

HILDEBRAND AND HIS TIMES

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Hildebrand and His Times by W. R. W. Stephens

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BY

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PREFACE.

THE period with which this volume deals, including nearly the whole of the eleventh century, and the first twenty years of the twelfth, was an age fruitful of great men and great achievements. The emperor Henry III. of Germany, and his unhappy son Henry IV. ; William duke of Normandy, the conqueror of England ; Robert Wiscard and his brother Roger, the conquerors of Apulia and Sicily ; the countess Matilda of Tuscany, the popes Leo IX., Urban II., Calixtus II., and Hildebrand himself, are only some of the most conspicuous amongst a crowd of persons who were gifted with no common powers. It was an age of movements, and enterprises which did much to shape the future destinies of Europe. It saw the conquest of England by the Normans, and of Southern Italy and Sicily by the same adventurous race ; the gradual repulsion of the Saracen from the coasts of Europe, and the first direct aggression upon his conquests in the East. It was marked by the beginnings of scholastic philosophy under Berengar, Lanfranc, and Anselm, and of a more

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systematic study of law under Burchard of Worms, Ivo of Chartres, and Irnerius of Bologna; it witnessed the rise of a new monastic order, the growth of a new style in architecture, fresh developments in language and literature, a considerable advance in the importance of the middle classes, especially in Germany and Italy, and of the towns as centres of trade.

But incomparably the most wonderful and momentous change effected during this period was the (uplifting of the Papacy from the profound degradation) into which it had sunk during the ninth century, and had again relapsed, after a brief revival, in the end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh. The reformation begun by the German emperor Henry III. in alliance with the popes whom he nominated was carried forward and almost completed by the genius of Hildebrand. But the elevation of the Papacy brought it at last into collision with the very power by which it had been originally rescued from abasement—the power of the emperor. Which of the two potentates, the temporal or the spiritual head of Christendom, was to be supreme? As the old Carolingian Empire was breaking up more and more into kingdoms, duchies, principalities of various kinds, shaped partly by influences of nationality, partly by the working of the feudal system, what was to be the condition of the Church? Was the Church to follow these divisions, and to become subject to the control of

national sovereigns, or feudal suzerains who were often ignorant and brutal petty tyrants? Was she to become national and local in character, with corresponding variations in customs, institutions, ritual, and in time probably in standards both of doctrine and morals; or was the essential unity and catholicity of the Church to be maintained under the sway and direction of one supreme central power? In the mind of Hildebrand there was, and could be, but one answer to these questions. As in the individual, so in the body politic, the spiritual element was clearly designed to command. And where should the supreme spiritual authority of Christendom be vested if not in him who was at once bishop of the old seat of empire and successor of the chief of the apostles? Rome must still be the mistress of the world, but in a higher, deeper, grander sense under the successors of St. Peter than ever she had been under the successors of Augustus. This was the ideal for which Hildebrand strove. The struggle was full of tragical incidents, in which good and evil, base and noble elements were often strangely blended; but that the aim of Hildebrand was a righteous one few will now venture to dispute.

The story of the contest as traced in the following pages is necessarily little more than an outline, but it will serve a good purpose if it in any measure helps and encourages the student to investigate more fully for himself a period which is rich in interest, and in

lessons not without their meaning and value for this and all future time.

As notes and references are not admitted into the body of the work, a list of the authorities upon which I have principally relied is here given, chiefly for the benefit of those who may wish to follow out the history of the period for themselves.

I. *Original records, for the most part contemporary with the events.*

Life of Leo IX., by Wibert, his chaplain, in Muratori, III., part i.

Life of Leo IX., by Bruno of Segni, in Muratori, III., part ii.

Annales Romani, in 'Monumenta Germaniæ Historica,' ed. Pertz, vol. v.

Peter Damiani's *Works*, 4 vols. in 2, quarto.

Donizo, *Life of the Countess Matilda*, 'Mon. Germ.,' Pertz, xii.

Lambert of Hersfeld, *Chronicle*: an invaluable record of events from 1078-7, Pertz, v.; but it can be obtained in a separate form.

Adam of Bremen, *Chronicle*, Pertz, vii.; chiefly useful for affairs of North Germany, especially life of archbishop Adalbert.

Annals of Augsburg, Pertz, iii.

Bruno *de Bello Saxonico*, Pertz, v.

Carmen de Bello Saxonico, ed. Waitz.

Humbert, Cardinal, *Treatise against Simon*, Martene and Durand, 'Thesaurus Novus,' vol. v.

Vita Henrici IV., anonymous, Pertz, xii.

Wido of Ferrara, *De Schismate Hildebrandi*, Pertz, xii. Wido was first a Hildebrandist, and afterwards a partisan of Wibert the anti-pope.

Hesso of Strasburg's *Account of the Council of Reims*, A.D. 1119, Pertz, xii.

William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum* and *Gesta Regum*. Ordericus Vitalis.

- Most important for the affairs of Southern Italy and Sicily:—
 Amatus of Salerno, *History of the Norman Conquests in Lower Italy*: it exists, unfortunately, only in a French translation of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. William of Apulia, *Gesta Roberti* (Wiscard), Pertz, xi. *Geoffrey Malaterra*, Muratori, V. *Chronicle of Monte Cassino*, Pertz, vii.
- For the affairs of Northern Italy:—Arnulf and Landulf, Pertz, viii. Bonitho, bishop of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum*, printed at end of 'Monumenta Gregoriana,' ed. Jaffé.
- For the life of Hildebrand, biographies in Muratori, III., his letters in 'Monumenta Gregoriana,' ed. Jaffé, and *Regesta Pontificum*, vol. i. (ed. Jaffé), a collection of original records of the acts of the popes of great value for the whole history of the period. Benzo, bishop of Alba, 'Ad Henricum IV.,' a bitter antagonist of Hildebrand, Pertz, xi.
- Mansi, *Concilia*. The most important passages of these authorities are to be found quoted in Watterich, *Vita Pontificum*.

II. Modern works.

- J. Voigt, *Hildebrand als Papst Gregorius VII.* &c., originally published in 1815, the first attempt to form a sound, dispassionate historical estimate of Hildebrand's character and work.
- Floto, *Kaiser Heinrich der Vierte*, 1855: full of useful and interesting matter, but written too much in the spirit of a partisan of Henry IV.
- Glörer, *Papst Gregorius VII.*, in 7 vols.: a learned and laborious work, but far too discursive, 1859-61.
- X Bowden, *The Life and Pontificate of Gregory VII.*, by John William Bowden, 2 vols., 1840: conscientious and accurate.
- Villemain, *Histoire de Grégoire VII.*, 2 vols., Paris, 1873.
- X Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, vols. iii. and iv. He relies very much upon Floto and Stenzel, and writes more favourable to Henry IV. than to Gregory.
- X Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, vols. vi. and vii.
- X Sir James Stephen, article on *Hildebrand*, in 'Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography.'