part*; *especially it* D *seemed to M. John Engeline, that they had taken too precipitat a course with so great a personage, yea he feared not to affirme, that most of his articles, yea the great est part, might verie well be defended.* There are many bookes of his extant, and among the rest a Treatise of Indulgences, where he peremptorily affirmeth, That the supremacie of the Pope is a humane inuention: That the Church militant may erre: That all things necessarie to saluation are contained in the Scriptures. There liued at the same time (but somewhat younger) Doctor *Wesselus* of Groning, called *The Light of the world*, who in a certaine Epistle of his, saith, That he did expect that the Inquisitors hauing condemned *Vesalius*, would haue come vnto him, hauing defended his opinion both at Paris and at Rome, against diuers articles of the Church E of Rome. And he feareth not to say, That many of the Court approued it, though it differed not much from the opinion of the Waldenses, as we may gather by his writings. In his booke of *Subiects and Superiors* he affirmeth, That the Pope can erre, and that erring we ought to resist him: That by his simonie and wicked gouernement he made it to appeare, that he had no care either of God or the good of the Church: That his commands bind no farther than they are agreeable to the word of God: That his excommunications are no more to be feared than those of any other learned and godlie man: for so did the Councell of Constance hearken rather

Examen Magistrale Iohannis de Vesalia Moguntia 1479.

Iohan. Wesselus de subditis & superioribus.

A rather to *John Gerson*, than *John* the 24; and all good and godlie men to S. *Bernard*. Sometime, than to Pope *Eugenius* the third. His workes are to be read printed by pieces at Leipsic, Antuerpe, Basill. Also, in this countrie his familiar friend *Rodolphus Agricola* was verie famous, a man worthily accounted one of the lights of this darke age, who was of the same opinion. And *Iosquin* of Groning, then yong, witnesseth, That he had often seene them both send forth many a sigh and grone, to thinke of the doctrine of the Church so much deformed. *Goschius Pupperus*, a Priest and Curat of Malin in Brabant, taught the same reformed doctrine, almost in all the Articles, especially in that of the free justification of a sinner by the bloud of Christ, rejecting all the glosses of Sophisters and Schole men, betaking himselfe wholly to the Scriptures, and namely to that which S. *Paule* teacheth vs: That those interpretations which they commonly alledge, differ from the word of God, and smel of the heresie of *Pelagius*: That they haue turned Christianitie into Iudaisme and Pharisaisme. His bookes are Printed in Germanie, namely, *Of grace, faith, the dignitie of the holie Scriptures, and others.* In the Vniuersitie of Tubingue, *Paulus Scriptoris*, a Doctour in Diuinitie, expounding the fourth booke of the Master of sentences, openly condemned transubstantiation as not being grounded vpon the holie Scriptures, whom the Augustinians, the Disciples of *John Stauffich* Prouinciall followed, with diuers others; amongst whom in the age following, was *Conradus Pellicanus*, a man expert in the knowledge of the Tongues, and all manner of learning, who being instructed by *Stauffich* in the knowledge of the abuses of the Church of Rome, did afterwards good seruice in the reformation of the Church, but yet by the diligence of the Franciscans he was banished. In Carnia, *Andrew* the Archbishop of whom we haue spoken before, importuned the Emperour *Frederick* the third for a Councell, for the reformation of the Church; who had alreadie assembled certaine Bishops at Basill, with a purpose to proceed farther, had not Pope *Sixtus* the fourth (being much moued therewith) compelled *Frederick* to breake off that assemblie, in such sort, that to gratifie the Pope, he cast *Andrew* in prison; where being for a time kept, and attended with a certaine gard, in a priuat place (they of Basill denying him any publique prison) *he died, being found strangled with a halter, the Pope out of all doubt* (saith *Stumphius*) procuring it. *Henrie* the Agent then Inquisitor, writ against him, and accused him for reprehending the Pope, as well in those things that belonged to matter of faith, as manners, and for that hee had exhorted the Prelats and Vniuersities, by his letters, to a Councell (a hainous offence) for the reformation of the Church. In Rostoc, a citie of the lower Saxonie, *Nicholas Rus* a Priest and Bachelar in Diuinitie, preached not onely with his tongue, but his penne to, That the power of the Pope was not such as they boasted it to be, That hee that wandereth from the word of God is not to be obeyed: That the Popes indulgences were meere iuposture, and those onely true, which did proceed from God, and his free mercie, for his sonne Christ Iesus sake: That Saints are not to be inuocated, much lesse their bones to be adored, That they who call themselues spirituall persons, that is to say, the Clergie of Rome, haue placed all Christian religion in humane traditions, and vayne superstitions, neglecting their duetie in the rest, and that they are the Ministers of Antichrist. These are all read in his Treatise *Of the threefold cord*, where he expoundeth the Symbole, the Decalogue, and the Lords prayer, which he writ in the Saxon Tongue, for the better instruction of the common people in the points of religion. There he had his Auditors and his assemblies, and was sometimes visited

Philip. Melancthon. in vita Rodolfi Agricolæ.

Iohan. Stumphius in Historia Ecclesiastica.

Nicholaus Rus in lib. de tripl. funiculo, Germanicè conscripto.

ſited by the Paſtours of the Waldenſes in Bohemia, from whoſe companie and comfort he gathered heart; vntill at the laſt the Popes catchpoles following him, he was enforced to flie into Liuonia, where he dyed. It appeareth by thoſe his workes that are come to our hands, that he was a man very learned, and well ſeene in the Scriptures. There was likewiſe in that countrey *Erneſtus* Archbiſhop of Magdeburg, a man famous for his pietie and juſtice. *Clement Schaw* his Chaplain, who was preſent at his death, witneſſeth, That a Minorite vſing this ſpeech vnto him, *Take a good heart, moſt worthie Prince, we communicat to your Excellencie all the good workes not onely of our ſelues, but our whole Order of Frier Minors, and therefore doubt not but you receiuing them, ſhall appeare before the tribunall ſeat of God righteous and bleſſed.* His anſwer was, *By no meanes will I truſt vpon my owne workes, or yours, but the workes of Chriſt Ieſus alone ſhall ſuffice, vpon them will I repoſe my ſelfe.* It is verie likely that there were many in all parts of the world that profeſſed the ſame faith, ſince in deſpight of their aduerſaries there remaine ſo many witneſſes. It is a ſtrange thing, and doubtleſſe cannot bee attributed to any thing but the good motion of Gods ſpirit, which we read verie common in this age, and noted almoſt in the hiſtories of all nations, That many in their foundeſt judgement and vnderſtanding, and not otherwiſe noted of any notable crime, after the conſecration of the Prieſt, carried with a kind of horrour and deteſtation of that Idolatrie, ſhould lay violent hands vpon the Hoaſt, and that vpon the moſt ſolemne feaſt dayes, when there was greateſt concourſe of people, and with an aſſured danger of their liues, teare it in peeces. To omit others, we read of one M. *Iohn* an Engliſh man, that did it in Paris, the day after the feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti*, in the chappell of S. *Criſpin*, and in the yeare 1491 of one *Hemon* of Picardie, in that which they cal the holie chappell, in the yeare 1493 of another ſtudent in the yeare 1502, vpon S. *Lewis* his day, in a chappell on the right hand; all of them continuing conſtant, and deteſting this Idolatrie euen to the death; eſpecially the laſt, notwithſtanding all the admonitions of the Sorboniſts, the teares of his parents, who were brought vnto him to perſuade, and the horrour of the puniſhment, which was paſſing grieuous. But there was at this time in Italie *Hieronimus Sauanarola* of Ferrara, by profeſſion a Dominican, a famous Preacher, and much renowmed for his pietie, ſanctitie, and doctrine, in ſo much that by many he was taken for a Prophet. *Philip Camineus* being ſent into Italie by king *Charles* the eighth, reports, That he ſaw him at Florence, commended of all for his godlie conuerſation, who did alwayes affirme that *Charles* ſhould come into Italie, whatſoeuer others write to the contrarie, and that nothing could withſtand him, or defend it ſelfe againſt his power. Moreouer, That whatſoeuer preparations and oppoſitions ſhould bee made againſt his returne, were to ſmall purpoſe, for he ſhould breake through them, and returne home with glorie; for he that was his conduct into Italie, would not forſake him at his returne. And as touching his death, he ſayd, That if in that expedition he reformed not the Church, according to that charge hee had receiued from God, his ſentence was pronounced againſt him in heauen, the execution whereof preſently followed vpon the returne of this miſerable Prince. *Comineus* giues there this teſtimonie of him, That he was a man of a commendable life, and his ſermons verie profitable to win men from vice vnto vertue. The Earle likewiſe *Iohannes Picus Mirandulanus*, a man admirable both for his profound learning and rare pietie, calleth him a Prophet, and writes an Apologie in the defence of him againſt the Pope. And in like manner *Marſilius Fiſcinus*, that famous Philoſopher, in a certaine Epiſtle ſpends much time in his commendations, liuing both at one time.

An. 1491. *An.* 1493. *An.* 1502.

Chriſtoph. Maſſeus in Chron. Monſtrelet. in Additionib.

Philip. Comineus in vita Caroli 8. c. 25. & 5.

time. But let vs heare what *Guicciardine* ſaith aboue all the reſt, who liued at Florence, and was an eye-witneſſe of his conuerſation. He witneſſeth therefore, that moſt men that knew him accounted him a Prophet; *Becauſe in Italie at a time when there were greateſt tokens of peace, he many times in his Sermons publiquely foretold, That Italie ſhould be inuaded by foraine powers, with ſo great aſtoniſhment, that neither Councell, nor walles, nor armes ſhould be able to reſiſt them.* And this he did for fifteene yeares together whileſt he liued at Florence. But (ſaith he) *when Charles was returned into Fraunce, and the Pope freed from his feares, he began to remember Hieronimus, who hauing beene long before accuſed vnto him for inueying againſt the Clergie and Court of Rome, not without the great ſcandall of them both, for nourſhing diſcords at Florence, for preaching doctrines that were not Catholike, was for theſe cauſes many times cited to Rome, but he refuſed to appeare, and therefore in the yere 1479 he was excommunicated.* But he ſtill continuing in his preaching, his aduerſaries by the authoritie of the Pope, getting the vpper hand, drew him out of the Monaſterie of S. Mark where he liued, & caſt him into the common priſon-houſe. In which tumult, the kinſfolke of thoſe who the yeare before loſt their heads, ſlew *Franciſcus Valori, an excellent citizen, and his chiefe patron. This* (ſaith *Guicciardine*) *Sauanarola was examined with tortures; vpon which examination a proceſſe was publiſhed, which (diſcharging him of thoſe calumnies which were impoſed vpon him, touching his auarice, his diſhoneſt behauiour, his ſecret practiſes with foraine Princes) tended onely to this, that ſuch things as he had foretold were done not by Diuine reuelation, but out of his owne opinion, grounded vpon the doctrine and obſeruation of the Scriptures: And that he was not moued thereunto for any ill intent, or out of couetouſneſſe to obtayne any eccleſiaſticall dignitie; but this one thing he onely reſpected, that by his meanes a generall Councell might be called, wherein the corrupt manners of the Clergie might be reformed, and the degenerate eſtate of the Church of God, as farre forth as was poſſible, might be reduced to the ſimilitude of that it was in the Apoſtles times, or thoſe that were neereſt vnto them. And if he could bring ſo great and ſo profitable a worke to effect, he would thinke it a farre greater glorie than to obtaine the Popedome it ſelfe; becauſe that could not proceed, but from excellent learning and vertue, with a ſingular reuerence of all men, whereas the Popedome is obtayned for the moſt part, either by wicked meanes, or the benefit of fortune.* Here let the Reader judge how great a ſinne it is with them to deſire, or to forward the reformation of the Church by a generall Councell, and to make it conformable to that of the Apoſtles times. *Hauing confirmed this proceſſe in the preſence of diuers religious of the ſame order, he, with two others his fellowes, was depriued of his holie orders, by the ſentence of the Generall of the Dominicans, and the Biſhop Romolin, who was afterward Cardinall of Surrenta, deputed Commiſſaries by the Pope. This being done, he was left to the power of the ſecular Court, by the iudgement whereof, they were firſt hanged, and then burnt: which their deaths, for aſmuch as they did conſtantly endure, the diuerſitie of iudgements and opinions of men ſtill continued; for diuers there were that thought him an Impoſtor and abuſer of the people, others were of opinion that that confeſſion that was publiſhed was forged, or that being a man of a weake conſtitution, it was extorted from him by torments againſt the truth; excuſing his fragilitie and weakeneſſe, with the example of the Prince of the Apoſtles, who being neither impriſoned, nor conſtrained by torments, or any extraordinarie force, but onely terrified with the words of a ſimple maid, denied himſelfe to be the Diſciple of his maſter, notwithſtanding he had heard many of his godlie admonitions, and ſeene his miracles.* And hereby are thoſe ſlaunders ſufficiently diſproued, which we read in *Nauclerus* to be imputed vnto him, *Guicciardine* charging him with no other

Guicciard. l. 2.

Guicciard. l. 3.

Naucler. Gener. 50.

other crime, but that those predictions which before he affirmed to proceed from A
diuine reuelation, being neere his death he acknowledged to be gathered from the obseruation and interpretation of the Scriptures, no doubt of the Apocalyps, which sound no other things but reuelation, and which no man doubts but they are written by the penne of the holie Ghost. *Flaminius*, a famous Poet of Italie, in his Epitaph thought farre otherwise.

Dum fera flamma tuos Hieronime pascitur artus,
Religio fleuit dilaniata comas,
Fleuit, & ô, dixit, crudeles parcite flammæ,
Parcite, sunt isto viscera nostra rogo. B

Whileſt furious flames, O *Ierome*, thy bodie weare,
Religion weepes and teareth her haire,
She weeps and cries, O cruell flames, O ſtay your ire,
O ſtay, our bowels burne in this ſame fire.

Now if any man ſhall aske what points of Religion he deſired to haue reformed in that Councell he ſo much thirſted after, it ſufficiently appeares in his bookes, wherein hee ouerthroweth, as much as in him lyes all humane traditions; placeth all his hope in the free iuſtification by faith in Chriſt Ieſus, ſtickes C
onely to his paſſion; acknowledgeth Chriſtes merits onely; maintaineth the communion vnder both kinds; thundreth againſt indulgences; and as well for life as doctrine acknowledgeth Antichriſt in the Court of Rome. The doctrine eſpecially of free iuſtification is excellently handled in his meditations vpon the thirtieth and fiftieth pſalme, which *Poſſeuinus* acknowledgeth to bee compoſed the night before his puniſhment. As for his ſermons and other bookes, the Romane Index hath purged them, according to their maner.

But if vnder that yoake of oppreſſion, to thirſt after a reformation were hereſie, and worthie fire and fagot, doubtleſſe he was not onely faultie, onely in daunger; for Europe was then full of excellent men, whoſe vowes and praiers D
vnto God tended to the ſame end: Neither wanted there thoſe, who foretold a reformation at hand ſo plainely, that there was no man but ſaw that it proceeded from diuine inſpiration. We haue ſpoken before of *Weſſelus* of Groening called *the light of the world*: *Iohn Oſtendorp* a Canon of the Church of Deuentrie, viſiting that reuerend old man, hee ſayd vnto him, *Young man thou ſhalt liue to ſee the day, wherein the doctrine of theſe moderne contentious diuines, Thomas and Bonauenture and others of that ſtamp, ſhall bee contemned and hiſſed at of all diuines that are truely Chriſtian*. *Tilemanus Spengerberg* ſpeaking to his children and neighbours, *Shortly* ſaieth hee, *this religion which now floriſheth ſhall grow into contempt; E
then ſhall yee ſee the Prieſts and Monkes, for their wickedneſſe, auarice, hatred, vncleanenеſſe, caſt out of the Temples and Monaſteries, and another true religion ſhall bee reeſtabliſhed; For God will no longer ſuffer the corrupt manners of theſe men, teaching no one word of the Goſpell, and leading a life worſe then Painims*. *Paulus Scriptoris*, a Doctor of diuinitie in the Vniuerſitie of Tubingue, ſpake likewiſe to that purpoſe; ſo did *Iohn Keiſerberg* a preacher at Strasbourg, and an Author of certaine diuinitie bookes; *There ſhall one come*, ſaith hee, *raiſed by God that ſhall eſtabliſh it*; wiſhing verie earneſtly that hee might bee his diſciple. A certaine eccleſiaſtical perſon in the citie of Coire a countrie of Griſons ſpeaking to his fellowes,

Gerad. Nouimagus in Hiſtoria.

You

A *You haue* (ſaith he) *caſt S. Paule vnder the bench, but a time ſhall come, when hee ſhall come forth and put you where yee placed him.* *Andreas Proles* the Prior of the Auguſtines at Leipſic in his Lectures was wont to ſay; *You heare (bretheren) the teſtimonie of the Scriptures, that by grace wee are whatſoeuer wee are, and by grace wee haue whatſoeuer wee haue; From whence then is there ſo much darkeneſſe, ſuch horrible ſuperſtitions? O my brethren the ſtate of Chriſtendome hath need of a great and a ſeuere reformation, which I now ſee to bee neere at hand. But his brethren demaunding of him, why hee beganne not this reformation, and oppoſed not himſelfe againſt theſe errours, his anſwere was this; You ſee my brethren that I am old, and weake of bodie, and I confeſſe my ſelfe, for my learning, induſtrie, and eloquence inſufficient to per-*
B *forme ſo great a worke: but the Lord will raiſe a man fit and able for his age, his ſtrength, his induſtrie, his learning, wit and eloquence, who ſhall beginne the reformation, and oppoſe himſelfe againſt all errours; God ſhall giue him a heart to withſtand the mightie men of the world, and you ſhall find his miniſtrie by the great grace and goodneſſe of God, profitable vnto you.* All this is reported by *Heningus* an Auguſtine Monke in the monaſterie called *The gate of heauen*, neere Weringherad, whereof this *Proles* was Prior; whom the Pope afterwards excommunicated, becauſe he oppoſed himſelfe in the Councell of Lateran, againſt a certaine new feaſt, alleadging that the people of God deliuered from bondage by the bloud of Chriſt, were too much oppreſſed with multitudes of traditions; from which opinion he could
C neuer be withdrawne. *Iohn Hiltenа* Monke in Henac of Turingia being caſt into priſon for reprehending ſome Monaſticall abuſes; being verie ſicke called the Gardian or keeper and ſaid vnto him, *I haue ſaid little or nothing againſt your Monkiſh Societie, but there will come one in the yeare 1516, who ſhall ouerthrow them all, whoſe proceedings they ſhall not bee able to withſtand*: And that verie yeare *Luther* began to preach: which did farre excell any humane diuination. Diuers like vnto him did euerie where appeare, who out of the palpable darkeneſſe of thoſe times, as if the dawne of the day did approach, began to diſcerie the light of the Goſpell, after which all the people of God had a long time longed, in ſuch ſort that *Paulus Langius* a Monke of Citique, the diſciple of the Abbot *Trithemius* D
(about the time of *Luthers* firſt appearance) though he had not yet left his Monaſterie, gaue him this excellent teſtimonie: *Martin* (ſaith hee) *is a perfect diuine, profound, incomparable, he endeauoureth to bring diuinitie to her firſt fundamental dignitie and puritie, and to her Euangelicall, ſincere, and ſimple innocencie, altogether baniſhing all prophane Philoſophie*. Againe, *In imitation of that moſt Chriſtian Diuine Simon de Caſſia (who floriſhed about the yeare 1340) contemning all Philoſophie, hee handled and taught the Scriptures purely, bringing into the light euerie day, many venerable and almoſt vnknowne myſteries of the word of God, beeing for the greatneſſe and dexteritie of his wit famous through the whole world, notwithſtanding with S. Ierome hee wanted not the malice of his Competitors, that is the perſecution of Scholediuines, who frame the Scriptures to the rule of Philoſophie*. In an other place about E
the yeare 1503, hee ioined vnto him *Carolоſtadius* and *Melanthon*; *They handle and teach the ſtudie of Diuinitie, and the wheat of the word of God purely, without the mixture of any Chaffe, that is, of humane Philoſophie, and Syllogiſmes, tying themſelues wholy to the Goſpell of Chriſt, and to his Apoſtle S. Paul, whom they take for their Patron and foundation, with the Studie of learning, ſowing by their preaching the ſeed of all vertue, and by their example, pen in the hearts of their Diſciples the feare of God*. And leaſt thou ſhouldeſt replie that this was before *Luther* began his warre with the Pope, heare what he ſaieth about the yeare 1520, hauing before

Philippus Melanthon in Apologia Cap. de votis Monaſticis.

Paulus Largius Citicenſis Monachus in Chron.

dif-

diſcourſed of the abuſe and exceſſe of Indulgences; *Hee* (ſaith he) *by his admirable learning and preaching brought to nothing the force of all Indulgences, called them into queſtion, and diſſuaded the people from buying of them, affirming them to bee no way neceſſarie to ſaluation, that they were no remiſſion of ſinnes, but a neglect of repentance, a hinderance and relaxation from good workes, and a vice. And that the merits of Chriſt and the Saints were not the foundation, and treaſurie of theſe indulgences, ſince in the primitiue Church, and a thouſand yeres after, we find nothing written of them by the holie Doctors of the true Church, neither was there any ſuch opinion or eſteeme had of them, as now there is, for the loue of that money that is gotten by them. Moreouer affirming and proouing that the Church of Rome by the law of God is not the head of all others &c.* And therefore hee ſaith againe, *Vntill this time, they haue by all meanes, like another Athanaſius, perſecuted him, eſpecially for defending this Theſis, That the Pope by the law of God is not the head of the Church, and ſome other rare and high points of doctrine, which not onely the Romans doe ſtill impugne, but diuers other learned men, eſpecially the Thomiſts. Neuertheleſſe, this Martin, the prince of all the Diuines of this age, fortifying and approuing his doctrine, with the teſtimonies of the Scripture and of S. Paul, as alſo with the originall authorities of the auncient fathers, hath hitherto continued vnconquered: not wanting in the meane time, in other nations, diuers learned Doctors in Diuinitie, who ſtucke vnto him and conſented with him; as, that moſt learned and eloquent interpreter of the Scriptures, Eraſmus Roterodamus, Iohn Reuſchlin, Iacobus Stapulenſis, Idocus Clithoueus, and diuers others.* And thus much ſaith the Monke, *non aſſertiuè* ſaith hee, but *admiratiuè, not by way of affirmation, but admiration, ſuſpending his iudgement, according to the manner of diuers others, vntill it were determined by a generall Counceil, what is to bee held in a matter of this difficultie.* But it is now time to ſee what hath paſſed in our Fraunce in theſe times.

Pius the ſecond, as wee haue ſeene before, had ſhaken the Pragmaticall ſanction vnder king *Lewis* the eleuenth, which neuertheleſſe partly, hee liuing, the Court of Pæris had maintained, and partly vnder *Paul* the ſecond his ſucceſſor, by the mediation of the Vniuerſitie, did throughly reſtore. *Sixtus* the fourth comes, who againe impugned it; for this was then the principall marke they ſhot at, and had beene then quite ouerthrowne, had not *Lewis* the eleuenth being then in his owne power, and withall offended with the wicked cariage of *Sixtus*, vndertaken the defence thereof; inſomuch (as the gloſſe of the Pragmaticall ſanction teacheth vs) that neither *Sixtus*, nor his ſucceſſors *Innocent* the eight, nor *Alexander* the ſixt, could euer bring to effect thoſe decrees which they made in preiudice thereof, which are mentioned in the firſt chapter of the Extrauagant *de treuga et pace*. But the conſtitutions of *Lewis* the eleuenth, Pope *Sixtus* being otherwiſe to himſelfe indulgent ynough, are worthie the noting. One dated the eight of Ianuarie in the yeare 1475, wherein hee ſheweth that by vertue of the generall Councels of Conſtance and Baſil, approued by the Pope and Cardinals (note theſe words) it is reſolued to require Pope *Sixtus* to hold a Councell, wherein order may bee taken for prouiſion againſt the inuaſion of the Turke, the daunger of the Schiſmes, the abuſe of Simonie in Chriſtendome; wherefore hee commaundeth all the nobilitie of the kingdome, and the Prelates with other the chiefe of the Clergie to prepare themſelues and to bee readie at hand when they ſhall bee called. This Sanction was read in the Parliament the ſame yeare the fiue and twentieth of Ianuarie. Hee could not haue curbed his furie with a ſtronger bridle. The verie ſame day, there was another publiſhed whereby

Pragmat. tit. de coll. at. paragr. Quod ſi cuiuſcunque ſtatus in verbo quatuor, & ibi Gloſſa.

whereby ſuch as remained at Rome, were commaunded within the ſpace of fiue monethes to returne into France, and to reſide vpon their charges and benefices according to the Canons, and if they obeyed not, to bee puniſhed *with the loſſe of their temporalties*, bridling both the head and the members by the ſame authoritie. There was likewiſe another the ſame day, by which all the Gouernours of cities, and other the kings magiſtrates were commaunded, diligently to ſearch and enquire for all ſuch, of what conditions ſoeuer *that were returned from Rome*, and to cauſe them to deliuer vnto them their letters, Bulls, and other expeditions, and to giue knowledge thereof to the king, if there bee cauſe: If the like ſhould be done in theſe daies, who would not take it for hereſie? There followed another in the yeare 1476, dated the third of September, and the ſeuenth exhibited to the Parliament, That no Abbot, Prior, Religious perſon, or any other of what eſtate, nation, condition ſoeuer ſhall preſume, or dare to goe to the conuocation houſes of the Ciſterſians, Clugny, Charthuſians, or any other either generall or prouinciall, without the kingdome, and thoſe countries that are ſubiect to the kings obedience, vnder paine to the religious, neuer to obtaine or poſſeſſe any benefice; to the begging Friars, *beſides baniſhment, the vtter extirpation of all the religious of the order of thoſe who haue done the contrarie*, and that for this cauſe, leaſt they ſhould practiſe any thing with ſtrangers to the hurt of the Commonwealth. Now I would faine know in what caſe they are, who haue no other Generals but ſtrangers, and are bound to hold their Chapters without the realme. There was another the 16 of Auguſt, in the yeare 1478, at what time the Earle *Hieronimo*, by the commaund of *Sixtus*, had in vaine attempted Florence, and the Florentines were interdicted for puniſhing the traitors: *Our holie Father* (ſaith he) *hath bewrayed his hatred too much againſt the Commonweales of Florence and Venice, by which meanes he fortifieth the Turke, and openeth the gate vnto him to inuade Chriſtendome; turnes thoſe moneyes that were deſtinated to the ſeruice of God, the defence of our faith, the reliefe of the poore, to the maintenance of his conſpiracies: and that money which he is ſuffered to exact in Chriſtendome, hee beſtowes vpon men of baſe condition, to encreaſe their greatneſſe, &c.* But ſee what he decrees: *And therfore* (ſaith he) *we forbid all perſons, as well temporall as eccleſiaſtical, either to goe or ſend to the Court of Rome, to procure any benefices, to ſend thither any money, or to take order by way of exchange, or otherwiſe to pay it there, vpon paine of death and loſſe of goods, &c. And moreouer, we giue all their mouables, houſhold-ſtuffe, and horſes, to whomſoeuer ſhall giue notice of any that ſhall offend in this kind.* Our Courts of Parliament therefore, which ſo gladly publiſhed theſe conſtitutions, yea our Sorboniſts that approued them, were they then all heretikes? We read likewiſe, that in the aſſembblie held at Tours by *Charls* the 8, the ſon of *Lewis*, M. *Iohn Rhely*, Doctor in Diuinitie, and Canon of the Church of Paris, ſpake in the name of the French Clergie, beſeeching him to maintaine the Pragmaticall ſanction in all points, according to the Counceil of Conſtance and Baſil, not permitting any thing that might be preiudicial thereunto, *whether it were by reſeruations, prouiſions Apoſtolical, expected graces, to the preiudice of elections and prouiſions of ordinaries, annuities, petie ſeruices, &c. or by Citations of the Court of Rome, Eccleſiaſtical cenſures, which diſtract the ſubiects, cauſing them to wander, and the like*: which he eaſily obtained without any reſiſtance. But that which is reported by *Monſtrelet*, touching the authority which this *Charls* exerciſed at Rome euen to the face of *Alexander* the ſixt, paſſeth all the reſt: *He made knowne* (ſaith he) *that his power was ſo great in Rome, that he cauſed three or foure gallowes to be erected, and did hang and behead certaine theeues, murtherers, and other malefactors in Campo ſtercore,*

Monſtrelet vol. 3. in annis Chron.

rido, and others, according to the qualitie of their offence, to be beaten with rods, drowned, A
punished with the loſſe of their eares, to ſhew that like a true ſonne of the Church, and a
Chriſtian king, he had a mixt and a ſole Empire at Rome, no leſſe than at Paris, and other
the cities of France. Thus ſaith *Monſtrelet*, a writer of that time.

65 Progression.

The prepoſterous election of Iulius the ſecond: his treacherous practiſes and cruell malitious nature, and how in his owne perſon he marched to the beſieging of Mirandula and Ferrara. Of the pompe and ſtately coronation of Iohn de Medicis, called Leo the tenth, and of the monſtrous abuſe of Indulgences in his time. B

A *Lexander* being dead, a new ſucceſſor was to be thought vpon: *Borgia*, though he were very ſick, was yet a great ſtickler in the election, relying himſelfe vpon the helpe of the Spaniſh Cardinals. But on the other ſide the Cardinall of Ambois, preſuming vpon the fauour of the French Cardinals, and the power of the armie, withſtood him; *The Cardinals neuertheleſſe* (ſaith *Guicciardine*) *according to their cuſtome, looking euer into their owne benefit*: for it is that ſpirit that properly beares rule in thoſe Conclaues. Theſe therefore (partly by reaſon of their owne auarice, & partly the one ſide hindring the other by reaſon of this emulation) make choice of neither, but chuſe *Francis Piſolhuomini*, called *Pius* the third, a man verie old, and then ſick; rather to ſpend ſome time, than that they had any hope of his C
Popedome, for within 26 dayes after he died: after whoſe death, beſides and againſt all order, they determined of a ſucceſſor without the Conclaue, becauſe the Cardinall of S. *Peter ad Vincula*, being mightie in friends and fame, and power, had gotten ſo many voyces on his part, that there was not any man that durſt ſo much as mutter againſt him: Wherefore by a new example he entred the Conclaue, aſſured before of the Popedom, and the doors being neuer ſhut, was choſen the firſt night: who, to ſignifie the greatneſſe of his deſignes, euen in the firſt entrance of his Popedome would be called *Iulius* the ſecond: *Whereupon euery man* (ſaith *Guicciardine*) *was ſtrucken with a kind of aſtoniſhment, for that they had conſented vpon the* D
choice of ſuch a Pope, as all men knew to be dangerous, intollerable, truculent, and vnquiet, yea that he had alreadie practiſed ſtrange hatreds againſt many great perſonages. But hauing noted in him thoſe parts that were beſt worthie the conſideration, *That* (ſaith he) *which ſtood him in beſt ſtead for the attainment of this dignitie, were the large promiſes that he made to thoſe Cardinals, Princes, Barons, and others, whom hee knew to be beſt able to aduance and forward that buſineſſe, thinking it good policie not to denie them any thing they ſhould aske. Moreouer, he gaue much money, and many benefices and Eccleſiaſtical dignities, as wel of his own as other mens; for that opinion there was of his bountie, that diuers there were that came vnto him, offering vnto him what they poſſeſſed, to* E
vſe their money, their names, their offices, their benefices, at his pleaſure: no man conſidering with himſelfe that he had promiſed a great deale more than, hauing obtained the Popedome, he was either able, or ought to performe, being heretofore accounted ſo vpright and ſo true, that Alexander the ſixt, though he were his great enemie, otherwiſe ſpeaking all the ill that might be of him, acknowledged that onely vertue in him. But hee that verie well knew, that no man might more eaſily deceiue, than hee that was thought neuer to deceiue, feared not a little to cracke that credit to get a Popedome. And thus much concerning the manner of his election. Hee had a daughter which was named *Felix*, whom hee preſently maried to *Iordanus Vrſinus*, and his neece, his ſiſters daughter, to *Antonius Columna*. And thus hee ſetled himſelfe

A ſelfe at Rome. From thence forward hee bent his endeuours, by armes to bring Romania vnder his ſubiection, and to recouer all that which *Borgia* and others had gotten into their poſſeſſion: and if any refuſed to obey, hee was preſently excommunicated. Then he ſhooke off that moderation which in his Cardinalſhip he retained *both in word & deed* (ſaith *Onuphrius*) *in ſo much that he thought it not enough* *Onuphr. in Iulio 2.*
to be modeſt himſelfe, but he tooke a care to receiue none but ſuch into his houſe. So hard a matter it is, and euer hath been, to know the humor of him that affecteth a Popedome. His firſt exploit was to driue the *Benteuoli* with their wiues and children out of Bononia, and to leaue their houſes and families to the furie of the people. Then he turned his mind to the ruine of the Venetians, whom he excommunicated, and
B made a prey to whomſoeuer ſhould firſt lay hands on them. Our *Lewis* the twelfth, with whom he had firſt made a league, after the battell won at Abdua againſt the Venetians, he greatly ſuſpected, notwithſtanding hee had the greateſt part in the fruit of that victorie. He attempted all the wayes he could to driue him out of Italie, and wanted no ſubtile deuiſes to compaſſe it. He incited *Lewis* and *Maximilian* the Emperor againſt the Venetians, & conſpired with the Venetians againſt them both. He interdicted *Alphonſus* Duke of Ferrara, and made open war againſt him, becauſe he had taken part with France, and being commaunded to depart, did not obey. *Lewis* himſelfe hauing ſent certaine forces to *Alphonſus*, vnder the conduct of *Chriſtoph. Maffeus l. 20. Chron.*
Caluimontius, *Iulius* excommunicated *Caluimontius*, and all the chiefe leaders of the
C armie. Wherefore *Maximilian* and *Lewis*, to the end they might repreſſe his inſolencie, entred into conſideration by what meanes they might call him to a Coun- *Guicciard. l. 9.*
cell: whereupon, in the yeare 1510, in the beginning of September, *Lewis* held a *An. 1510.*
nationall Councel at Tours, wherein it was enquired, *whether it were lawful for the Pope, without a cauſe, to make warre againſt a Prince*: It was concluded not lawfull: *And whether any ſuch Prince defending may not aſſault him, & withdraw himſelfe from his obedience*: It was concluded lawfull. Moreouer, it was reſolued to maintaine in France the Pragmaticall ſanction, and in all cauſes to neglect his cenſures: and that the king before he ſhould withdraw himſelfe from his obedience, ſhould certifie *Iulius* by his embaſſadors of theſe articles ordained by his Clergie, that if hee
D ſhould not obey them, he might vnderſtand, that he was to be called to a generall Councell. And moreouer it was decreed, That the king ſhould impoſe vpon the Clergie of France, a certaine ſumme of money, to be imployed againſt *Iulius*, if he ſhould proceed in his determination. It happened in the meane time, that the Biſhop of Gurſe arriued in the behalfe of the Emperour, who was heard in that honourable aſſemblie, at what time there came likewiſe a meſſenger, who gaue them to vnderſtand of the obſtinacie of *Iulius*; whereupon, the 27 of September, a generall Councel was called, by the conſent of all, at Lions, to be celebrated about the beginning of March following. All this was done by the aduice of fiue of the chiefe Cardinals, of S. Croſſe & Coſentia, Spaniards, Bayeux & S. Malo, French,
E and the Cardinall of S. Seuerine, an Italian; conſenting with the Emperour and king, That *Iulius* ſhould be enforced to the Councell; to which end they were de- *Guicciard. l. 9.*
parted from him, notwithſtanding (if we may beleeue *Guicciardine*) they had as bad minds, and were as little to be truſted as himſelfe. So vniuerſall was the corruption of that See, how good ſoeuer the deſires of the king were.

In the meane time *Iulius* is not idle, though hee thought of nothing leſſe than what became a Pope: he agreed, by meanes of the Cardinall *de Medicis*, with *Marcus Antonius Columna*, and other young men of Florence, to kill *Peter Soderin*, the Standard-bearer of the Commonwealth of Florence, becauſe he was ſaid

to be the man that perſuadeth the Florentines to take part with Fraunce, *which turned to his great infamie.* Being reſolued to attempt Ferrara, he thought it better firſt to inuade Mirandula: which forasmuch as it fell out to be a long ſiege, being much troubled that things ſucceded not according to his expectation, he came to the ſiege in his owne perſon, *a thing neuer heard of before, nor euer to be expected, that the Vicar of Chriſt on earth* (ſaith *Guicciardine*) *ſhould inuade a Chriſtian citie, and being old and ſickly, ſhould in his owne perſon, ſet forward a warre againſt Chriſtian Princes firſt raiſed by himſelfe*; wherein he was ſo earneſtly bent, and ouer haſtie, that he neuer thought any thing done with ſpeed ynough, but euer kindled with furie, cried out to the captaines; and choſe his owne lodging amongſt the ordnance, inſomuch that in his kitchin two of his ſeruants were ſlaine with a ſhot, whatſoeuer his Cardinals could perſuade to the contrarie, telling him, That hereby both his owne perſon and the whole See were made a ſcandall, and a laughing ſtocke to the whole world. And therefore, ſaith *Monſtrelet* to this purpoſe, *He left the chaire of S. Peter, and tooke vpon him the title of Mars the god of war, diſplaying in the field his triple crowne, and ſpending his nights in the watch. How goodlie a thing it was to ſee the Myters, Croſſes, and Croſier-ſtaues flying vp and downe the field, God he knoweth. It is not likely any Diuels could be there, where bleſſings were ſold at ſo baſe a price.* Mirandula being taken, he ſet forward with his armie againſt Ferrara, and neglecting theſe conditions that the Emperor offered, and the counſel of *Ferdinand* of Spain his friend, he perſiſted in his determination. Whereupon, it was thought good to cite him to the Councel of Piſa; on the one ſide, thoſe fiue Cardinals, with the Prelats of Fraunce and Germanie vrging it, as being a man notoriouſly ſcandalous, incorrigible, a ſtirrer vp of warres, and altogether vnfit to rule the Popedome, for which cauſe, the authoritie of calling a Councell was diuolued vnto them; on the other ſide, king *Lewis* the twelfth being readie by force, and if need were, to march againſt him with his armie in his owne perſon, notwithſtanding he had no aſſiſtance from *Maximilian*: who hauing made a truce with the Pope, was therefore by the writers of that age condemned of inconſtancie. It is worthie the noting, that by the commaund of *Lewis* there was money coyned in Fraunce, which yet remaineth in the cuſtodie of ſome, in the one ſide wherof there was this mot, *I will deſtroy Babylon*, and in ſome, *I will deſtroy the name of Babylon*; that it might ſeeme no new thing to any that Rome is Babylon to vs, hauing ſo great an Authour, euen the Father of Fraunce. *Iulius* therefore created eight new Cardinals, that he might thereby win vnto him other Princes, contrary to that he had promiſed at his election. *Triualtius* therefore, the leader of the French forces, hauing freed Ferrara from feare, taken Bononia, publiquely faſtened his placarts whereby *Iulius* was cited to Piſa, he retired himſelfe in deſpaire to Rome; no leſſe wounded in his mind, that the Duke of Vrbin his Nephew had ſtabbed the Cardinall of Pauia his Legat and inward friend, in a manner before his eyes, *for his many and monſtrous wickednеſſe* (ſaith *Guicciardine*) *worthie the greateſt and moſt grieuous puniſhment.* Then gathering heart, he confirmed his truces, mollified the mind of the Emperour, woon him from the alliance of Fraunce, and thinking now he had ouercome all difficulties, he applied his thoughts onely to *Lewis*, thundring againſt him with his excommunications, and interdicting his kingdome. But our Clergie yeelding him neuer the more obedience, proceed ſtill in ſetting forward the Councell of Piſa, which at the laſt was thought to be more ſafe and commodious to transferre to Milan, where againe theſe good Cardinals got no better reputation than *Iulius* at Rome. At length, *Iulius* with his confederats

rats raiſed an armie, which doubtleſſe would daily encreaſe greater, by reaſon of the jealouſie that many Princes had of the greatneſſe of Fraunce, and aboue all the Spaniard, for fear of the realm of Naples, which the French pretended a right vnto. But king *Lewis* ſeeing himſelfe alone againſt ſo many enemies, either open, or readie ſhortly to declare themſelues, reſolued to win time; and commaunded *Gaſton de Foix*, his Lieutenant generall in the Duchie of Milan, to omit no occaſion of fighting with the Popes armie, wherein, if he got the victorie, he ſhould with all ſpeed march to Rome, and there aſſaile the Pope without any reuerence towards him. Yet notwithſtanding, that it might be eſtemed he did it lawfully and by good right, he doth all by the authoritie of the Councell, which appointed their Legat in the armie, who receiued in the name thereof the cities conquered in the warre. This was the Cardinall of S. Seuerin, ordayned by the Cardinals, Legat of Bononia, *A man* (ſaith our Authour) *more addicted to warre, than religion.* Therefore *Gaſton*, after ſome notable exploits of armes, for to draw the Popes armie to battaile, beſieged Rauenna. In the meane time *Iulius* armie came to ſuccour it, vnder the conduct of *Iohn de Medicis* (after *Leo* the tenth) exiled from Florence, whom he had aduanced chiefely in hatred of the Florentines. But *Gaſton* marched againſt them, and vpon an Eaſter day gaue them battell, wherein he obtayned that ſo renowned victorie of Rauenna. The Legat taken, and the moſt part of the commaunders of the armie; vpon the firſt newes thereof, *Iulius* deſpairing was readie to forſake Rome: but the death of *Gaſton* interrupted the courſe of the victorie, and ſo gaue him time to breath and ſettle himſelfe in his ſeat. And that ſo much the more, for that the Mareſchal *de la Palice*, with the French forces, which he commaunded after the death of *Gaſton*, was called backe into Fraunce, to oppoſe themſelues againſt the Switzers, who partly in fauour of *Iulius*, partly moued by their owne commoditie, had ſpred themſelues ouer Bourgundie.

Guicciard. l. 10

Now, he turned this victorie obtayned by the French men, to his owne commoditie, by ſetting before the eyes of all Princes, of how great moment it was, that the power of the French men ſhould be repreſſed. This he doth with the States of Italie, chiefely the Duke of Ferrara and the Florentines, to withdraw them from their league with France; he blameth the kings indiſcretion, who not knowing how to vſe his good fortune, had withdrawne his ſuccours, and abandoned his confederats to his diſcretion. And now he onely ſpake of ſhaking off the Arragonois, and of driuing the Spaniſh forces out of Italie, or defeating them, by whoſe helpe notwithſtanding he had beene maintayned in his aduerſitie; for to procure to himſelfe the kingdome of Naples. Laſtly, he thought himſelfe in ſufficient ſafetie by the friendſhip and confederacie of the Switzers. Moreouer, he now openly deſpiſed the Councell of Piſa, which had beene tranſlated to Milan, becauſe it was onely maintayned by the French forces, who had now ynough to doe to defend their owne; and taking againe courage, oppoſed vnto it another Councell at Lateran, excommunicating all them that adhered to that of Piſa; and king *Lewis* by name, from whom, by his Bull ſet forth, he tooke away the title of Moſt-Chriſtian, transferring it to the king of England, whom he ſolicited to make warre againſt Fraunce, the kingdome whereof, by the Councell of Lateran, and in an expreſſe Bull, he expoſed to him that would firſt inuade it. *But amidſt ſuch and ſo great thoughts* (ſaith *Guicciardine*) *and others perhaps greater & more ſecret (for nothing ſo cruell, nor ſo great beyond opinion and beleefe, which was vnfit for his terrible mind) after ſome dayes ſickneſſe he was taken away by death, &c. Worthie of great praiſe, if he had beene a ſecular Prince and attempted ſuch things, or as if he had more care to exalt*

the Church in ſpirituall things by peaceable meanes, than to make it great in temporall things by warre. And yet is he deſired aboue others; but note of whom, *of them who (the true names of things being loſt, and the diſtinction of them confuſed) iudge that Popes are more to be prayſed in this, That by armes and ſhedding Chriſtian bloud, encreaſe the domination of the Apoſtolike See, than labour by good examples of life to amend corrupt manners, and take care for the ſaluation of thoſe ſoules for whom they boaſt, that they are ordained of Chriſt the Lord his Vicars on earth.* And did not the Emperour *Maximilian*, lifting vp his eyes to heauen, worthily exclaime againſt the naughtie life of this Pope, *O eternall God, if thou diddeſt not watch, how ill it would be with the world, which we gouerne, I poore hunter, and that wicked drunkard Iulius?*

Joskimus Curens Frisiadiensis in Annalibus Gentis Silesiæ. Arnoldus Ferronius in vita Ludouici. Gilberti Ducery Epigramma.

We read alſo, that when, a little after his election, hee departed from Rome to make warre againſt *Maximilian* and *Lewis*, paſſing ouer the bridge, he caſt the keyes into Tyber, and holding a naked ſword, ſaid with a lowd and high voyce, *That ſeeing Peters keyes would not ſuffice, Paules ſword ſhould not be wanting*: Which gaue occaſion of many Epigrams, theſe among others:

Hic gladius Pauli nos nunc defendit ab hoſte,
Quandoquidem clauis nil iuuat iſta Petri.

Sith *Peters* keyes with foes doth nought preuaile,
This ſword of *Paul* to ſaue vs ſhall not faile.

And,

In Gallum, vt fama eſt, bellum geſturus acerbum, &c.

And hereupon *Wicelius*, though a defender of Popes, plainely ſaith of him, *Marti quam Chriſto propior, That he was fitter for Mars than for Chriſt*: and indeed it was thought, that in the ſpace of nine yeares he had beene the occaſion of the death of two hundred thouſand men. Whereas his predeceſſors were woont to graunt priuiledges to begging Friers, he, to the Cantons of the Switzers (his confederats, the principall executers of his high enterpriſes) gaue *the perpetuall title of Defenders of the Eccleſiaſticall libertie, with many Bulls, Standards, a Sword, and golden Cap*, and other gifts, that he might haue them readie at all his commaundements. Neither was he for all that negligent in his Indulgences, whereby hee might rake in money; witneſſe the Epigram:

Fraude capit totum mercator Iulius orbem,
Vendit enim cælos, non habet ipſe tamen, &c.

By fraud the merchant *Iulius* rakes in pelfe,
For heauen he ſells, yet hath it not himſelfe.

And this euidently ynough appeareth vnto vs by his Bulls, eſpecially by that dated in the yeare 1505, whereby, being newly entred his Popedome, hee ordayned, *That euerie fifteenth yere annuities ſhould be paid for benefices.* And that he might reſerue to himſelfe all libertie to do all things by his own mere authoritie, againſt the admonitions made vnto him from all parts, he renewed the Bul of *Pius* the ſecond, againſt them that appealed from the Pope to a future Councell, in ſuch ſort that the Appealants were iudged excommunicated, and their Appeals voyd; and with theſe goodlie Prefaces, *Out of the duetie of our Paſtorall office, and the care of the*

Bulla cuius initium Ex debito Paſtoralis officij, alia cuius initium, Suſcepti regiminis cura ſollicitat.

the gouernement vndertaken ſolicitting vs, &c. But with what face and faithfulneſſe let the Reader iudge, vnleſſe it bee with that ſinceritie which this Epigram deſcribeth:

Genua cui patrem, genitricem Gracia, partum
Pontus & vnda dedit, num bonus eſſe poteſt?
Fallaces Ligures, mendax eſt Græcia, Ponto
Nulla fides: in te hæc ſingula Iule tenes.

Conradus Grebelius in Epigram.

From Genua and Greece his parents bloud,
At ſea he had his birth, can he be good?
The Genowais be falſe, Greekes lyers be,
Truſtleſſe the ſea: all this *Iulius* in thee.

Which truely he verified in effect in the whole courſe of his life. I would willingly omit theſe other verſes of the ſame Author, but that all filthineſſe with them is but a play.

Venit in Italiam ſpectatus indole rara
Germanus, ye dijt de puero mulier.

To Rome a German went of faire aſpect,
But he return'd a woman in effect.

Which he ſpeaketh of *Iulius*. The ſame we find written by the Diuines of Paris, of two young gentlemen violated or forced by him, whom Queene *Anne*, wife of *Lewis* the twelft, had recommended to the Cardinall of Nantes to carrie with him into Italie. Let vs adde this for concluſion, That when he was beſieged at Bononia by the Grand Maſter *de Chaumont*, Generall of the armie of *Lewis* the 12, vnder colour of entertaining a treatie of peace, brought into the citie for his ſuccours certaine companies of Turks, conducted by *Chapin Vitelli*: and in the meane time he publiſhed by his Bull, full pardon and large Indulgences to whomſoeuer ſhould kill a Frenchman, that is, a Chriſtian. So that not without reaſon our French Church at that time called that *full power* of Popes, *a boiſterous tempeſt, and a diabolicall word.* And thus are we come to the yeare 1513. *An.* 1513.

The Popedome of *Iulius* was imperious and barbarous. The Cardinals, who had felt his crueltie, before they would proceed to election, thought by preſcribing conditions to the future Pope, to bridle his authorities: but preſently after (ſaith *Guicciardine*) *they themſelues did abrogat them almoſt all*, according as they were led, ſome with feare, and ſome with hope of fauour, all vncapable of a better State. This ſame was *Iohn de Medicis*, Commaunder as Legat of the Popes armie, who had beene taken in the battell of Rauenna, and hauing made an eſcape away, contrarie to his faith, was preſently after created Generall of the warre againſt the Florentines. He was ſcarcely thirtie ſeuen yeares old, when, againſt cuſtome, by a new example, hee was aduanced to the Popedome, by the craft of the younger Cardinals. *Guicciard. l. 12.*

In his firſt act he made manifeſt what was to be hoped of the reformation of the Church in his time; for the pompe of his coronation was ſo exceſſiue, as well of them of his houſe and Court, as of all the Prelats, that no man but would confeſſe, *That from the inundation of the Barbarians there had beene nothing ſeene more proud* *Guicciard. l. 14.*

proud and ſtately; ſeeing it is certaine, that hee on that day had ſpent an hundred thouſand ducats: *And the wiſer ſort iudged* (ſaith he) *that ſuch a pompe was not fit for Popes.* Next, he reſolued to continue the Councell of Lateran, and to extinguiſh that of Piſa; which he eaſily did in reeſtabliſhing the fiue Cardinals which *Iulius* had forſaken, and by appeaſing the mind of king *Lewis* the twelfth, whom the other Princes had forſaken, ſuſpecting his power. Neuertheleſſe the Clergie of France ſtroue againſt it, cleauing faſt to their propoſitions, eſpecially of the Pragmaticall ſanction, as appeareth by the Acts of that Councell: till that vnder king *Francis* his ſucceſſour, in the yeare 1516, notwithſtanding the formall Appeale of the Clergie, by means of the Concordat, the Pragmatical was aboliſhed. And of this Conuell (where a reformation was expected) came none other fruit than an impoſition of tenthes on all Europe, euer vnder colour of inuading the Turkes, which indeed was neuer ſo much as dreamed on. Wherefore many Prelats in giuing their ſuffrages, added this clauſe, *Placuit quo ad Turcas, I am content, ſo it be for the Turkes, when the expedition ſhall be begun*; *the Biſhops, namely of Durazzo, of Salamanca, of Taruiſino, of Graſſo, of Chio, of Montuert, of Montmeran, of Seruia, of Licie, of Ferentine, of Perouſa, of Sora, of Macerata, of Nabia, of Algara, and others.* And ſo the Councell was concluded, and diſmiſſed; notwithſtanding ſome Biſhops tooke it hardly, that Chriſtian people ſhould bee ſo deluded, and pronounced with a lowd voyce, *Non placuit clauſura Concilij, The ſhutting vp of the Councell pleaſeth vs not*; as the Biſhops of Trane, of Salmantica, the Generall of the Order of the Iacobines, and others. The pretence for this diſſolution was, for that the Councell had now dured fiue yeares (which is ſo much the greater ſhame for them, that in ſo long time had done nothing but for their owne commoditie) *That the Prelats might goe viſit & comfort their Churches*: And *to the end* (ſaith *Leo*) *that they may returne with greater ioy home to their own, filled with ſome ſpiritual gifts, we beſtow vpon them and their families plenarie remiſſion and indulgence of all their ſinnes once in their life, and at the houre of death.* In the meane time let the Reader note here the height of his impietie and blaſphemie. In this Councell *Anthonie Puccius*, in the ninth Seſſion, making an Oration, feared not to attribute vnto him thoſe words which the Pſalmiſt had pronounced of Chriſt our Lord, *Pſalm.* 72. *All the Kings of the earth ſhal worſhip him, all Nations ſhall ſerue him*; and therewithall he addeth, *All the kings of the earth know what power is giuen thee in heauen and in earth*; which the Lord had ſpoken of himſelfe, *Math.* 11. Iube, impera, manda, *Commaund* (ſaith he) *whatſoeuer it pleaſeth thee at all times.* In the ſame manner alſo the Archbiſhop *Stephan*, in the tenth Seſſion, *All power is giuen vnto thee, &c. Thee which ſaid all hath excepted nothing*: But would you know by what title? the ſixt Seſſion will ſhew you; Becauſe he is Chriſt himſelfe, *the Lion of the tribe of Iuda, the root of Dauid, the Sauiour and Deliuerer*: Which names Saint *John* in the Apocalyps attributed to Ieſus Chriſt, and to him alone and none other ought it to be attributed. Adde theſe phraſes, ordinarie euerie where in this Councell, *The royall race of the Soueraigne Biſhops of Rome, The Empire of your Holineſſe, Seſſ.* 9. *The Pope is the Prince of the Apoſtles, Seſſ.* 4. *He is Prince and King, Seſſ.* 3. *The Prince of the whole world*; contending with Sathan himſelfe in blaſphemies. *Seſſ.* 1. Yea he is made to be God himſelfe, *The aſpect of your Diuine Maieſtie, Seſs.* 9. *Moſt like vnto God, and who ought to be adored of all people, Seſſ.* 3. *&* 10. and with the ſame adoration wherewith Chriſt is worſhipped: for to him they attribute theſe words of the Pſalme 72. *All the Kings of the earth ſhall worſhip him*, namely, the eternall ſonne of God. But Spouſe or Bridegroome of the Church, that is his ordinarie

Epithete

Concil. Lateranen. Seſſ 12.

A Epithete often in that Councell. What monſtrous and audacious boldneſſe is here for a pretended Vicar? Canſt thou Reader expect greater blaſphemies than theſe for the reuealing of Antichriſt? And thus in the Councell of Lateran all Chriſtendome was deluded.

But truely in his affaires *Leo* proceeded verie ſeriouſly: for he ordayned *Laurence* (his brother *Peters* ſonne) gouernour of Tuſcanie, and eſtabliſhed the Common-wealth of Florence in ſuch ſort, that it depended of him alone: hence is the ground of the ſoueraigne power of the Medices in that citie. *Alfonſina* alſo, the mother of *Laurence*, of the houſe of the *Vrſins*, was continually inſtant vpon him, to doe her ſonne yet ſome further fauor: wherefore, *for ſome light occaſions by him*

B *ſought* (ſaith *Onuphrius*) *he ſet vpon by armes Feaunces Maria de Roueria, Duke of Vrbin, whom he ſuſpected and hated*, and deprined him of his whole Dukedome, and ſet his Nephew vp in his place; though his familiars blamed his vngratefull mind towards that Prince, who had ſafely receiued and kept them of his familie in their exile. But (ſaith *Guicciardine*) *whom againſt all faith and credit he had once begun to offend him, he diſſembled not that he ſuppoſed it a thing neceſſarie vtterly to ruinat him.* With the ſame mind alſo, he drue away *Alfonſus Petrucci* Cardinall, and his brother from Siena. Whereupon, *Alfonſus* a while after, impatient of griefe conſpired againſt him, with many Cardinals, *Adrian de Corneto, Raphaell Riario, Bandinello, Saule*, and others: but the conſpiracie being diſcouered, they were deprined

C of their Cardinalſhip, and *Alfonſus*, as chiefe was ſtrangled by a Moore in the caſtle S. Angelo, *Bandinello* condemned to perpetuall impriſonment, and a while after for a great ſum of money ſet at libertie, yet was it ſuſpected he had firſt bin poyſoned with ſlow-working poyſon. Many others redeemed their liues with money, among which the Cardinall *de Corneto*, after reconciliation, departed ſecretly from Rome, and, *howſoeuer it happened, was neuer ſeene more in any place afterward. Guicciardine* particularly noteth, That out of the ſuſpition that *Leo* had conceiued againſt *Alfonſus*, by reaſon of certaine letters intercepted, *he had called him to Rome, hauing giuen him his ſafe conduct, and paſſed his word and faith to the Embaſſadour of the king of Spaine, that he ſhould ſafely returne*: But, that, when the *Guicciard.* l. 13.

D Embaſſadour objected vnto him his violated faith and his perjurie, he anſwered, *That neuer any crime againſt the life of the Pope was aſſured by any ſafe-conduct, how ample ſoeuer it were and full of pregnant cauſes, although it were namely and indiuidually expreſſed.* Now hereby he acknowledged, that whether hee had well or ill proceeded in his buſineſſe, all the Colledge of Cardinalls was much alienated from him: he therefore reſolued to get himſelfe new friends, and in one Morning, *the Colledge conſenting to it for feare, not of free will*, he created one and thirtie Cardinalls, among whom were two of his ſiſters ſonnes, and ſome that had ſerued him before and after his Popedome, *who for diuers cauſes were acceptable and obedient both to him and to the Cardinall de Medicis, but more not for any other re-*

E *ſpect capable of ſo great dignitie. Many of them alſo he made for money, to fill againe his emptied coffers.* As likewiſe (ſaith *Langius de Citicis*) *All the gold and ſiluer by little and little raked and drawne out of Germanie, was carried to Rome as into a broken bagge and inſatiable gulfe: the gouernment alſo of Churches was committed not to the beſt deſerning, but to him that offered moſt. Moreouer, he created thirtie Cardinalls for the price of fiue hundred thouſand Ducats.* And this is euer the lawfull vocation, which they ſo much brag of. He addeth, that for to ſatisfie both his owne and his Cardinals greedie deſire, he exacted great ſummes of money throughout all Europe, by his Legats, vnder colour of making warre againſt the Turkes; and no little

ſumme

ſumme alſo by his Commiſſaries vnder pretence of building the Temple of Saint Peter: *But* (ſaith he) *the ſtones which were hewen by day, were carried away priuily by night to the great Palace of Florence, and the money it ſelfe that was gathered, was not for the vſe of the building, nor againſt the Infidels, but was diſtributed among the Cardinalls and the Popes friends.*

Now this his prodigalitie being joyned with want, there was nothing ſo abhominable which he inuented not, or hearkened not vnto, for to get in mony: therefore *Guicciardine* ſaith, *He vſed verie licentiouſly the authoritie of the Apoſtolike See, when he followed the counſell of Laurence Pucci, Cardinall of the Title of foure Saints, he ſowed abroad through all the world, without any difference of times and places, moſt ample Indulgences, not onely to ſuccour the liuing, but alſo to deliuer the ſoules of the departed out of the paines of Purgatorie. And becauſe it was notorious, that ſuch Indulgences were onely graunted to draw money from men, which his Commiſſaries (who had bought thoſe Commiſſions of the Popes officers) impudently demaunded, hee procured to himſelfe the euill will of men in moſt places, and cauſed many ſcandals, eſpecially in Germanie, where his miniſters for a verie ſmall price ſold thoſe their wares, and in Tauernes played away at dice the power of deliuering ſoules out of Purgatorie. But that which moſt encreaſed their indignation, was, that Leo (who by reaſon of the facilitie of his nature, adminiſtred his Pontificall charge with leſſe grauitie than became the Maieſtie of ſo great a function) gaue to his ſiſter Magdalene the money that came of the Indulgences in many Prouinces in Germanie, who appointed her Commiſſarie for that buſineſſe the Biſhop of Arembauld, a man worthie of ſuch a Commiſſion, which hee executed with exceeding great couetouſneſſe and extortion.* So that the Preachers were not aſhamed, by ſuggeſtion of his miniſters, to publiſh in the pulpit, That at the ſound of the money, as it was caſt into the baſon, the ſoules skipped for joy amidſt the flames, and preſently flew out of Purgatorie. Yea ſome alſo pronounced, That vpon the paiment of this taxation all ſinne was pardoned; not fearing to expreſſe particularly the moſt horrible, which my pen abhorreth to vtter.

No more modeſtie was vſed in France, England, Poland, and other countries, where the Commiſſaries were woont to aſſure the people, That hee which gaue ten ſoulz ſhould deliuer the ſoule for whom he gaue it out of the paines of Purgatorie; deſperatly affirming, That God, whenſoeuer they pleaſed, would preſently doe it, according to that ſaying, *Whatſoeuer yee ſhall looſe on earth, &c. But if there was but one farthing leſſe than ten ſoulz, they could doe nothing. And this gaine* (ſayth *Langius*) *diſpleaſed the holie children of the Church, ſeeing the power of the Vicar began to be called into queſtion, and from whence ſhould come this new doctrine in theſe later Prelats, which the auncient Popes had beene ignorant of:* and yet he is a Monke that ſpeaketh it. *Martin Luther* among others then aroſe, againſt whom *Leo*, in ſtead of reformation, caſt forth his thunderbolts: but of that wee will ſpeake more in his place. At laſt hauing kindled warre betweene the Emperour *Charles* the fift and *Francis* the firſt, king of France, to driue the Frenchmen out of Italie, newes was brought vnto him to Maliagno, his place of pleaſure, That Milan and Parma were taken from the French; whereupon he entred into ſuch an exceſſe of joy, that the ſame night he fell into a little feuer, whereof a few dayes after hee dyed. *Paſquil* comparing *Leo* and *Iulius* together, drew the difference out of their names, and concludeth his Epigram with theſe verſes:

Iulius eſt hominis, bruti Leo, Iulius egit
Quæ ſuaſit ratio, quod libet iſte facit.

Iuli-

Chriſoph. Maſſeus in Chron. An. 1515.

Iulius a mans name, *Leo* a bruit beaſts had,
He did as reaſon will'd, this what his luſt him bad.

And *Sanazarus* yeelding a reaſon, why, being at poynt of death, hee had not receiued the Sacrament, ſaith,

Sacra ſub extremâ, ſi forte requiritis, horâ
Cur Leo non poterat ſumere, vendiderat.

Why *Leo* receiued not at his laſt houre
The Sacraments, aske not, they were not in his power.

But more rightly, if he had ſaid, Becauſe he had in him no religion: For Cardinall *Bembo*, his Secretarie, alledging vnto him one day ſomething out of the Goſpell, he feared not to anſwer him, *It is ſufficiently knowne to all ages, how greatly that fable of Chriſt hath profited vs and ours.* That man of ſinne, the ſonne of perdition, of whom the Church hath ſo long aforehand beene warned, thinke wee he could adde any thing to this? But their *Index Expurgatorius* hath commaunded thoſe verſes to be raſed out of *Sanazarus*. The writers of that age doe note ſome ſignes which portended his fall at hand: The Angell which ſtood on the top of the caſtle S. Angelo, vnder *Alexander* the ſixt, was caſt downe by lightning from heauen. At Rome alſo on the ſame day that *Leo* the tenth created one and thirtie Cardinals, a ſudden tempeſt happened in the verie Temple where they were aſſembled, which ſtruck and carried away the keyes out of the hands of the Image of S. *Peter* there. And this was in the yere 1517, at which verie time *Luther* began to thunder out againſt the Pope.

Index Hiſpan. fol. 129.

An. 1517.

Oppoſition.

The Councell of Piſa was a manifeſt oppoſition againſt the Popes tyrannie, though in a better cauſe, as *Guicciardine* noteth, they of Piſa were no better than the others, but as the Angels of Sathan deſtroyed each other: And yet by occaſion thereof were publiſhed many notable Treatiſes againſt the temporall power of the Pope. *Philip Decius* among others, a moſt famous Lawyer of Milan, in his writings publikely ſet forth, defended the cauſe of them of Piſa; That the Pope being hardened in ſimonie, and infamous in wicked manners, the power of aſſembling a Councell was come to the Cardinals, which in ſo vrgent euils are the fitteſt remedie; eſpecially ſeeing their proceedings therein were approued by the authoritie of the Emperour elect, by the conſent of the Moſt Chriſtian King, and with the concourſe and aſſiſtance of the German and French Clergie, and that according to the Decree of the Councels of Conſtance and Baſil. But Pope *Pius* the fift cauſed all his workes to be gelded by *Thomas Manriques*, as may be ſeen in the libratie of *Poſſewin* the Ieſuite, who gathered thoſe notes. But truely as it was a moſt grieuous & vniuerſall euill, yet in diuers nations there openly ſhewed themſelues both notable men, who acknowledged that tyrannie, and alſo whole corporations, that rightly and formally oppoſed themſelues againſt it.

Guicciard. lo.

In Germanie *Bernard de Lublin*, writing to *Simon* of Cracouia in the yeare 1515, againſt the Popes Primacie, maintained, That it cannot bee, that any one man ſhould commaund the whole world; That it is ſufficient to ſaluation to embrace

embrace the faith of Chriſt alone; That they which neuer heard any thing of the Pope, are not the leſſe for all that ſaued; That we muſt ſtand to the Goſpell, and lay aſide the traditions of men, without which ſaluation may conſiſt: but it is a miſerable condition of Chriſtians, who for the Decrees of men, may not giue their aſſent to the manifeſt truth, the Popes flatterers perſuading them, That it is not to be endured, that any thing ſhould be ſpoken of them, though in a right good and honeſt zeale; whileſt, in the meane time, themſelues take libertie to ſpeake againſt whatſoeuer they liſt. In the Vniuerſitie of Erford, *Sebaſtian Brand*, Doctour of Diuinitie, and Preacher of the Cathedrall Church of Strasbourg, in the yeare 1508, publikely inueighed againſt Roman Indulgences, in theſe words, *Deare friends, we ſhould this Whit-Sunday haue opened vnto you our wares, but here is a Merchant-ſtranger, who boaſteth he hath better; when he ſhall be departed hence, we will vnfold ours*; namely the doctrine of the Goſpell after the ſellers of Indulgences were gone. And the ſame againſt ſatisfactions which are performed by other mens workes; *We haue ſome which goe to church, which pray, which ſing, which mumble ouer their portueis, which celebrat Maſſes for vs; but who will goe into hell in our ſtead?* This in his Sermon, which, of many, remaineth vnto vs; for it is a wonder that they haue left vs any: but he was for this occaſion driuen away, and retired himſelfe to Magdebourg, chiefely becauſe he was woont to ſay to his Auditors, *The time will come when the Goſpell ſhall be read vnto you out of the booke it ſelfe, ſome of you ſhall ſee it, but I ſhall not line till then.* *Iames Alman*, Doctour of Diuinitie, in his booke ſet forth at Colonia 1514, *of the Popes power*, againſt *Thomas de Vio*, after Cardinall *Caietan*, Legat of *Leo* for the collection of Tenths, Of Indulgences by name; *It ſeemeth not to me that the power of binding and looſing ought to be extended to them that be in Purgatorie, ſeeing that whereſoeuer in the Goſpell it is promiſed or giuen, it is ſayd; Whatſoeuer thou ſhalt bind on earth, and whatſoeuer thou ſhalt looſe on earth*, ſuper terram, *mention is neuer made of them that are departed out of this life. And hence it followeth, that the ſoules which are in Purgatorie, cannot be looſſed from payne by beſtowing of Indulgences, but indeed by ſuffrages.* What ſhall then become of all the Iubilies, whereby for ſo many thouſands of yeares true remiſſion by Popes is promiſed for the deceaſed. And *Ludolfe Caſtrik*, Curat of S. *Michaell* at Magdebourg, preaching againſt Indulgences, admoniſhed the people to aske remiſſion of ſinnes at Gods hands, for Chriſts ſake alone, giuing them hope of a reformation, whereby they ſhould ſhortly be taken away. And *Conradus Celtes* at Vienna, a moſt learned man in his time, many of whoſe writings yet remaine, was excommunicated, for that he condemned the Roman Hierarchie and doctrine; but being borne out by the Emperour *Maximilian*, he made little account of it. Wee read likewiſe, that about this time, in Germanie aroſe one that was held for a Prophet, who ran about from Church to Church, preaching repentance to Chriſtians, and that vnleſſe they obeyed and repented, they ſhold vtterly periſh, theſe were his words, *Awake, O yee Chriſtians, out of the heauie ſleepe of wickedneſſe and blacke darkeneſſe of death, and circumciſe your eares and your hearts, for to beare with attention my words; For yee haue caſt the law of the Lord into the takes, and his words into the filthy ſinkes of oblition and contempt, &c. Yee haue waſted the patrimonie of Chriſt on harlots, and haue alſo fulfilled your vnbridled luſts in adulteries and inceſts, and your inſatiable couetouſneſſe with theſis and ſacrileges. Laſtly, the Temple of God by your wickedneſſe and great iniquitie, is made a ſtewes, and the houſe of theeues and robbers, in which ſoundeth forth, not hymmes of prayſes to the king of heauen, but blaſpemies, &c.*

In

Ioh. Alman, de dominio naturali, Ciuili, & Eccleſiaſtico.

Joſeph. Grundperg. in ſpecula Viſionis impreſſo Norimberge. Anno 1508.

In Fraunce, in the beginning of that age, a little after the yeare 1500, flouriſhed *Iames Faber* of Eſtaples, a man of excellent learning and knowledge, but chiefely in Diuinitie. *Auentine* teſtifieth, that he had heard him ſixe hundred times, together with *Ioſſe Clithou*, Doctour of Diuinitie, his Maſter, ſaying, *That Lumbard had confounded and troubled the trueth and the moſt pure fountaine of holie doctrine, with contaminated and muddie queſtions, and ſtreames of opinions.* But his Pſalter, printed in the yeare 1508, and his Commentaries on the Goſpels and Epiſtles of S. *Paule*, doe teſtifie what his judgement was in many principall points of Chriſtian Religion, by occaſion of which, he was ſo vexed by the Sorboniſts & brought to that trouble in his old age (ſuch was their rage) that king *Frauncis*, then priſoner in Spaine, was forced to write from thence for his ſafegard, in fauour of his learning. And there need no further proofe thereof vnto vs, than this, That the Diuines of Spaine, in their Index Expurgatorius, in our time, commaunded many places and whole Pages to be raced out in the later editions; aboue all, that *his Commentarie vpon S. Iohn, ſhould be wholly aboliſhed, becauſe it could not be well amended:* That is to ſay, becauſe all of it wholly repugned againſt their corruptions, traditions, inuentions, preſumptions of men and imaginarie authorities. About the ſame time, grew into reputation *William Budè* of Paris, Maſter of requeſts to king *Frauncis* the firſt, who in many places of that famous booke *de Aſſe*, deſcribeth the ſtate of the Church in his time; The Clergie men in all ſorts of vices, wickednеſſe, and wanton diſſoluteneſſe, worſe than the worſt of the people; the Prelats, ignorant, enemies of learning, hauing no care of the ſaluation of Chriſtians, whom they contrariwiſe caſt headlong into hell, both by their ill teaching them, and by beeing vnto them examples of all wickednеſſe: moreouer, Epicures and Libertines, and worſe if may be. He ſaw in his time, with what violence the Pragmaticall ſanction was ſhaken. Therefore, after hee had diſcourſed that the riches of his time was nothing to that of auntient times, *except onely* (ſaith he) *in one kind of men, who muſt in no wiſe be excepted: Theſe are the Prieſts, whom now almoſt alone next after Kings and Princes, we ſee to be the richeſt and moſt giuen to riches. Here muſt I needs exclaime, O wretched as well as fortunat Fraunce; Iſit poſſible, thou ſhouldeſt ſtriue now to aboliſh by wicked ambition, the inſtitutions of thy Elders, confirmed by ſo many holie Decrees, and approued by the continuance of ſo many yeares? And now by the abuſe of a fauourable law, ſhouldeſt make haſt to looſe a ſingular prerogatiue, not obtayned by flattering the Pope, by wreſtling or by begging it, but required as a recompence of the merit of our Elders, that thou mighteſt vſe in the eſtabliſhment of ſacred things, that auntient and peculiar right, proceeded à majorum gentium Pontificibus, from thoſe Biſhops of the Primitiue Church? And with what face then alledgeſt thou that peculiar Sanction, whereof thou ſo much boaſteſt, as of a certain honor of Religion? Whence haſt thou the libertie or confidence to cal thy ſelfe Moſt-Chriſtian, vnleſſe thou wilt keepe it by the ſame Religion, whereby thou haſt gotten a glorious name and a law, witneſſe of thy pietie? O fault, pleaſing to thoſe thine enemies, who enuie this Palladium of thy felicitie, and perhaps of the Kingdome, as a gift come downe from heauen, which being either taken away or cut off, thou withall canſt bee then no longer fortunat. Take heed I pray thee, thou beleeue not too much thoſe earth-borne men, whom antiquitie therefore called Giants, who heaping vp large Titles vpon Titles, after the example of the Aloidæ, ſeeme to warre againſt God, and thinke to climbe vp into heauen to offer violence to the inhabitants there.* And hee leaueth not for vs to gheſſe whom hee meaneth: *For of theſe things* (ſaith hee) *publique conſent layeth the blame on the Head of Chriſtendome, who if hee be not well conditioned*

Index Expurgat. Hiſpanic. fol. 110. vſq; ad 111. & 120.

ned, the inferiour members draw from him the cauſes of diſeaſes; Wherefore wee ſee A
it to bee the wiſh of godlie men, ſo oft as that indignitie is ſet before their eyes, that God would either faſhion better the Pillar of the Church, or place ſome fitter in his roome. Neither yet (ſayth hee) am I ignorant that the Church is builded vpon a moſt firme Rocke by a cunning hand, ſo that it cannot bee ouerthrowne by any force, neither ayrie, nor earthlie, &c. But now pietie and religion the gardians of this houſe, complaine with a loud crie, that the proportion which the hands of the Architect did modell forth at firſt, is not now kept; which is a notable diſhonour for the head. The cauſe of this vnſeemely diſproportion they lay vpon the Merchant Mercurie, (to wit the Pope) who ſince the time hee gouerned the light of the world and began to bee the chiefe coach-man, hee did not burne the world as Phaeton is ſaid to haue done, but rather ouer-ſhadowed it B
with moſt horrible thicke darkeneſſe; So that from thenceforth it commeth to paſſe, that in the holie Camp (that is, in the Church) is nothing done rightly nor in order. And here hee putteth himſelfe forth to ſpeake of the abuſes of the Church, namely them that proceeded from ſale, whence he ſhewed that the preſent gouernement was nothing like to the inſtitution of Chriſt; that if any man caſt his eyes on the vniuerſall face of the Clergie, on their pompous prouiſion and their deſignes, hee is preſently conſtrained to ſay, that the Spouſe hath renounced her bride-groome, and denounced vnto him, that he is to keepe houſhold by himſelfe. And there againe he maketh a compariſon of Chriſt and the Apoſtles with the Pope and Gourt of Rome: And then hee paſſeth to the diſcipline of the Church, viola- C
ted by them who ought to preſerue it from all impuritie: Who will beleeue (ſayth hee) that theſe men, that doe thus, know what is the good and right faith? And who knoweth not that the choſen ſtones of the Sanctuarie not long agoe, haue beene ſo diſperſed and caſt downe, that the Maieſtie of the Church is decayed, and now the Spouſe of God herſelfe, as forgetfull of her coniugall faith, hath not onely turned aſide from her bride-groome, but euen without any reſpect of modeſtie, licentiouſly wandred about by the high-waies, and by the ſtreets, and proſtituted herſelfe for money in euerie Prouince? Who remembreth not, that the Paſtors as fugitiues, are become not onely forſakers of the flock, but driuers and ſtealers of it away? And haue wee not ſeene the chiefe Heads of Prelates behaue themſelues ſo prepoſterouſly and impurely, as in ſteed of ordering things in D
good ſeemelineſſe, and teaching the daunce called Enmelia, to mollifie mens hearts and make their mindes gentle, they lead them the warredance Pyrrhicha, in armour, altogether abhorring the holineſſe of order (hee meaneth Iulius.) They which ſhould bee the chiefe annointers of the Champions for the holie Combates, and who ought to bee the Authors of waging godlie warre for their altars and bounds againſt prophane peoples and Infidels, are not they themſelues the butchers of Chriſtian forces, ſetting them at warres one againſt the other to the deſtruction of that ſacred name? And there hee declareth the wrath of God fallen both vpon Alexander and him. What hope (ſaith hee) of ſaluation can theſe men haue, who beeing chiefe Prieſts, gouerning the ſterne of the Ship, E
at noone day runne it againſt the rockes of impietie? And when they which ought by their good life to ſhine, and giue light to the Lords familie, ſtrike into our eyes the horrible darkeneſſe of error and blindneſſe of mind? &c. Can I beleeue that they haue the knowledge of good faith, who holding the Altar and ſacred things vnder the Lords mantle, yea and kiſſing the Lord himſelfe (as Iudas did) neuer theleſſe make no account of his Precepts and Inſtitutions, and embrace things directly oppoſite and contrarie? &c. And what man is there (I pray you) who if hee conſider the ſtate, motion, courſe, habitude, inward and outward affections, and the verie Seſſions of the Church, ſuch as wee haue ſeene them of late, can iudge that they make any account at all of the ſacred Oracles and monuments?

to

A to wit, of the holie Scriptures. For we ſee that the Pontificall iuriſdiction hath ſo degenerated from the auncient charitie, that there where was woont to be the boſome of equitie and benignitie, is now found to be a ſhop of contentions, and of impious ſnares to intrap. Thence are thoſe pit-falls of Proceſſes, and cautions of Pontificall rites, of purpoſe ſet forth for to deceiue the Lords familie. There are the profits of amerciaments on Prelats, which plainely augment the pages of receits. Thence againe the ſacrilegious faires of thoſe things which cannot without impietie be in humane commerce. I omit now to ſpeake of teſſeras non modo veniales, ſed etiam vænales, Indulgences ſet to ſale, which giue largely by a ſordid or filthie bountie, impunitie of wickedneſſe, and abſolution for breach of ſacred lawes. Therefore who ſeeth not, that the ſacred Canons,
B made in better times, to direct, as the rules of the Clergie, and to faſhion poſteritie by the preſcriptions of the Fathers, are now become leaden rules, ſuch as in times paſt (as ſayth Ariſtotle) were the Lesbian rules of building? For as leaden rules and ſoft giue not euen direction for the right frame of building, but being flexible are applied according to the commoditie and pleaſure of the builders; ſo we ſee that the Popes Canons, by vſe of the Rulers of the Church, are made flexible as lead or wax: ſo that now of a long time the Inſtitutions of the Fathers, and Decrees of Popes, are not vſed for the gouernement of manners, but applied for the getting in of money. But the Ieſuites thought they had found out a fit remedie, when by their Spaniſh *Index Expurgatorius*, they com- *Index Expurgat. Hiſpan. fol. 97.*
C maunded all theſe places to be raſed out. But wee will adde yet this ouer and aboue, out of another Treatiſe, *The auncientneſſe, or rather worme-eatenneſſe of the Canons, is now of no more vſe, but as a doting old woman is caſt out of the pleading place, and reiected to the deskes of Libraries; for the Canonicall diſcipline of the holie Ghoſt is long agoe caſt downe from the bridge of our aſſemblies* (he alludeth to the Latine prouerbe) *being more than ſixtie, yea than ſix hundred yeares old, &c. Would to God that of this faith, now almoſt buried, we held at leaſt but the reliques and aſhes, in regard of which faith God called the diſpenſers and diſpoſers thereof his faithfull; who inſpired of God, full of godlie zeale, of the ſpirit, and of God himſelfe, in times paſt were the pillars, honour, and ornament of the Church: now, and of a long time, hardly retaineth it* tectorium inane Eccleſie, *a ſlight plaiſtering ouer of the Church, the colour and image of*
D *religion inſtituted and taught by Chriſt; if wee will iudge of the whole by the greateſt part.* And he had told vs a little before the reaſon: *The ſhip of ſociable and ciuile diſcipline hath beene left vnto vs by Chriſt the builder of the Church, which hath been furniſhed by him, or by his authoritie and direction, with all manner of neceſſarie prouiſion: and he hath promiſed vs wind in the poupe, to bring the paſſengers to their wiſhed hauen, if the Church had continued to hold the rudder vpright, and to receiue into her ſayles the blowing of the ſpirit*, namely, conſulted the Scriptures, which proceeded from the holie ſpirit.

Among the Italians was then admirable, *Iohn Picus* Earle of Mirandula, whoſe workes were printed in the yeare 1504: Among the nine hundred Propoſitions *An.* 1504.
E which he publikely diſputed at Rome, are theſe, *The true bodie of Chriſt is locally in heauen, ſacramentally on the Altar: By the power of God one ſame bodie cannot be in diuers places at one time*; to wit, becauſe there would be implication of contradiction; *Ioh. Picus in Concluſ. ſecund. Thom. 14 & 20 Secund. Scotum 15. Picus in Apologia cap 3.*
which he maintained out of *Thomas Aquinas*. Alſo according to *Scotus*, *By theſe words preciſely, This is my bodie, without expreſſing the words going afore, to wit, The day before he ſuffered, conſecration cannot be made*; becauſe conſecration dependeth not of certaine words, but on Chriſts inſtitution. And when the Doctors of Paris had reprehended this his Propoſition, *Neither the Croſſe, nor any Image, is to bee worſhipped with the worſhip of Latria, alſo in that manner that Thomas ſetteth downe*;

In his Apologie he maintaineth, that the ſame is Catholike, and the contrary falſe. When alſo they had condemned his Theſes of the Euchariſt, he vnderttook to defend, That without conuerſion of the bread into the bodie of Chriſt, and the annihilation of the ſame, the bodie of Chriſt is preſent according to the truth of the Sacrament: Yet euer, to keepe himſelfe from being miſtaken, he ſpake of what is poſſible, not of what is done. No doubt if he had beene free, he would haue ſpoken more freely. In a certaine Epiſtle of his to the Emperour *Maximilian*, in the yeare 1500, *Alexander* the ſixt raigning Pope, he ſheweth indeed with what ſeuentneſſe he was carried to a reformation: *I beſeech thee* (ſaith he) *by the faith and pietie I poſſibly can, that thou accompliſh that thy moſt holie purpoſe, of ſetting the Chriſtian Commonwealth into her auntient libertie, ſo ſoone as poſſibly may be: It is ſhaken by outward enemies, rent in peeces by inward, and this ſheepe-fold, encloſed about, and conſecrated by the bloud of Ieſus Chriſt, hath ſuffered, and doth daily ſuffer, much worſe from wolues in ſheepes cloathing, than from the wolues that aſſaile it in their owne skinne. Set therefore your hand vnto it, moſt excellent Emperour, and excite thereunto by all meanes the Chriſtian kings; ſhew thy ſelfe a faithfull miniſter to Chriſt the King of kings, who will preſently deliuer his ſheepe both from enemies, and from perfidious Paſtors.* But the euent anſwered not his prediction. *Iohn Francis* alſo, his brothers ſonne, degenerated not from him. In that conflict betweene the Councell of Piſa, and of Lateran, handling this queſtion, *In matters of Faith, which is to be preferred, the Pope or the Councell*, he anſwereth out of the Decree it ſelfe, *It is written in the Gloſſe of the Decretalls, Diſtinct. 19. The Pope is bound to require a Councell of Biſhops when matters of faith are treated of, and then the Councell is greater than the Pope. Wherupon the Archdeacon of Bononia approuing this Gloſſe, ſaith, It were a dangerous thing to commit our faith to the iudgement of one man. And S. Bernard ſpeaketh in the ſame ſence, ſaying, What greater pride can there be, than that one man ſhould preferre his iudgement before a whole congregation, as if he alone had the holie Spirit?* And after he had ſayd that the greater number ought to carrie it away from the leſſer, *ceteris paribus: But* (ſayth he) *if the greater part would decree any thing againſt the diuine Scriptures, and againſt thoſe things that cannot be violated without grieuous ſinne, the reſt (which are the leſſer part) holding the contrarie, the leſſer number ought to be ſtucke vnto, as it happened in the Councell of Arimini, and in the ſecond Epheſine Councell: Yea, which is more, a plaine ruſticke fellow, children, and ſillie old women, are rather to be beleeued than the Pope and a thouſand Biſhops, if theſe ſpeake againſt the Goſpell, and thoſe for the Goſpell.* Handling alſo this queſtion, *Whether Councels or Popes may erre*, out of him is eaſily decided, ſeeing he preſuppoſeth that they might erre from the holie Scriptures, hee ſheweth, that many Councels haue erred, many Popes fallen into hereſie; and it hath often fallen out, that he which was accounted chiefe Preſident of the Church, either did not preſide or gouerne by right, or elſe could not preſide at all: *For* (ſaith he) *Hiſtorie teacheth vs, that a woman hath beene beleeued, and taken for Pope; and in our age I remember, that a certaine learned man of approued manners, and that had obtained honors in his religion pronounced, though not publikely, that he which was created Pope, was not Pope, becauſe he had exerciſed the office of Pope, before he was choſen by the two parts of the Cardinals; againſt the lawes of the Church, which decree, That ſuch a man is not onely farre from being Pope, but is alſo vnfit and vncapable for the Popedome, as hauing an Anathema or curſe lying vpon him.* And what then became of his ordinations, and miſſions of his Biſhops? which hee ſeemeth to haue ſpoken of *Iulius* the ſecond. *We remember* (ſaith he) *alſo another, beleeued and adored for Pope, whom excellent men thought, that he neither was, nor could be Pope; for he beleeuing not any God,*

Ioh. Franc. ſide ordine credēdi.

Theorem. 4.

God, exceeded all height of Infidelitie; which he teſtified by his moſt wicked workes, in buying the Popedome, and exerciſing therein all kinds of wickednеſſe: Yea confirmed it alſo by his moſt deteſtable ſpeeches, for it was affirmed, that on a time he had confeſſed to certaine his domeſtike friends, euen whileſt he held the Papall ſeat, That he beleeued there was no God. In which words, by all likelihood, he meaneth *Leo* the tenth, for that he ſpeaketh as an eye witneſſe of it. He addeth, *I haue heard of another Pope, who in his life time had declared to a familiar friend of his, That he beleeued not the Immortalitie of ſoules: but his friend being dead, appeared vnto him as he watched, manifeſting that by the iudgement of God his ſoule which he had beleeued to bee mortall, hee ſhould proue to be immortall, to his exceeding torment in eternall fire.* And here hee preuenteth an obiection, What then ſhal become of thoſe words, *Orani pro te Petre, &c. I haue prayed for thee Peter, &c.* And he reſolued with the beſt interpreters, That they are to be referred to the faith which *Peter* had confeſſed, *Thou art Chriſt the ſonne of the liuing God*, not of his ſucceſſors, nor of the Church of Rome it ſelfe; according to the Cardinall *de Alliaco*, the Abbot *Panormitan*, *Nicholas de Lyra*, and others. So much the neerer reformation of the Church, and conſequently to the kingdome of God, by how much the more neerely he had knowne either the infirmitie or errour thereof.

Cardinal. de Alliaco in quæſt. Verſperiarum. Abbas Panormit. extra de ſentent. Excom. Nichol. de Lyra in Matth. c. 16.

In the Oration that he made to *Leo* the tenth, and in the Councell of Lateran, for reformation, he concealed nothing from them; the corrupt manners in all ſorts, the adulterated Lawes and Canons, religion and modeſtie extinguiſhed among the chiefeſt: and to the matter, *Pietas in ſuperſtitionem penè procubuit, &c. Pietie is almoſt turned into ſuperſtition, &c. Theſe are the diſeaſes, theſe the wounds which thou muſt heale and cure, O Soueraigne Biſhop, otherwiſe if thou refuſe to cure them, I feare leaſt he whoſe place thou holdeſt on earth, will not now vſe fomentation, but will drie vp and conſume the diſeaſed members with fire and ſword. I certainely beleeue, that he hath alreadie giuen ſignes of his future medicine, &c. Are not the virgines, dedicated to God in Brixia, raviſhed from out the moſt religious Temples, and become a prey to ſouldiers? Are not the Prieſts in Rauenna ſlaughtered? Are not the Nunnes, famous in times paſt for holineſſe, proſtituted in the diſcomfiture at Prato? what other thing doe we heare, than that the Temples haue heretofore beene committed to bawds and buggerers, Catamitis; That the flockes of Chriſt the good ſhepheard, haue beene deliuered to deteſtable wolues; that the Conents of virgines in moſt cities, haue beene conuerted into obſcene lurking holes and houſes of harlots? &c. Why make I mention of light matters, and paſſe ouer the multitudes of harlots, and troupes of proſtituted boyes, exoleterum gregеs, the Prieſts office bought and ſold one of another, &c.* And after he had thus vehemently inueyed, *Neither is there any maruell* (ſayth he) *for all this euill, as Iohn Chryſoſtome noteth, proceedeth from the Temple; And S. Hierome ſaith, That he found none that ſeduced the people but the Prieſts, &c. Beare in mind, I pray you, that old High Prieſt Heli, puniſhed for not puniſhing the wickednеſſe of his ſonnes; for it is needfull that they which rule ouer others, be not onely innocent themſelues, but reſiſt the wicked; and repreſſe their euill facts and crimes: And then, as the holie hiſtorie of Kings doth witneſſe, with a fleſh-hooke hauing three teeth they tooke away the fleſh out of the pot, which was accounted vnto them for a verie great ſin, becauſe thereby men abhorred the offering of the Lord: And now by their multitudes of euill examples the ignorant people are diſcouraged from diuine worſhip & from all pietie. In thoſe dates they lay with the women at the doore of the Tabernacle, but in ours they breake into the ſacred houſes and cary away from thence the women for the fulfilling of their luſts, & meritorii pueri à parentibus commodantur, the parents for money let out their ſonnes to be abuſed; and they are*

Cardinal. de Alliaco in quæſt. Verſperiarum. Abbas Panormit. extra de ſentent. Excom. Nichol. de Lyra in Matth. c. 16.

Orat. Ioh. Franciſci Pici ad Leonem in Concil. Lateran.

are pardoned, which ought to keepe themſelues vndefiled, euen from all lawfull pleaſure A
of the bodie: And theſe men are promoted to degrees of Prieſthood, after they haue paſſed
away the flower of their youth in being abuſed againſt nature, &c. Moſes the Law-giuer,
though a moſt meeke man, yet was moued to exceeding great anger, when he ſaw the
people turned away from God, and puniſhed them ſeuerely for it. Chriſt Ieſus both God and
man, the paterne of all vertues, moſt patiently ſuffered the iniuries done vnto himſelfe,
but not the diſhonour done to God his Father, when he draue and whipped the ſacrilegious
buyers and ſellers out of the Temple. The one puniſhed the worſhippers of a golden Calfe
with a great ſlaughter; the other caſt out the Doues and Turtles out of the Temple that
were there to be ſold. And wilt not thou repreſſe, and baniſh from all honours the wor-
ſhippers of young Heyfers, which in verie great numbers are not onely ſtabled vp in the B
Citie, but likewiſe beare rule, and goe apparelled with gold, ſcarlet, and pretious ſtones, in
Royall manner, that with their goodlie aſpect, they make verie many men bruti ſh, and de-
ſtroy them? Wilt thou permit the ſacred houſes to be prophaned with all ſorts of wicked-
neſſe, and ſo many Circean monſters to grunt in them? Wilt thou ſuffer ſo many thou-
ſand Mere-maids to procure, as much as in them lyeth, ſhipwracke to the ſhip, by God
committed vnto thee? Canſt thou endure that the bloud of Chriſt ſhould be made Mer-
chandiſe of? And yet we haue ſeene what little care this good Pope had of it, whe-
ther we conſider his Decrees, or his example. But becauſe this excellent man
knew, that not onely the manners, but the doctrine alſo wanted reformation:
The holie Sriptures (ſaith he) *of the old and new Teſtament, are to be reuiewed and con-* C
ferred with the auntient and correct Coppies of the firſt originall (to wit, Hebrew and
Greek) *that they may be altogether purged from the errours, which by the iniurie of time,*
and careleſneſſe of the Booke-writers, haue crept into them: The ſolemne ceremonies, of
which haue beene a long time ſome difficulties, repreſented to the former Synods, are to
be determined of and confirmed; the dailie prayers to be reduced to a ſetled and approued
order; and the true Hiſtories ſeuered from Apocryphall fables; to principall men are to
be preſcribed their dueties, to the end that this wicked opinion, the ruine of our Com-
mon-wealth, That whatſoeuer pleaſeth is lawfull, may be wholly removed and vtterly ba-
niſhed from the minds of men. How farre is he from them, that will haue the vul-
gar tranſlation of the Bible onely to be authenticall; and prepoſterouſly require D
that the Originall be altered according to it: How farre alſo from them, which
confound not onely the Canonicall Bookes with the Apocrypha, but alſo daily
forge vnto the poore people new reuelations, new Legends: which matter he
ſo largely handleth in his fift booke, that the Reader may ſooner ſee it there,
than I can write it forth. But in this was that great man deceiued, that would hope
for better things from *Leo* the tenth, than from others; who onely differed from
others in this, that his poyſon being ſweeter, ſo much the more daungerouſly inſi-
nuated into the bowels of the Church.

We haue aboue ſpoken of *Baptiſta Mantuan* Carmelite, & we bring him againe
here, becauſe he liued till the yeare 1516 in ſuch reputation, that many made him E
equall to the beſt auntient Poets that liued vnder *Auguſtus*: He diſſembled not,
that many things diſpleaſed him in the Church of Rome, their cold ſacrifices and
ſeruices, ſluttiſh altars, and many vaine toyes and curious, of which he ſaith,

Baptiſta Mantuan. Paſtor. 12.

Et licet his olim nugis iuveniliter aures
Prebuerim; tamen vt melius cum tempore factum
Iudicium, lis hac mihi pernicioſa videri
Cæpit, & ex grauium cuneis abigenda virorum.

Though

A

Though once I youthfully did lend mine eares
To theſe vaine toyes, yet better as by yeares
My judgement grew, this queſtion gan to ſeeme
Pernitious to be doom'd, as graue men deeme.

Deteſting being old, that which he embraced being young. But in his ninth Eclogue he ingeniouſly ſaith, That there is no beaſt ſo wild and fierce, that hath not his denne; no man ſo vicious which hath not honor giuen vnto him in the Court of Rome, where the ayre is peſtilent, and withall wonderfull, ſo that it ſuddenly
B transformeth men into Wolues and Foxes: the earth is ſo ſubiect to malignant influences, that thereby are daily engendred new monſters: Which is more elegantly and ſignificantly expreſſed by him in his verſes:

Mille lupi, totidem vulpes in vallibus iſtis Eclog. 9.
Luſtra tenent: Et quod dirum ac mirabile dictu,
Ipſe homines (huius tanta eſt violentia cœli)
Sæpe lupi effigiem, moreſque aſſumere vidi,
Inque ſuum ſæuire gregem, multaque madere
Cæde ſui pecoris: factum vicinia ridet;
C *Nec ſcelus exhorret, nec talibus obuia auſis:*
Sepe etiam miris apparent monſtra figuris,
Quæ tellus affecta malis influxibus edit:
Sæpe Canes tantum in rabiem vertantur, vt ipſos
Vincant cæde lupos, & qui tutela fuerunt,
Hoſtiles ineunt animos, & ouilia mactant.

A thouſand Wolues, as many Foxes hold
Their holes in thoſe dales (grieuous to be told,
And wondrous.) I haue ſeene (ſo ſtrong's that aire)
D Men take the ſhape and guiſe of Wolues, to ſhare
And forrage their owne flockes, enoy'd with fat
Of their ſlaine ſheepe. The neighbours laugh thereat,
Yet not deteſt, nor ſuch attempts withſtand.
Oft of ſtrange formes come monſters, which that land,
With grieuous influences plagu'd, doth breed.
The dogs are oft ſo mad, as they exceed
The Wolues in ſlaughter: and who Warders were
Are werriers, and fierce foes, their flockes to teare.

E For couetouſneſſe and deceit.

Si quid Roma dabit, mages dabis, accipit aurum, Eclog. 5.
Verba dat, heu Romæ nunc fola pecunia regnat:
Exilium virtus patitur, &c.

If Rome giue aught, tis toyes, it takes your gold,
Giues vaine falſe words: now onely coyne doth hold
The ſway at Rome alas: vertue doth exil'd paſſe.

For

primo libro Iuuenum.

For crueltie and tyrannie.

Roma quid insanis toties? quid sanguine gaudes?
Quid geris imbelli spicula tanta manu? &c.
Tu similis colubro, quoties grauis ira venenum
Suscitat, & mota lumina bile rubent.
Sic fremis vt frendens cum ferrea vincula mandit
Cerberus, & stygias murmure turbat aquas.
Tu fratres in bella vocas, in pignora fratres,
Nec Iouis imperium, nec Phlegetonta times, &c.

Rome why so raueſt thou, in bloud delighting?
Why beareſt thou armes in hands not fit for fighting?
Thou like a ſerpent art, when rage doth riſe,
And raiſe thy venome in thy bloud-ſhot eyes;
So fretſt thou, as when Cerberus doth bite
His yron chaines, and Stix with noyſe affright.
Thou brothers ſetſt at warre, againſt ſonnes their ſires:
Thou feareſt not heauens commaundement, nor hell fires.

Againe,

Viuere qui sanctè cupitis, discedit Româ:
Omnia cum liceant, non licet esse bonum.

Who would liue holily, from Rome away,
You may not there be good, all elſe you may.

And in another place,

Pudor in villas, si non patiuntur eosdem
Et villa vomicas; Vrbs est iam tota lupanar.

Packe modeſtie to townes, vnleſſe (no newes)
Townes haue ſome ſores, the cities now all ſtewes.

In ſo much that he ſeemeth, deſcribing that monſter, which would haue deuoured the womans infant in the Apocalyps, conſtrained to ſaue her ſelfe in the deſart, to ſhew that it ſignified the Papall Seat:

Monstrum immane, potens, hominum tot milia, apertâ
Absorbere gulâ, quot sanguinolenta volabat
Sæuities. Monstrum illud erat sen bellua partum
Virginis extento cupiens extinguere collo,
Cuius ab aspectu, sumptis diminitus alis,
(Vt sacer Ægea vates canit incola Patmi)
Fugit ad extrema loca virgo incognita terra:
Virgo fuit primo frutices Ecclesia sæclo,
Christigena soboles eius, quos bellua adegit
Quærere desertis aliena penatibus arua.

A mightie mankind monſter to englut
So many thouſand men with greedie gut,

As bloudie rage could wiſh: That monſtrous beaſt
The bleſſed Virgines child to kill addreſt;
From whoſe foule ſight ſhe taking heauenlie wings
(As th'holie Prophet Pathmos inmate ſings)
Of the vtmoſt earth to vnknowne places fled:
The Church at firſt a virgine was, and bred,
The Chriſtians were her offspring, whom the Beaſt
To ſeeke ſtrange lands, leauing their home-gods, preſt.

That Rome is that horrible beaſt which by deuouring innumerable Chriſtians endeuoureth to ſwallow vp the purer Church, who hauing left their dwellings are conſtrained to flie into the deſarts. And moreouer, with bitter & deep-fetcht ſighes he exhorted *Leo* to prouide eſpecially for three things, The peace of Italie, The diſcipline of the Court of Rome, and the reformation of Faith, ſicke euen to death: which he better expreſſeth in theſe verſes;

Led tria præsertim restant cura atque labore
Digna tuo; bellum est primum, quo fessa laborat
Italia, & pleni humano iam sanguine campi:
Est aliud, Romana grauis maculata veneno
Curia, quæ spargit terras contagia in omnes:
Postremum est oppressa fides, exposta rapinis
Vndique, & in prædam populis proiecta cruentis.
At tu hæc subsidium magnis clamoribus orant,
Sancte Pater, succurre Leo, Respublica Christi
Labitur, ægrotatque fides iam proxima morti.

Three chiefe things reſt worthie thy paine and care,
The Warre is firſt, wherewith Italians are
All tir'd, and fields with humane bloud are fild:
Another is the Court of Rome, defil'd
With venome, which to all lands is conuaid:
Laſt is the Faith, oppreſt, and open layd
To rapine, made to blond-ſuccours a prey.
Theſe of thee with lowd cries for helpe doe pray,
Helpe holie Father *Leo*, Chriſts eſtate
Doth fall, and Faith lyes ſicke now at deaths gate.

And in all theſe things we haue ſeene that *Leo* followed a quite contrarie courſe, as appeareth by the judgement of many great men that liued vnder the Popedom at that time.

Grauamina nationis Germanicæ.

But now we come to that which was done by whole corporations. There was not any nation vnder *Leo*, which preſented not vp their grieuances againſt the vnlawfull proceedings of the Court of Rome, which violated all *Concordats*, refuſed elections, reſerued the principall dignities for the Cardinals, vnmeaſurable in diſtributing expectatiue graces, vnmercifull in exacting annuities, which meaſured Indulgences according to the quantitie of money, redoubled the tenthes vnder pretence of making warre againſt the Turkes, beſtowed benefices and Eccleſiaſticall offices to the vnworthie, yea to Muſe-keepers, and drew all cauſes, without diffe-

remedium contra grauamina nationis Germanicæ. Iacob. Maioris diſt. 24. q. 3.

difference to Rome. Of which things are extant whole bookes preſented to Emperours and Kings, together with their neceſſarie remedies; eſpecially in the yeres 1516 and 1517, which are our bounds. At which verie time alſo flouriſhed at Paris *Iohn Maioris*, an excellent profeſſor of Diuinitie; whoſe Theſes we haue, of the power Royall and Papall, handled at large *Diſt. 24. q. 3.* Firſt, *The Pope hath not any temporal domination ouer Kings, &c. 2. For if thou ſay he ſucceedeth Chriſt, & Chriſt is Lord of all: On the contrarie, thou canſt not proue that Chriſt, according to his humanitie, is Lord of all, ſeeing he ſaid to Pylat, My kingdome is not of this world. And that being graunted, yet the conſequence is of no force, & impoſſible to be proued; for oftentimes the Lieutenant hath not ſo great authoritie as his ſuperiour, whoſe Lieutenant he is: For Chriſt inſtituted the Sacraments, gaue the law of grace, and may reuoke all diuine poſitiue law, yet this cannot the Pope do. 3. If the contrarie ſhould be granted, then would follow this concluſion; Conſtantine gaue nothing to Sylueſter, but onely reſtored vnto him his due; the contrarie whereof is ſaid 96. D. C. Conſtantinus, & 12. Q. 1. C. Futurum. 4. The Popes themſelues confeſſe that temporall iuriſdiction pertaineth not vnto them, & that they will take nothing from the right of Kings.* Innoc. 3. in C. Nouit de iudicijs, & Alexand. in C. Cauſam. Qui filij ſint legitimi. *And in that famous chapter,* Per venerabilem, *in the ſame title, where Innocent the third ſaith, That the king of France acknowledgeth not any ſuperiour in temporall things, and therefore may diſpence with his ſonne, as with his inferiour. But if thou ſay with the Gloſſe, he acknowledgeth not any de facto, in deed, but yet he ought de iure, by right; I hold this to be a Gloſſe of Orleans, which corrupteth the text, becauſe if it were ſo the Pope had not ſufficiently anſwered to that gentleman of Mont-pellier, requiring a diſpenſation for his baſtard, that thereby the king might diſpenſe with him: For the Pope ſayd, The king of France is a ſupreame Soueraigne in his kingdome in temporall things: If he had ſpoken* de facto, *his anſwer had beene none; for the gentleman might haue anſwered him, I acknowledge not, or will not acknowledge a ſuperiour* de facto. *5. Many deuout kings haue beene canonized by Popes, that neuer acknowledged the Biſhops of Rome to be aboue them in temporall things, and in this haue died. Therfore it is a ſigne that the Biſhops of Rome haue not domination ouer all in temporal things. Item, Kings haue not their powers immediatly from the Biſhop of Rome, neither doe they take any influence from him in temporall things, but haue their kingdomes by the conſent of the people, by ſucceſſion, by purchaſe, by donation, or by ſome other title: For earthlie power dependeth not of the ſpirituall power of the Pope, as the Captaine dependeth of his Generall, but as two powers not ſubordinat, of which neither dependeth of the other: For he that poſſeſſeth a kingdome is not vaſſall of the Biſhop of Rome, neither is the Emperor his ſubiect in any manner.* And theſe were the Maximes of the French Church at that time.

But of the ſame time we haue two notable inſtruments, one of Germanie, the other of Fraunce: as for the firſt, *Leo* had ſent his Legats into Germanie to exact tenthes, vnder colour of making warre againſt the Turkes; and they had prepared an eloquent Oration, to induce the Princes thereto. But they conſulting about that matter with a notable perſonage, he declared vnto them, That Germanie had alreadie been ynough, and more than ynough taxed: That after peace was made among Chriſtian Princes, and that they were well diſpoſed to that holie warre, it would then be time ynough to thinke on tenthes: That ſince the time that Popes haue mixed ſacred things with prophane, or rather forſaken the ſacred to buſie themſelues onely in ciuile matters, there hath beene no meane nor end of miſeries and calamities, there hath beene no care had of the flocke of Chriſt, and contempt of diuine things hath aboundantly growne, Chriſt ſold, and the whole world

world polluted vnder pretence of religion, and brought to extreame ruine with this filthineſſe and contagion: *Will you* (ſaith he) *deſtroy the Turke? I praiſe your purpoſe: but I greatly feare, leaſt yee erre in the name; ſeeke him in Italie, not in Aſia: Againſt him of Aſia, euerie of our kings is ſtrong enough of himſelfe to defend his owne limits; But for to tame the other, all Chriſtendome is not ſufficient. That other, who hath elſewhere enough to do with his bordering neighbours, hath yet done vs no harme; but this man rageth euerie where, and thirſteth after the bloud of the miſerable. Yee can by no meanes appeaſe this Cerberus, but with a golden riuer; there is no need of armes, nor armies; the Tenths will be of more force, than troopes of horſemen, and regiments of footmen. It ſeemeth vnto me, when I diligently conſider the matter, that a two fold way is propoſed; on the one ſide, gold is demanded, which ſuperſtition commandeth; on the other ſide, if we refuſe it, the Popes excommunication is threatned. Take which way of them yee pleaſe: But O fooliſh and ſuperſtitious opinion of them that beleeue, That the God of heauen, beholding all things with the eyes of iuſtice, will be led and turned at the becke and pleaſure of the Florentines, will be angrie with him that grieth not, and againe pacified with him that grieth! The excommunication of the Vicar of Chriſt is not to be contemned, but yet not alwayes to be feared; eſpecially when it is done for humane affections. I feare the indignation of Chriſt, but of the Florentines I feare not: And now indeed is in hand the affaires of Florence, not of Chriſt. The laſt Summer, with great expence and charges, was warre made againſt Fraunces Duke of Vrbin, who being caſt out of his Dukedome, but firſt appeaſed with money, Laurence de Medicis ſucceeded in his place. Iulius the ſecond being not prouident ynough, that he left no more gold; there was inuented a certaine new fraud; againſt all the Cardinals that were the richeſt, that they had conſpired the Popes death, and thereupon were their goods confiſcat. I ſpeake not of the Croſſes erected in euerie towne, propitious according to the meaſure of the giuers. I omit the comedie of S. Peters Church, full both of laughter and of indignation: The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, crieth the Prophet: but it is not the Temple of the Lord; It is Laurence buildeth, and not Peter; the ſtones in the night wander away. I faine nothing here, moſt excellent Princes of the Roman Empire; Why is the world ſolicited for the Church of S. Peter, whereon there is but two Maſons onely in that worke, and one of them lame; ſauing that of late in the great concourſe of ſtraungers, is ſtirred vp a tumult of artificers, there running and ſhouting; there were ſeene fooliſh painted Angels, receiuing gifts from the giuer, and carrying them vp on high, &c. Conſider now what is to be done; euerie day will now bring forth new care: The Duke of Vrbin being hunted away, the like fortune is threatned to the Duke of Ferrara, and then ſhall wee ſalute Laurence de Medicis, or the Florentine, Duke of Tuſcanie. Thus haue yee now briefely the ſumme of the Tenths, and the Ambuſcadoes of the Turke* (to wit, of the Pope) *by meanes of ſuperſtition, robbing your verie bowels.* And this was then the iudgement of Germanie.

Exhortatio viri cuiuſd. doctiſſimi ad Principes ne in Decimæ præſtationem conſentiant.

The other followeth, A ſolemne Appeale of the Vniuerſitie of Paris, aſſembled the ſeuen and twentieth of March 1517, in which, after they had proteſted, that they intend not to ſpeake or doe any thing againſt the Catholike Church, or againſt the Popes power, *bene conſulte, well counſelled,* they declared, *That by this power he* (the Pope) *is not made* impeccabilis, *exempt from ſinne: So that, if he commaund any thing to be done that is vniuſt, which hath bin ſuggeſted vnto him by naughtie inſinuation, he ought to beare it patiently if it be not done; and if he decree any thing againſt the commaundements of God, he muſt not be obeyed; yea he may be by right reſiſted. But if he be ſo ayded by the power of the Prince, vpon the falſe ſuggeſtion or euill counſell of flatterers or deceiuers, that he cannot be reſiſted, and the remedies of reſiſting* be

be taken away, yet by naturall right there remaineth one thing, which no Prince can take away; namely, the remedie of Appeale, seeing it is a certaine defence competent to euerie one by diuine, natural and human right which cannot be taken away by the Prince. And there they approue the Councels of Constance and Basil, and vrge the reformations there ordayned, which they specifie in particular; as the remedies against Simony, a prohibition not to raise or pay Annuities, and other statutes, confirmed by the nationall Councell of Fraunce, held at Bourges; and consequently strengthened by the perpetual Edict of *Charles* the seuenth. In preiudice of which things notwithstanding, say they, *Leo* the tenth, *in a certaine assemblie held at Rome, which is against vs, conuocated we know not how, but not in the spirit of the Lord, with which nothing can be decreed or ordayned against the law of God and sacred Councells: which assemblie, gaping after their lusts and commodities, and expecting by these meanes, gold and siluer to be brought vnto them at their wish out of the kingdome, and out of the territories of Dauphinie, enuying these Statutes that hindred it, they haue laboured to abrogate them.* And for proofe, that this Councell (to wit, of Lateran) is vnlawfull, they alledge, That against the Catholike Faith, it condemned the Councell of Basill, and particularly the pragmaticall Sanction; and in this deed, king *Francis* by cunning meanes was deceiued, who then was in Italie, amidst the noise of armes, and that vnder pretence of certaine Concordats, which he commaunded to be published; not sufficiently considering, how great dammage it would bring to his realme: *Out of which,* they conclude, *Wee the Rector and Vniuersitie of Paris, feeling our selues grieued, endammaged, and oppressed, doe appeale from our Lord the Pope not well counselled, and from the abrogation of the sayd sacred Councell of Basill, and of the Statutes of the pragmaticall Sanction depending vpon it, and from the edition of the new Statutes, and yeelding consent thereto, Vnto a future Councell lawfully assembled, &c. Protesting* instanter, instantius, instantissimè, *most instantly, to prosecute this Appeale by way of nullitie, of abuse, of iniquitie or vniustice, and otherwise the best we may to reserue the election and choise vnto our selues, &c.* And moreouer, all the principalls there present, vnder-signed the same in solemne maner, with all the formalities requisit thereunto.

Professio fidei fratrum Waldensium Regi Vladislao in Hungariam missa. An. 1508.

Responso excusatoria Fratrum Waldensium contra binas literas R. P. Augustiani sacre Theologie doctoris ad eundem, data Anno 1508.

But besides these oppositions among themselues, in the kingdome of Bohemia and Prouinces of Morauia and Silesia, the Churches in great number continued, and openly opposed themselues against the Papacie, and by publique preachings impugned the abuses of the Romish Church. These same, in the yeare 1508, presented againe a confession of their faith to *Vladislaus* king of Hungarie, together with an Apologie, wherein they vehemently confuted the Calumnies vsually laid against their doctrine, and plainely laid open the reasons, for which they had justly and lawfully departed from the Church of Rome, which are longer than can be here inserted; such notwithstanding, as that the Reader may judge worthie the reading, wherein he shall find the same doctrine which wee hold, and defended by the same arguments wherewith we maintaine ours: There is onely this one difference, that by the grace of God both they and we haue profited in his knowledge in tract of time, hauing learned by vexations and conflicts to expresse the same more clearely. Also, in the mountaines of Languedoc, Prouence, Dauphinie, valleys of Piedmont and other places, continued in the same faith, puritie and simplicitie the Churches of the antient Waldenses, whose footsteps we haue followed & clearely traced out for the space now of more than 300 yeares. These were accused to our good king *Lewis* the twelf by some Cardinals & Prelats, of most enormous vices, and of most wicked opinions, and thereupon

they incited the king, their cause vnheard, without any forme of law, to exterminat them as forcerers, incestuous and heretikes. But they being aduertised of this, sent from amongst them their deputies in all humilitie to his Maiestie, to declare vnto him their innocencie. And the Prelats conuicted in their consciences of the calumnie, were instant vpon the king not to heare them; but the king made them answer, *That if he were to make warre against the Turke, he would first of all heare him.* Vpon the declarations therefore of the said deputies, hee sent into the places, namely of Merindol and Cabrieres, M. *Adam Fumee*, his Master of Requests, and one Doctor *Parui*, a Iacobine Frier, his Confessor, to search and enquire both into their life and religion; who related in that whole discourse, which they made plaine out of their acts, That infants were baptized, the articles of faith were taught, the Lords prayer, the ten commaundements, the Saboth day obserued, the word of God preached, no shew of wickednesse or fornication to bee perceiued; onely they would admit no Images into their Churches, nor ornaments belonging to the Masse: which being vnderstood, the king did sweare, *That they were better than himselfe and the rest of his subiects.* And the same testimonie of their innocencie, euen at the same time, *Claudius Seisselius*, Archbishop of Turin, yeeldeth of them, albeit he writ against their doctrine. To conclude, there were not wanting in all places, such as for this profession constantly offered themselues to the fire, as in England *Thomas* of Bongay, *N.* of Eccles, *Iohn Frith, William Tindall,* men greatly commended both for their doctrine and sanctitie of life, and others of whom mention is made in books which expresly handle the same subiect. And these things bring vs euen to the preaching of *Martin Luther*, who, as yee shall hereafter heare, being stirred by the spirit of God, caused at this verie time the sound of the Gospell to ring through all Europe.

Caroli Molinaeus de Monarch. Francorum.

Conclvsion.

THese are the Progressions of that *Mysterie of Iniquitie* whereof the Apostle Saint *Paule* foretold, That it began to worke euen in his time, that it did insensibly creepe into the Church by secret and indirect passages, by fraud and wicked meanes, till at length it should bee as a frontlet vnto her, couering her countenance, and taking from her all shame, vntill her pride ascend to that height wherein the Apostle Saint *Iohn* in his Reuelation describeth the Roman Church; in whose forehead is written, *A Mysterie, Great Babylon, the mother of whoredomes and abhominations of the earth*: and all this (saith S. *Paul*) κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Σατανᾶ, *according to the operation or efficacie of Satan*, working and exercising his power in his ministers with signes and lying wonders. Adde also, that God did send τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς πλάνης, *strong delusions to those who receiued not the loue of the truth*, and pleased themselues in iniquitie, not obeying those Admonitions and Oppositions which from time to time were iterated vnto them by his seruants, that they should beleeue lyes; because

2. Thess. 2. Apoc. 17. 5.

2. Thess. 2.

because it was foretold that an Antichrist should come, that there should bee a great Apostacy or reuolt, that the kings of the earth should with one accord agree thereto, μιαν γνώμην, *to giue their power to the Beast*; for so doth the Apostle call her: yea rather, saith he, because *the counsell of God* (which worketh all things to his glorie) would haue it so: That they should conspire together, *and giue their kingdomes to the Beast, vntill the word of God should be fulfilled*: That the whole world may the rather know, that the endeuours and counsels of the world, or the Princes thereof, are able to doe nothing against God; and how farre soeuer they seeme to wander from his prouidence, yet, will they nill they, must they submit themselues to his iurisdiction, and all their endeuours tend to his glorie; when he shall see the conspiracie of the sonne of perdition with his kings, as that of *Iudas* the sonne of perdition with the Pharisies, to redownd to the victorie of the Lambe, and the saluation of all his, and as it were to be recapitulated, by the vertue and conduct of the supreme and soueraigne counsell, whereof S. *Peter* saith to the Iewes, *Him haue you taken* (that is Christ) *by the hands of the wicked, and haue crucified and slaine him*; But *being deliuered by the determinat counsell and foreknowledge of God*, τῇ ὡρισμένῃ βουλῇ καὶ προγνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ: No otherwise than as S. *Iohn* speaketh here of Antichrist, or the man of sinne, *God hath put into their hearts to doe his will and pleasure*, γνώμην αὐτου: But what is that? *that they should giue their kingdome to the Beast*, to consent to his exaltation against the Lambe: To the end it may not seeme wonderfull or strange to any, that hauing ouercome and troden vnder foot all obstacles, which from time to time be opposed against him, he make his owne way, as S. *Paul* saith; because it was necessarie he should ascend to that height, it was as necessarie, as S. *Iohn* saith, *That the word of God might be fulfilled*. And God by that selfesame power which remoueth all impediments, shall with the like facilitie end the remainder of his worke in his time.

Apoc. 17.

Act. 2. v. 23.

2. Thess. 2. v. 8.

Now then we haue declared the Progressions, or proceedings, and that by the degrees obserued in history, or out of the bookes and instruments common to vs both, or from their owne Authors, and especially the writings of Monkes, of them for the most part which applied their ministerie to this Mysterie: for there were none other that wrot for many ages together but onely they. The Oppositions also we haue poynted at from time to time, according as it pleased God to stirre them vp either from among themselues, or from elsewhere, who set themselues either against the oppressors or corrupters of the Church; being themselues in the meane time forced and carried away for the most part, either by the violence of the streame, or by the forcible endeuors of the aduersaries: Because it was so foretold, and that this victorie was reserued alone to the Lambe, *to the spirit of his mouth, to the brightnesse of his comming*. Which things are of so much the more greater weight, in as much as our aduersaries, the ministers of Antichrist, hauing gotten the vpper hand of all, haue with all diligence and industrie left nothing vndone whereby they might with continuall care and craft extinguish and deface our proofes, by abolishing, withholding, or corrupting the instruments and writings of good men, from time to time in all ages. By which meanes we are forced to seeke right out of the instrument of their owne pleading, out of their owne writings, for to decide and defend our cause; to produce witnesses out of their bosom, and testimonies from their owne mouth; to make (seeing Gods will is so) euen *Balaams* Asse to speake, the verie beast that carrieth them; to vtter their Histories, Councels, and Decrees, to the rebuke and reproofe of themselues and their doings

ings. But it remaineth for recapitulation, to set before our eyes in what state wee found both the See of Rome and Roman Bishop at first; and vnto what state from that by degrees at length we haue brought him, and now see him brought.

As touching therefore their spirituall function, the Bishops of Rome in those first ages, as we haue seene, were indifferently called *Bishops and Priests*; behauing themselues as brethren towards others, yea by their neerest neighbours were named *Brethren and Collegues*; they were consulted withall, and did themselues also consult with others about the affaires of the Church, controuersies, schismes, and heresies, liuing simply in their profession, and dying vertuously in the confession of the name of Christ: they glittered not in any other purple or scarlet than with their owne bloud, the Crosse was their onely glorie. But not long after we might perceiue in some, that spirit which from Saint *Paules* time wrought, which vnder pretence of the dignitie of the citie, drew vnto it selfe the cause of the neighbors, would haue their counsels accounted for Decrees, and turned the honour voluntarily offered them into right of homage, seemelinesse into seruitude. That thing notwithstanding of ambition was oftentimes beaten backe by the persecutions, and many times also blunted by the vertuous Oppositions of the ancient Fathers. But when, after that by *Constantine* peace was restored to the Churches, through the fauour of Princes, they encreased in honors and riches, behold this spirit continually watching ouer the worke, and not loosing any moment of time, gathereth heart and strength to it selfe by degrees. And because that by reason of the dignitie of the citie the first Seat was willingly granted vnto it, they contend, That their Church ought to haue dominion ouer other Churches; That like as Rome (I meane the Commonwealth thereof) ruled ouer other cities and Prouinces, so the Bishop of Rome, like as a Monarch, ouer other Bishops; That therefore from all parts of the world they should appeale vnto him; from him expect commaundements, which all men were held absolutely to obey: Whereas he on the contrarie ought to depend of none; might be judged of none, neither yet of all together. And hereof came those falsifications that wee haue seene of Councels and Decrees, those suppositions of Acts and Histories, those prophanations of the holie Scriptures, and shamelesse wresting of them to a contrarie sence: Hence are also those contestations and protestations of some of the greatest men in all ages, against that domination which they arrogat to themselues ouer other Churches and Bishops, which they on the other side, besides and against all right diuine and humane, either by none, or by a false title, complained to be vsurped, not sticking to pronounce, That it proceeded from none other, and pertained to none other than the forerunner of Antichrist, or Antichrist himselfe. Yet thinke not for all this that they any thing slacked in their purpose. By *Phocas*, the murderer of the Emperour *Mauritius*, his Lord, was the Bishop of Rome declared Vniuersall Bishop: he laboured to be so declared, so farre was he off from blushing at it. Now from thenceforth, carried with full sayles, hee maketh no difficultie of any thing: As Emperours and Kings in a confused troubled world had need of his helpe or endeuour, he got authoritie in their dominions: Hee winneth the Archbishops to his side, by alluring the most ambitious with commissions and offices, and hauing woon them, hee bindeth them vnto him by a Pall; and that at first was sent them freely, and onely as a token of good-will towards them, afterward by ordinance made necessarie, and a badge of subiection, at length by degrees it grew to be sold, taxed, exacted, the price thereof euerie day

day encreasing, of which the Archbishops from time to time complayned. After that hee obtained of the Princes, That the Clergie, *the Lords lot* (sayth hee) *and inheritance*, should bee exempt and free from all temporall jurisdiction; whereupon followed licence of all vices, impunitie of all crimes, and so by little and little withdrew from their lawfull and naturall Lords, them whom hee had marked with his character, by voluntarie seruitude, yea and liege homage bound them vnto himselfe. By their ministerie and meanes (and not without mysterie) hee sitteth and presideth in the Councels of Kings, exerciseth his kingdome in their realmes, and his tyrannie in the consciences of kings and their people, whilest he bindeth them to his pleasures by his censures and excommunications, and as he will loseth them from all duetie and obedience. He setteth Princes one against the other, or else bandeth their nobles and people against them, and maketh many to sheath their swords in their owne bowels. By which and by such like meanes hee obtained at length a Soueraigne Empire in spirituall things throughout the West. And because the East yeelded not vnto him, hee excommunicated those Churches, and chuseth to himselfe from among his owne, Patriarches of the Easterne Churches; imaginarie indeed, but yet future Images of his vniuersall Monarchie which hee arrogateth to himselfe: who were resident with him, representing the person, or vizor rather, of the Orientall Church. Yea when hee celebrated the Masse, hee commaunded the Epistle and Gospell to bee read in Latine and in Greeke, signifying both Churches; but in Latine first, and with seuen candles lighted, in Greeke afterward with two onely lighted, for to shew the supereminencie of the Latine Church: Yet who knoweth not that the Greeke Testament is the originall, and the Latine but a translation taken out of the Greeke? At last hee pardoneth all sinnes out of his fulnesse of power: thereby affecting the Maiestie of God, who alone pardoneth, and of Christ the Lambe of God, who alone taketh away sinnes. Yet truely hee giueth not those pardons, but selleth and maketh merchandise of them, and vnder that pretext wasteth and despoyleth the whole world. Then hee instituted Iubilies at certaine set times, which by degrees hee shortened, being truely his generall Marts and Faires, in which he prostituteth, setteth to sale, and vttereth his Indulgences. At his will and pleasure moreouer, hee openeth heauen, curseth the earth, quencheth Purgatorie, shutteth hell: as if he were God he maketh Saints, bindeth diuels, commaundeth Angels, maketh himselfe President in generall Councells, Head of the Catholike Church, yea Spouse thereof; which Titles are due vnto none but to Iesus Christ alone, incommunicable to any creature: God on earth, made out of earth, commaunding in heauen; he ordaineth a god to be worshipped on earth, which he will haue to be beleeued, and doth beleeue to be God, whom he causeth to be carried about on horsebacke before him, for to get to himselfe the greater reuerence, euen for the most part among his vilest carriage, among scullions and lackeys. And all these things vnder the name of Christ, and vnder pretence of his Vicarship, Because (sayth he) after Christs glorious resurrection, *all power was giuen him from the Father in heauen and in earth*: In so much that in the Masse, which, the Seat being vacant, is celebrated for obtaining a new Pope, this Tractus of the Prophet is sung, *The Head thereof shall proceed out of it* (to wit, of Israel) *and a Prince shall come from the middest of it*: which was spoken of our Lord Iesus Christ. There is also that of Saint *Iohn* in the Gospell, applied to the future election, *I will not leaue you orphans, I will aske the Father*

Cerem. Roman. l.1. Sect.13. de officio Missæ. A-bsol. sede vacãte.

Cerem. Roman. l.3. Charta 5. & 7.

A *Father and he shal giue you another Comforter*: which was spoken of the holie Ghost; so that now there is nothing so blasphemous that they are ashamed or dare not vse. Further, so soone as hee is elected, and hath put on red hose and shooes, he is carried and set vpon an Altar, the seat of their God, and there worshipped; consequently with religious worship due to God. What need more? In the verie Scholes; *Leo* the tenth being Pope, they feared not to dispute (Note Reader, how farre they extended his Vicarship:) *Whether the Pope might abrogate that which is decreed in the writings of the Apostles; Whether he might ordaine any thing contrarie to the doctrine of the Gospell; whether he might add to the Creed a new article of Faith; Whether he haue greater power than S. Peter, or but equall; Whe-*

B *ther hee may commaund the Angells, or can take purgatorie quite away; Whether he bee but meere man, or as it were God; Whether with Christ he partake of two natures Diuine and humane.* How many enormities are committed in these words, yea in the least of them? How manifoldly they offend the Diuine Majestie? When therefore wee call to mind all these things, how can wee otherwise applie or expound that prophetical place of S. *Paule*, *He exalteth himselfe against all that is called God, ἢ σεβασμα or that is worshipped*? For let them shew vs in all these sixteene ages any other: *so that he sitteth as God in the Temple of God, shewing himselfe that he is God*: In the Church it selfe; so that wee must not seeke him among the Turkes in Assyria: yea, if we beleeue him, hee himselfe is the whole

C Church, which he contracteth into his own person: the Head and the bodie, the Bridegroom and the Spouse both together. And to whom againe besides may we applie the Reuelation of S. *Iohn*, *Of the beast ascending out of the earth, which had two hornes like the Lambe, but spake like the Dragon; of the woman sitting vpon a Scarlet coloured beast, full of names of blasphemie*? For where is there more speech of Christ, and lesse beleeuing him? where more giuing him kisses together with buffetings? where so monstrous, so outragious blasphemies, vnder that most holie name? Is not this properly to put on Iesus a purple garment, to put a reed in his hand, and to say vnto him in mockerie (as if he saw nothing in humane affaires, especially in the gouernement of the Church) *Which of vs was it that smote thee*? And thus much

D for his spirituall domination.

Now of the temporall. Wee found the Bishops of Rome vnder persecution had learned by the Testament of our Sauiour, not to affect worldlie power, but to be readie contrariwise to suffer cruelties from earthlie Princes: By the Epistles of S. *Paule* and S. *Peter*, and also by their examples, to honor the kings and powers of the world, to obey the froward and those that were hard to be pleased; not to rule as Lords, *ne quidem in Domini cleros*, from whence came the name of Clergie. And surely till the time of *Constantine* and some time after, they had not any temporall jurisdiction: yea and after that by the gifts of Christian Princes they were enriched, for many ages they spake and liued submissiuely after the manner

E of vassals, and seruants, and as other subjects; suffered both generall and prouinciall Councels to be called and assembled, without contradiction, by Christian Emperours and Princes, and submitted themselues vnto them and their ordinances, and at their commaundements came and went, without complaining, without so much as muttering of these their documents or pretensions. But if it were a thing so important to the honour of Christ, and the safetie of the Church, as they would make men beleeue, that this Vicar of Christ should be acknowledged through all the world, girded and armed with two swords; where was now their zeale, that they suffered with such negligence their rights of so great moment to perish, to be

Cerem. Rom. l.1. sect.1.c.6. Erasm. in 1. ad Tim. c.1.

2. Thess. 2. v. 4.

Apocal. c. 13. v. 11. & 17. v. 3.

be withheld to the manifest damage of S. *Peter*, to be prescribed, and to be vsurped from him the monarchie of the whole world, without any gain-saying, interpellation, or any declaration of those rights? But the Roman Empire now falling to ruine, by reason both of the inward diseases of the same, and the sundrie irruptions of the Northerne people; the Bishops of Rome began to build on those ruines, and to abuse the absence and weakenesse of the Emperours, whom they expelled out of Italie by the armes of the Lombards, and confined them to Greece; and vnder colour that they would not admit Images into their Temples, cut them off from the Church, absolued their subjects from their oaths of fidelitie, and withdrawing them from obedience to their Princes, bound them at last to themselues. In Italie, the Lombards waxing too strong, they supplanted them by the Frenchmen; and after that, the Frenchmen by the Germans; opposing euer them that were fartheſt off against them that were nearer: and so soon as any had gotten credit and authoritie with the people, they cast him out by intruding another, which could not but necessarily depend on their fauour. And when the Germans went about to settle and establish their Empire in Italie, they stirred vp factions against them in Germanie, and caused the sonnes by breaking the bond of duetie, both diuine and humane, naturall and ciuile, to rise vp against their fathers. And these things euer vnder pretence of heresie. For, to permit them not the absolute power to dispose of all Bishopricks, or diligently to watch ouer their discipline, or to maintain the elections according to the antient canons, or to hinder their continuall exactions and rapines, or but endeauor to do it, was accounted with them horrible heresie, Simonie. Vntill that by the manifold conspiracies which they raised against them, they by degrees obtained to be absolued from the oath of fidelitie, which they were woont to yeeld to the emperors: And at length constrained the Emperours themselues before they were receiued into Rome, that is, into their house, and auntient seat of the Empire, in conceiued words *to sweare vnto them* quamcunque fidelitatem, *all kind of fidelitie*, and truely and openly to declare, that they had no right in Rome, and that they would stay there at Rome but so many dayes as it pleased the Pope; and to ratifie and confirme all their pretended donations, meerely friuolous. Yea moreouer, they compelled them by these meanes, *in all humilitie* to request that they might be crowned by them. Insomuch that they maintained and affirmed both by the authoritie of their Decrees, and by open force of armes, That they were superious to the Emperours, who were their vassals and held their Empire by fealtie and liege homage from them; That they were Monarches of the whole Vniuerse, and direct Lords of all the world. By which right, so soone as any countries of the new found world were discouered, they blushed not to giue them in feoffe, and diuide them among kings, as the patrimonie of S. *Peter*; As witnesse also these words, which they are woont to vse in the inuestiture of Popes, *I inuest thee with the Popedome*, vt presis vrbi & orbi, *to commaund ouer the Citie, & the whole world.* Lastly, That of right it belonged vnto them to inuest and degradth, to ordaine and depose Emperours and Kings at their pleasure; That it belongeth vnto them to dispose of the Empire, vacant: and in case the Electors bee through discord diuided, themselues to elect the Emperour. All which things are by them vsurped, to the prejudice of all Estates and Policies, yea to the contumelie of God himselfe, by whom kings doe raigne, and who alone both giueth and translateth Empires, which neuer any in the world, Sathan onely excepted, durst, or will dare to arrogate to himselfe. And yet by this meanes, he maketh

Cerem. Roman. Charta 21. ad quæcunque fidelitatis iuramenta.
Cerem. Roman. Charta 21. l. 5.
Cerem. Roman. l. 1. c. 20.

A keth himselfe to be adored by Emperours, causeth them to hold his stirrop when he mounteth or lighteth from his horse, and being gotten vp suffereth them to lead his horse some steps by the bridle, not vouchsafing scarcely for fashion sake to let slip from him one word of refusall of this kind of seruice done him: and if the Prince be not readie ynough in it, it is an haynous crime, vnpardonable, as wee haue seene in some. And when the Emperour is elected, yea created, hee maketh him basely demaund the Imperiall Crowne of him, and in signe of tribute, the suitor to cast a masse of gold at his feet. What remaineth there more, but as the Wise men to Christ, Incence and Myrrhe? Moreouer, in all Acts both Ecclesiasticall and Ciuile, hee is seated in a degree higher and more eminent, and
B that of such a certaine height, that the *place where the Emperour sitteth is no higher than where the Pope setteth his feet; his chaire also not so high, nor so large, and a lesse foot-stoole*, whether it bee in Church, or in Chappell, or in Councell: *And hee giueth him water when hee washeth his hands*, and in the Masse *beareth vp his traine*, and in collation *presenteth vnto him the napkin*: For this is with him a generall Maxime, *Nemini omnino mortalium reuerentiam facit*, The Pope *doth no reuerence to any man in the world, neither by rising manifestly, nor by bowing of the head, nor by vncouering himselfe*: onely *to the Emperour of the Romans, the Pope being set, after he hath kissed his foot and his hand, hee riseth a little, and receiueth him to kisse with the mutuall embracement of charitie.* Yea the greatest Kings ought by
C his Statutes, when hee enters into any of their cities, *to lead the Popes horse by the bridle, or if the Pope bee carried in a chayre, to put his shoulders vnderneath* to carrie it, *Sellam subire, Others of the chiefest of his Nobles afterwards submitting their necckes thereunto*, to ease him. The Cardinalls which come to meet him, presently, so soone as they espie him, *must light downe from their horses afarre off*, and runne to kisse his foot and his hand; and presently *a little ladder, prepared of purpose, is set, whereby they are admitted to kisse his mouth.* What is an Idoll, or Idolatrie, if this be not? And yet of these rules is made an art, digested as it were into a Codex of Lawes, which without crime of high treason against God and man it is not lawfull to omit or transgresse: Whereas Christ our Lord, whose
D Vicar hee calleth himselfe, *being in the forme of God, made himselfe of no reputation, and tooke vpon him the forme of a seruant, &c. Wherefore God hath also highly exalted him.* But what kind of seruant is this, who arrogateth to himselfe the title of the Master and Prince? and what doe wee else expect, but that in his apointed time hee cast him headlong from that height of pride? And seeing Christ, for to bring vs vnto him into heauen, *humbled himselfe, became obedient euen vnto the death of the Crosse*, whither doth this man, ὁ ὑπεραιρόμενος, *which exalteth himselfe aboue God*, draw with him his followers and obeyers, but into hell? And for as much as we see him arise of the declining of the Roman Empire, and from the ruines thereof raised to that height, doth it not put vs in mind of the
E words of the Apostle, and the interpretation of the Fathers thereupon, *and now yee know what withholdeth that he might be reuealed*, which should be after his comming, μόνον ὁ κατέχων ἄρτι ἕως ἐκ μέσου γένηται, *onely he which now withholdeth*, shall let *till he be taken out of the way*; that is, the Roman Empire must needs bee abolished before he be reuealed. Wee may remember also these words of S. *John*, *The second Beast*, the Papacie, *did all that the first Beast*, the Roman State, *could doe before him*; that is, to his teeth, and in his sight: *and he caused the earth, and them that dwell therein to worship the first Beast* (Rome) *whose deadlie wound was healed*, being

Cerem. Rom. l. 1. Charta 21. 22. 26. 65. 59. 87.
Cerem. Rom. l. 1. charta 21. 22. 26. 54 59 87.
Cerem. Rom. l. 3. fol. 1. fol. 120.
Phil. 2. v. 6. 7. 8 9.
Phil. 2. v. 8.
2. Thes. 2. v. 6. 7
Apoc. 13. v. 12.

2. Thess. 2. v. 9. 10. 11.

Apoc. 13. v. 12, 15.

restored by the substitution of the Popes authoritie in it, *so that as many as would* A
not worship the Image of the Beast (that is, the glorie of this Empire renewed in
him) *should be killed.* And this in the meane time saith Saint *Paule*, κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ
Σατανᾶ, ἐνέργειαν τῆς πλάνης εἰς τὸ πιστεῦσαι τῷ ψεύδει, not so much by open force, as *by the*
effectuall working of Sathan, &c. and in all deceiuableneſſe of vnrighteouſneſſe: or
as Saint *Iohn* ſayth, by the enchauntment and cup of that Harlot, of that Roman
Courtiſan, who hath ſo made drunke the Kings and Princes of the earth with
her flatteries and enticements, that they ſtriue who ſhall moſt bee ſet on fire with
her loue, and ruinat each other to get higheſt into her fauour; ſo *drunken are the*
inhabitants of the earth with the wine of her fornication: miſerable people whoſe
Princes, for to win her fauour, made them drinke downe all her inuentions, abu- B
ſes, Indulgences, Iubilies, Croyſados, as they call them, and other abhominati-
ons without number, and without meaſure, that being ſtricken with giddineſſe,
they might loſe the vſe of their ſences.

Now is alſo this Antichriſt ὁ ἀνθρωπος, ſurnamed *The man of ſinne*, not with-
out myſterie, not without a notable emphaſis. And truely in this Seat, more than
in any other State, we may eaſily obſerue verie many *Neros*, *Caligulas*, *Helioga-*
bales, monſters of all kind vniuſtice, of tyrannie, of impietie, prophane Ne-
cromancers, Atheiſts, and worſe, if may be; and of which their owne Hiſtories
doe euerie where teſtifie: For which cauſe it was beleeued by many, That ſo
great was the peſtilent infection of this Chaire, that with the contagion thereof C
it inſtantly infected whomſoeuer ſat in it. So that, becauſe impietie in ſo high a
degree ſhould bee ordinarie and vſuall, it gaue occaſion to Saint *Paule* to call him
the man of ſinne, and to Saint *Iohn* to tearme him *the Whore*, πορνην, by exeellencie:
In which ſence the Euangeliſts ſometimes, a proſtituted woman, *a ſinner*, be-
cauſe ſhee maketh a continuall trade of ſinning. But let vs yet enter a little fur-
ther: Antichriſt is properly called *The man of ſinne*, not onely becauſe hee daily
practiſeth ſinne, but becauſe hee ſeeketh gaine by ſinne, becauſe he ſoweth, plan-
teth, produceth, and multiplieth ſinne, by innumerable cunning practiſes. In a
word, if we beleue him, he aboliſheth all ſinnes of omiſſion and commiſſion, bee
they neuer ſo haynous and horrible: Yea which is more, for to get in greater D
ſtore of money, that which is with God no ſinne, that which is indifferent, hee
by his lawes and prohibitions maketh to be ſinne, and exaggerateth it farre aboue
that which is truely ſinne. Which things are ſufficiently proued by the bookes
of *the Taxes of the Apoſtolicall Chauncerie, and ſacred Penitentiaries*, which yet
are ſold at Rome, printed at this verie time in Paris, at the ſigne of the Golden
Sunne in Saint *Iaques* ſtreet; and theſe bookes are no leſſe commonly vſed a-
mong his brokers, than Kalenders with husbandmen, or the booke of Cuſtomes
and Entries among merchants. In which bookes are ſold and taxed at a deere
rate, diſpenſations and abſolutions of all kinds, of conſanguinitie carnall, ſpiritu-
all, in regard of degrees, or for want of age, for imperfection of members, na- E
turall or accidentall, or according as they are more or leſſe noble or profitable;
for irregularitie, for vicious promotion, or miniſterie without promotion (what
kind of conſecration by their owne rules may thereupon follow?) forbaſtardize,
for Bigamie, for all manner of maimes, or for murder of all kinds, of a Clergie-
man, of a Lay-man, of father, mother, ſonne, brother, ſiſter, wife, &c. And theſe
ſame much leſſe taxed than of the leaſt Prieſt: Alſo, for impoyſonings, enchaunt-
ments, witchcraft, ſacriledge, ſimonie, and their kinds and braunches; for *lapſu car-*
nis

A *nis*, fornication, adulterie, inceſt without any exception or diſtinction; (which I
abhorre) for ſodomie, brutalitie: ſo they particularly expreſſe them. Of which
moſt horrible and enormous crimes the abſolution is rated at a leſſer price than
is any the leaſt diſpenſation for the eating of fleſh, of butter, milke, or cheeſe, on
dayes forbidden by the Pope. Neither are they aſhamed to adde in theſe plaine
words, *Theſe kind of graces are not giuen to the poore, becauſe they are deſtitute of*
goods and meanes, and therefore for them there is no comfort. And it is to bee noted,
That in our time they cenſured by their *Index Expurgatorius*, made by the com-
maundement of the Pope, and of the Councell of Trent, that famous man a-
mongſt them, *Claudius d'Eſpenſe*, becauſe he had ſayd, writing vpon the Epiſtle to *Claud. Eſpenſæus in Epiſt. ad*
B *Titus*, That it was a great opprobrie to the Church, that thoſe bookes came to *Tit. c. 1.*
the hands of men, but much more, that they were put in execution; in which
more impunitie and wickedneſſe might bee learned in a moment, than in all the
Summiſts together. Let the Reader vouchſafe to ſee the place it ſelfe, ſo he take
heed it be not an edition corrupted by their falſifyings. But let vs proſecute, ſee-
ing the matter ſo requireth, both the merchandiſe and the merchants: They ſell
diſpenſations for oathes, for commutation of vowes, for Offices, Breuiaries,
Prayers, Pſalters for appointed houres, for to ſay them after an other manner
than is vſed in their Dioceſſe or after the Romane faſhion, or alſo for to ſay them
backwards: (What inuentions to get money!) Alſo for reducing Maſſes to the
C proportion of the fruits, permiſſion to ſay them both before day-light, and twice
in a day: Diſpenſations alſo of meats for the perſon, Familie, Kindred, Colledge,
Citie, Dioceſſe, or Prouince, all taxed by proportion: Leaue to carrie about
the *Corpus Domini* (which they call here, *to carrie God to play*) once, twice, thrice
a yeare or oftner: to change his name, ſurname, and ſigne; *Cui bono?* to paſſe from
one Monaſterie to an other, to viſite the holy Sepulcher, to vſe Traffieke with
Infidels, by carying vnto them Marchandize lawful and vnlawful; for the Iewes to
haue their Synagogues publike, or priuat; for the Chriſtians to eat of a beaſt kil-
led by a Saracen: When in the meane time theſe good Biſhops, as we haue ſeene
haue made no conſcience to take a yearely pention from the Turke; So that in
D things indifferent and in things wherein conſcience ought to be vſed, they make
no difference, but determine according to their own pleaſure; they are often more
ſcripulous in friuolous matters, than in matters of weight, and farre more rigo-
rous and ſtricter in the obſeruation of their owne inuentions, than of the Com-
maundements of God. And how farre and wide, how diuerſly is Simonie ex-
tended and ſpread abroad amongſt them? is it not by them forcibly thruſt vpon
the whole world? That hereſie, which they deriue from Simon Magus, the pro-
phane ſelling of all things, which they will haue to be accounted holie, how farre
is it from S. Peter? Indulgences for a certaine price, generall or particular; for
buriall before the Altar, in the Quire, in the body of the Church, on the left
E ſide, or on the right; to be granted to ſuch as die excommunicate, or deſperate;
The continuall and ordinarie traffike of all benefices, with cure, or without cure;
of Compatible, of Incompatible, Vancancies, Preuentions, Reſignations, Com-
menda's, expectatiue, caſes reſerued, expeditions according to certaine clauſes
and formes infinite, farre ſurpaſſing them of the antient Law, ſo that hardly would
the volume of a Calepine ſuffice to containe, but the names onely: And truly,
how laborious a worke it is to be able to know thoſe intricate turnings and win-
dings, and ſo many cunning ſubtilties! Sure it is needful to biſtow more time in
them,

thom than in the knowledge of all the liberall sciences, than in Philosophie, or in A
the whole law. And with these are imploied al the bankes of the Money-changers
and Vsurers in Europe; with the trottings vp and downe of these, the Post-hor-
ses of al places are wearied; hence are so many officers, so many brokers both in the
Court and dispersed all the world ouer, more in number, and of more kinds, than
hath beene euer knowne in the West and East Empires; yet out of Simonie alone
haue these men not onely their maintenance but excesse and pride. Insomuch that
they haue brought the Mamelukes and Ianizaries into the Popes Court, and
thought it not sufficient to haue drawne to themselues all the Romane titles, but
they must borrow also from Souldans and Infidels both offices and markes of of-
fices. And therefore when we consider this traffike of sinne, how great a facilitie or B
facultie of sinning the Pope hath brought in by his dispensations and absolutions,
for sins either alreadie cõmitted, or to be committed, euen the most execrable, for
money; shall we not say, that he is truely that *Man of sinne*, who at so easie a rate
and so lightly giueth leaue and indulgence for all sinnes, and also giueth way to
all crimes without difference, against the law of God and against Nature: Seing it
is manifest by the Tables of his Mart, to euerie man, how much each sinne will
cost, that he may know at what rate to free himselfe from punishment. Seeing he
would perswade the world, that whosoeuer hath satisfied this his Table of Rates,
hath sufficiently satisfied God, and need no more care for Gods justice. I pray C
thee Reader, if Sathan himselfe were there in person, for to open the floud-gates
and sluices of sinne, that it might as a deluge ouerflow the whole world, could
he find any more fit inuention than this? This was not the meaning of Saint
Paule, when he said, That *sinne hath abounded that grace might superabound*, who by
the justice of God, and by the holinesse of the law, representeth vnto vs the hor-
rour and filthinesse of sinne, and the wrath of God kindled against it, yea against
those sinnes that seeme vnto vs more light; which wrath cannot bee quenched,
and is not to be appeased by any humane merit, by any price, but by the bloud a-
lone of the onely begotten Sonne of God shed for sinners, vnto whom alone, by
a right and perfect faith, and earnest repentance, wee ought to haue recourse: D
How then from one and the same fountaine can there proceed doctrines so con-
trarie? And seeing the one is truely of Christ, and the other vnder his name,
whose can this be but the doctrine of Antichrist? Of whom it is sayd, *Os loquens*
Dan.7.v.20. Apocal.13. v.5.6. *grandia, A mouth speaking presumptuous things, &c. A mouth opened vnto blasphe-*
mie against God, &c. In this shamefull traffike (I say) in this infamous selling of
sinne, whereby the Harlot prostituted vnder euerie greene tree hath engaged
Apocal.13.v. 16.17. all sorts of men, doe wee not perceiue it by these words of Saint *John*, *Hee made*
all, both small and great, rich and poore, free and bond, to receiue a marke in their right
hand or in their foreheads, and that no man might buy and sell, saue he that had the mark.
For indeed, what condition of men are exempted therefrom; for dispensation,
for absolution, for benefit, office, warfare, fraternitie, for all occupations of great E
or of base esteeme, for hauing done euill, or for to doe euill, can free himselfe from
this buying and selling? Are not these therefore those Merchants of which Saint
Apoc.18.3. *John* speaketh, *The Merchants of the earth are waxen rich of the aboundance of her plea-*
sure, which distilled from the gulfe of her excesse, and from her sacrileges? And
when we more neerer consider, that this Babylon, this heape of confusion, this
loftie building, hath none other foundation than absurdities, none other matter
than iniquities, none other morter than impieties, may wee not necessarily con-
clude

A clude with the Apostle, that God hath sent vnto men a *strong delusion*, that they 2.Thess.2.10. 11.
should receiue *that Man of sinne*, that Antichrist, *that they should beleeue lyes,*
because they would not receiue the loue of the truth, that they might be saued? Whilst
that man of sinne therein applaudeth them, applying as it were Narcotickes vn-
to them, whereby his pleasing allurements stupefie them, without all sence or
feeling of conscience or remorse of sinne.

I omit his other doctrines, of the merites of men, whereby the merite of
Christs passion is brought to nothing; his daily sacrifice of the altar, whereby
that onely and perpetuall sacrifice of our Lord Iesus on the Crosse, is abolished
Christian Religion swallowed vp and conuerted into Ceremonies, into superstiti-
B tion, into idolatrie, Stations, Reliques, Agnus dei, little Images, blessed graines,
new Lawes, new Sacraments, new Gospell, and (if God had not hindered it) a
new Christ, and a meere Alcoran obtruded in stead of the Gospell: for of these
things haue wee spoken in their place more largely. But surely if we list to ob- *Cerem. Roman Chart.140. 141.& 150.*
serue his seate, and his furniture: he sitteth at Rome, on the Citie of seuen hills;
there ye may see him ride in sollemne manner about the Citie, mounted on a
white Horse sumptuously caparassoned, the Horse led by the hand of an Empe-
rour or a King, if any be present, if not, by the greatest person there, he himselfe
gorgeously apparelled in scarlet, weareth a Tiara or Diadem on his head, adorned
with a triple Crowne, which they commonly call *Regnum, Kingdome, in token,*
C say they, *of supreame dignitie, both Sacerdotall and Imperiall*, enriched with most
rare gemmes and pretious stones. There followeth him a troupe of Cardinalls,
glittering also in scarlet. But if he goe forth of the Citie, he hath his *port-mantues,*
ladder, couered with red cloth, twelue red standards, then follow Noblemen carrying the
standards of the Citie, a Barber, and a Taylor; then foure Noblemen carrying foure Caps of
crimson veluet on the ends of staues, some of the measure of three or foure hand-breadth,
who are called Scutiferi honoris. Thus his whole furniture is of scarlet colour. When
therefore S. Iohn saith in the Apocalyps, *Come, I will shew thee the damnation of*
the great whoore, with whom the Kings of the earth haue committed fornication;
then presently after he describeth *a woman sitting* ἐπὶ θηρίον κοκκινον, *vpon a skar-* *Apocal 17.v. 1.2.3.4.5.&c.*
D *let coloured beast*, commaunding an Empire, adorned meerely with scarlet: shee
herselfe, περιβεβλημένη, *arayed in purple and scarlet, and guilded with gold, and preti-*
ous stones and pearles, and in her forehead, in titulo in title, (these words) *a name*
written, a Mysterie, that great Babylon, not really that auntient Babylon, but
in a Mysterie *that mother of* (whoredomes *and abhominations of the earth*, carnall a-
boue all measure, spirituall beyond all shame, What shall I neede to name him,
seeing he manifesteth himselfe and speaketh heere sufficiently? And doth it not
seeme, that Satan hath taken pleasure to performe this worke, that he might
shew vnto the world a Master-peice of his art, and as it were reproach vnto vs
our blindnesse, when he brought forth as it were on a Theatre this Man? that of
E so long a time before, so plainely, so clearly, the spirit of Almightie God, by the
mouth of his Prophets and Apostles, hath fore-warned vs of the comming of An-
tichrist, of his conditions, doings, behauiour, feat, apparell, and furniture; Who
would euer haue beleeued, that he now comming directly in the same habit, in
the same posture and manner, should so farre preuaile with vs, that any man
should receiue him, that any should worship him? and for so many ages, and
Satan himselfe in him? And moreouer all these circumstances are described in
the Ceremoniall booke of the Popes, printed at Venice in Nouember 1516,
and dedicated to *Leo* the tenth.

Now

thom than in the knowledge of all the liberall sciences, than in Philosophie, or in the whole law. And with these are imploied al the bankes of the Money-changers and Vsurers in Europe; with the trottings vp and downe of these, the Post-horses of al places are wearied; hence are so many officers, so many brokers both in the Court and dispersed all the world ouer, more in number, and of more kinds, than hath beene euer knowne in the West and East Empires; yet out of Simonie alone haue these men not onely their maintenance but excesse and pride. Insomuch that they haue brought the Mamelukes and Ianizaries into the Popes Court, and thought it not sufficient to haue drawne to themselues all the Romane titles, but they must borrow also from Souldans and Infidels both offices and markes of offices. And therefore when we consider this traffike of sinne, how great a facilitie or facultie of sinning the Pope hath brought in by his dispensations and absolutions, for sins either alreadie cõmitted, or to be committed, euen the most execrable, for money; shall we not say, that he is truely that *Man of sinne*, who at so easie a rate and so lightly giueth leaue and indulgence for all sinnes, and also giueth way to all crimes without difference, against the law of God and against Nature: Seing it is manifest by the Tables of his Mart, to euerie man, how much each sinne will cost, that he may know at what rate to free himselfe from punishment. Seeing he would persuade the world, that whosoeuer hath satisfied this his Table of Rates, hath sufficiently satisfied God, and need no more care for Gods justice. I pray thee Reader, if Sathan himselfe were there in person, for to open the floud-gates and sluices of sinne, that it might as a deluge ouerflow the whole world, could he find any more fit inuention than this? This was not the meaning of Saint *Paule*, when he said, That *sinne hath abounded that grace might superabound*, who by the justice of God, and by the holinesse of the law, representeth vnto vs the horrour and filthinesse of sinne, and the wrath of God kindled against it, yea against those sinnes that seeme vnto vs more light; which wrath cannot bee quenched, and is not to be appeased by any humane merit, by any price, but by the bloud alone of the onely begotten Sonne of God shed for sinners, vnto whom alone, by a right and perfect faith, and earnest repentance, wee ought to haue recourse: How then from one and the same fountaine can there proceed doctrines so contrarie? And seeing the one is truely of Christ, and the other vnder his name, whose can this be but the doctrine of Antichrist? Of whom it is sayd, *Os loquens grandia, A mouth speaking presumptuous things, &c. A mouth opened vnto blasphemie against God, &c.* In this shamefull traffike (I say) in this infamous selling of sinne, whereby the Harlot prostituted vnder euerie greene tree hath engaged all sorts of men, doe wee not perceiue it by these words of Saint *Iohn*, *Hee made all, both small and great, rich and poore, free and bond, to receiue a marke in their right hand or in their foreheads, and that no man might buy and sell, saue he that had the mark.* For indeed, what condition of men are exempted therefrom; for dispensation, for absolution, for benefit, office, warfare, fraternitie, for all occupations of great or of base esteeme, for hauing done euill, or for to doe euill, can free himselfe from this buying and selling? Are not these therefore those Merchants of which Saint *Iohn* speaketh, *The Merchants of the earth are waxen rich of the abundance of her pleasure*, which distilled from the gulfe of her excesse, and from her sacrileges? And when we more neerer consider, that this Babylon, this heape of confusion, this lostie building, hath none other foundation than absurdities, none other matter than iniquities, none other morter than impieties, may wee not necessarily conclude

A B C D E

Dan.7.v.20. Apocal.13. v.5.6.

Apocal.13.v. 16.17.

Apoc.18.3.

A clude with the Apostle, that God hath sent vnto men a *strong delusion*, that they should receiue *that Man of sinne*, that Antichrist, *that they should beleeue lyes, because they would not receiue the loue of the truth, that they might be saued?* Whilst that man of sinne therein applaudeth them, applying as it were Narcotickes vnto them, whereby his pleasing allurements stupefie them, without all sence or feeling of conscience or remorse of sinne. *2.Thess.2.10. 11.*

I omit his other doctrines, of the merites of men, whereby the merite of Christs passion is brought to nothing; his daily sacrifice of the altar, whereby that onely and perpetuall sacrifice of our Lord Iesus on the Crosse, is abolished Christian Religion swallowed vp and conuerted into Ceremonies, into superstition, into idolatrie, Stations, Reliques, Agnus dei, little Images, blessed graines, B new Lawes, new Sacraments, new Gospell, and (if God had not hindered it) a new Christ, and a meere Alcoran obtruded in stead of the Gospell: for of these things haue wee spoken in their place more largely. But surely if we list to obserue his seate, and his furniture: he sitteth at Rome, on the Citie of seuen hills; there ye may see him ride in sollemne manner about the Citie, mounted on a white Horse sumptuously caparassoned, the Horse led by the hand of an Emperour or a King, if any be present, if not, by the greatest person there, he himselfe gorgeously apparelled in scarlet, weareth a Tiara or Diadem on his head, adorned with a triple Crowne, which they commonly call *Regnum, Kingdome, in token*, C say they, *of supreame dignitie, both Sacerdotall and Imperiall*, enriched with most rare gemmes and pretious stones. There followeth him a troupe of Cardinalls, glittering also in scarlet. But if he goe forth of the Citie, he hath his *port-mantues, ladder, couered with red cloth, twelue red standards, then follow Noblemen carrying the standards of the Citie, a Barber, and a Taylor; then foure Noblemen carrying foure Caps of crimson velues on the ends of staues, some of the measure of three or foure hand-breadth, who are called Scutiferi honoris.* Thus his whole furniture is of scarlet colour. When therefore S. Iohn saith in the Apocalyps, *Come, I will shew thee the damnation of the great whoore, with whom the Kings of the earth haue committed fornication;* then presently after he describeth *a woman sitting* ἐπὶ θηρίον κοκκινον, *vpon a skarlet coloured beast*, commaunding an Empire, adorned meerely with scarlet: shee D herselfe, περιβεβλημένη, *arayed in purple and scarlet, and guilded with gold, and pretious stones and pearles, and in her forehead, in titulo* in title, (these words) *a name written, a Mysterie, that great Babylon*, not really that auntient Babylon, but in a Mysterie *that mother of whoredomes and abhominations of the earth*, carnall abouealll measure, spirituall beyond all shame, What shall I needs to name him, seeing he manifesteth himselfe and speaketh heere sufficiently? And doth it not seeme, that Satan hath taken pleasure to performe this worke, that he might shew vnto the world a Master-peice of his art; and as it were reproach vnto vs our blindnesse, when he brought forth as it were on a Theatre this Man? that of E so long a time before, so plainely, so clearly, the spirit of Almightie God, by the mouth of his Prophets and Apostles, hath fore-warned vs of the comming of Antichrist, of his conditions, doings, behauiour, seat, apparell, and furniture; Who would euer haue beleeued, that he now comming directly in the same habit, in the same posture and manner, should so farre preuaile with vs, that any man should receiue him, that any should worship him? and for so many ages, and Satan himselfe in him? And moreouer all these circumstances are described in the Ceremoniall booke of the Popes, printed at Venice in Nouember 1516, and dedicated to *Leo* the tenth. *Apocal.17.v. 1.2.3.4.5. &c.*

Ceremon. Romani Chart.140. 141.& 150.

Now

Now at that very time, *Martin Luther*, after many others, being impatient of A
the blasphemies ouerflowing all Europe, in Germanie thundered out against the
Pope; that *Augustine* Monke, Doctor of Diuinitie, of meane parentage, of no
authoritie, in the end of the world, accompanied with some few men of the same
condition, carried with the same zeale, and moued with the same spirit, at whose
voyce (the voyce certainely of almightie God, thundering by them) innumerable
people throughout all Europe were stirred vp, who either being made drunken
slept the sleepe of death, or being yet halfe asleepe had need of these instruments
to awake and animate them. These men durst amidst so great splendor of his Baby-
lonish pompe and pride, and so great painted brauerie, call the *Beast* by his proper
name, in the midst of swords, waters, and fires, of the rigor of magistrats, furie of B
the people, and rage of officers: Whereupon all nations, young and old, women
and children, by their meanes openly professed and maintained the same: they a-
stonished, beat downe and confounded with their humilitie, his pride, with their
patience, his crueltie, and with the puritie of their doctrine, by the great grace of
God they restored the Gospell to light; and in the constancie of their martyr-
domes, they brought as it were to life againe the faith of the Primitiue Church:
In so much that in a short time whole nations departed from the Roman Seat,
many Kings and Princes, euen of them who had most contributed to that mon-
strous building, now triumph loden with his spoyls. There appeared from all parts
godlie and learned men, who kindled with the zeale of God, with their labours C
stoutly endeuoured to cast downe to the ground that tottering pile, and brought
it neere to an vtter ruine. Is not this according to that of S. *Paule*, *And then shall*
2. Thess. 2. v. 8. *the wicked man be reuealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth*?
Apocal. 17. v. 16 Of Saint *Iohn* also, Those Kings *shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolat and*
naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burne her with fire. Yet this Whore endeuoureth to
Apocal. 18. 7. take courage, and set an impudent face on the matter, *She saith in her heart, I sit be-*
ing a Queene, and am no widow, and shall see no mourning. I cannot erre, whatsoeuer
they say, my filthinesse is elegancie, and the blaines budding forth from my vncha-
stitie, pearles and precious stones. She multiplieth so much the more her blasphe-
mies against Christ the Sonne of God, she rageth against his sacred word, she ad- D
iudgeth it of *insufficiencie, of imperfection, of ambiguitie*, dangerous & deceitful, and
worse if may be, making it wonderfull inferiour to the Roman Church, the same
Church, in the meane time, of which the Pope maketh himselfe superior, & alone,
greater than is represented in generall Councels; How much superiour and
higher will he haue it aboue the holie Scripture, the word of God, and conse-
quently God himselfe? And thereby he appeareth the more euidently to bee the
same whom we seeke, the Antichrist poynted out by the Apostles: Therefore, af-
ter *we would haue applied Balme for her sore, if she might perhaps be healed*, which shee
obstinatly refused, wee haue laboured to procure a holie reformation in the E
Church, against which the Papacie is so much the more enuenomed with rage,
bringing in worse Popes of purpose in hatred thereof, and vttering more absurd
assertions, as, *the infallibitie of traditions, and the vnprofitablenesse of the word written*
with the finger of God, and inspired into his Prophets and Apostles. May we not
Ierem. 51. v. 9. 10. 11. lawfully now say with the Prophet, *We would haue cured Babel, but she would not be*
healed: forsake her, and let vs goe euerie one to his owne countrey. Let vs now wash
our hands of her, and expect what God hath determined of her, especially seeing
her iudgement is come vp vnto heauen; on the contrary, *the Lord hath set forth our righ-*
teousnesse.

A *teousnesse.* And what then doe we wait for from the same counsell, the same pro-
phesie, and therefore from the same certaintie, but that those Kings, and the same
States, who haue worshipped her, finish the worke of God, who *will put into their* Apoc. 17. v. 17
hearts to fulfill his will and his pleasure, to execute his sentence? And let not the
present state of things astonish vs, *in one day*, in one houre, in a moment are his Apoc. 18. v. 8.
workes performed, and this worke without doubt must be performed. And long
agoe, as of a thing alreadie done, neere at hand, and most certaine, the Angell cried
out and redoubled it, *It is fallen, it is fallen, Babylon*: But God forbid also that wee Apocal. 18. 2. 4.
should neglect that other crie that followeth, *Goe out of her my people*, we to whom
God hath giuen to know her, yee which know her but too well, take heed it bee
B not to your damnation. Can any man now pretend an excuse? *That ye be not part a-*
kers of her sinnes, and that ye receiue not of her plagues, least being defiled by the con-
tagion of her Idolatrie and enchauntments, yee be made partakers of the sentence
long agoe pronounced against her, of eternall fire, which remaineth for her. But,
because we are for the most part incredulous and stupide, let vs pray vnto God, of
his meere mercie to draw vs, as a *Lot*, out of this spirituall Sodome, as S. *Iohn* cal-
leth it, to pull vs to himselfe by the hand of his Angels, to grant vnto vs that wee
looke not backe againe, and that we may, before he powre downe his judgements
on Babylon, get to his holie mountaine, to that little Segar, his Church, how small
and contemptible soeuer it be in the eyes of the world; *Is it not a little one* (saith
C *Lot*) *and my soule shall liue*? Now to him Father, Sonne, and holie
Ghost, for the bottomelesse depths of his judgements, and
of his graces, be prayse and glorie world
without end, Amen.



D

E

Errata.

Fol.	Lin.	
214	25	more pernitious traditions.
263	37	Tarracina.
272	1	imploreth his helpe.
278	4	night of my.
309	24	giue thee his.
311	3	acknowledged.
378	2	at Douer.
378	47	a longer day.
388	42	after riches.
401	18	to wauer.
401	39	Abbot of S. Albons.
417	*vlt.*	not so much.
441	*vlt.*	and by their digressing.
446	40	of the eternall judgement.
474	42	succeed to.
473	18	in his owne presence.
475	3	he that would but know.
481	3	spittle of their.
506	16	(as it was thought.)
545	38	concourse of people.
559	45	decreed in these words.
586	8	Corpus Christi.
593	14	excommunicated.
594	36	might more easily be discerned.
609	45	his successor.
612	43	he being.
615	21	as visited.
629	*vlt.*	or if he had had more care.

FINIS.

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