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THE RETURN OF THE PAPACY FROM AVIGNON

A Study of History as related to
permanent principles of Religion.

A THESIS

by

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THE RETURN OF THE PAPACY FROM AVIGNON

INTRODUCTION

It is the persistent inextinguishable character of personal religion that gives to the history of the Middle Ages such a compelling interest. As Thomas Carlyle has said, "Religion cannot pass away. The smoke of a little straw may hide the stars, but the stars are there and will re-appear." A universal and invincible need urges men on to the development of their spiritual nature and forms the foundation of religion. This action is first seen in the crudest cry for help; it reaches its complete expression in an elaborate and specialized religious activity. The genesis of religion is divine, and its revelations eternal, but its manifestations and survival are matters of history.

It is the purpose of this thesis to focus attention upon a single moment in Medieval History, namely, the return of the Papacy to Rome in the year 1377 A.D., after the long residence at Avignon, and to seek to discern the relation of the circumstances attendant thereon to certain elements of permanent interest in the history of religion. The value of such a study lies in its clarifying and regulative contribution to the understanding of the fundamental realities of religion in every age, and therefore to a more adequate appreciation of the religious consciousness of our own times.

The sources and authorities which made possible this research are numerous and are listed in connection with the Bibliography at the conclusion of the thesis. For our own immediate purpose special value has been attached to certain very human and psychologically revealing documents, which may, perhaps, enable us to transmute the partial framework of the history into a means for a re-evaluation of the significance of man's religious nature. These documents include:-

Dante Alighieri

"Divine Comedy" (Divina Commedia), translated and edited by A. J. Butler. London, 1880.
 Dante's eclogues. Boston, 1927.
 "De Monarchia", translated and edited by F. J. Church. London 1879.

Francesco Petrarca

Sonnets, Triumphs, and other poems of Francesco Petrarca, translated into English by Thomas Campbell. London, 1859.
 A Selection from his Correspondence, translated by Robinson and Rolfe. 2nd ed., New York, 1914.
 The Triumphs of Francesco Petrarch, Florentine Poet Laureate, translated by Henry Boyd. Cambridge, Mass., 1906.

Giovanni Villani

Selections from the Chroniche Florentine of Giovanni Villani, translated by Rose E. Selfe. London, 1897.

St. Birgitta

Revelationum Sanctae Birgittae. Edited by G. E. Klemming. Stockholm, 1854.
 Revelationum Sanctae Birgittae, English translation, London, 1873.
 Revelationum extravagantes, English translation. London, 1873.

St. Catharine

The Dialogue of the Seraphic Virgin, Catharine of Siena, translated by Algar Thorold. London, 1896.
 The Letters of St. Catherine, translated by Vida A. Scudder. New York, 1905.

In making this study it is proposed briefly to review the history of the residence of the popes at Avignon, and at the same

time to seek to analyze its religious significance from four points of view:

- I. Avignon, a negation of the Idea of the Papacy as an Institution.
- II. Avignon, an undermining of the Principle of Ecclesiastical Authority.
- III. Avignon, a synonym for Moral and Ethical Corruption.
- IV. Avignon, an occasion for the protest of Spiritual Aspiration.

Each of these four aspects of this famous episode in the life of the Medieval Papacy has an evident relation to that which is basic and permanent in religion itself. Loyalty to an institution, the search for a divinely sanctioned source of authority, the demand for a life which shall exemplify moral and ethical purity, and the longing of the heart for the satisfaction of its spiritual aspirations,- these are limited to no one age, but are the constant quantities in the problem of the religious life.

The thesis upon which this study is constructed is that the close of this approximately seventy years residence at Avignon, in reality resulted, at least by powerful indirection, from the resistless propulsion of these unseen forces which are of the timeless essence of religion. (1)

1. It is to be recognized that political contacts and forces are also involved in the whole Avignon question. These have been very briefly adverted to in an appendix which will be found on pp 111 sqq. The interest of this thesis, however, moves in another sphere, and therefore the political aspects of the subject are not thoroughly discussed.

AVIGNON AND THE PAPACY AS AN INSTITUTION

1. THE PAPACY AS AN INSTITUTION.

(1) The Prelude to the Residence at Avignon.

The Power of the Papacy originated among peculiar difficulties. The theories connected with it, which granted to it an unprecedented prestige and influence, and which have taken an abiding hold upon successive generations, were the outgrowth of the accumulated triumphs of the Church throughout the march of the centuries. When, therefore, the Middle Ages dawned, it was to find a constitution and dogma within the Roman Catholic Church which clothed the Pope with jurisdiction well nigh unlimited, both in scope and in authority.

The Roman Church, developed through a process of natural generation from the simple church of the early apostles, became to its members the only ark of salvation. (1). But its development was not only along lines of providing spiritual guidance and instruction; from the middle of the eighth century the object of the Roman Church became more and more to secure independence of any secular control, (2) and to be supported by some strong power outside the limits of the peninsula.

Four outstanding occupants of St. Peter's chair, before the opening of the fourteenth century, by their ideals and accom-

1. Lea: Studies in Church History, pg. 166.
2. Mosheim: Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 11, Pg. 294 sqq.

plishments, made significant contributions to the developing power and theory of the Papacy. These four men who towered so high above their contemporaries were Gregory I, Hildebrand, Innocent III., and Boniface VIII. To the administrative skill of Gregory is due the organization of the medieval Papacy, and to his writings much of the dogmatic character of the modern Church; Hildebrand (1) made the Church his debtor by his endeavors to reform and purify the clergy and emancipate the Papal See from the domination of the State; Innocent III. (2) gathers fame unto his name by the almost absolute authority which he wielded, and by the efficiency by which he brought the Papal power to its zenith; Boniface VIII. (3) will ever be remembered as the persistent but unsuccessful protagonist of papal claims to temporal, as well as spiritual, dominion over kings and princes.

1. "The whole of the new Papal policy was personified in one man - Hildebrand. This pope, who has been by turns indiscreetly exalted or unjustly traduced, is the personification of the Roman pontificate in all its strength and glory. He is one of those normal characters in history which include within themselves a new order of things, similar to those presented in other spheres by Charlemagne, Luther, and Napoleon." D'Aubigne: Hist. of the Reform, pg. 47.
2. Muratori: Antiq. Ital. Medii aevi, tom. VI. pg. 116. Jo. de Ferreras: Histoire d'Espagne, tom. IV., pg. 8.
3. Gifford: History of France, Vol. I, pg. 507. Muratori: Scriptores rerum Ital., tom. III., pt. I., pg. 641. Boniface is characterized as "an unfortunate reminiscence" of the great popes by Gregorovius, V. 597.

" With Boniface VIII. fell the medieval Papacy. He had striven to develop the idea of the Papal monarchy into a definite system. He had claimed for it the noble position of arbiter amongst the nations of Europe. Had he succeeded, the power which, according to the medieval theory of Christendom, was vested in the Empire, would have passed over to the Papacy no longer as a theoretical right, but as an actual possession; and the Papacy would have asserted its supremacy over the rising state-system of Europe. His failure showed that with the destruction of the Empire the Papacy had fallen likewise." (1).

Boniface was followed by Benedict XI., characterized as (2) a good and holy man, and known in Italy as the "Angel of Peace". But this man who might have done so much for the Church in its true sphere of morality and spirituality, succumbed to an untimely death just eight months after he had been elevated to the succession of St. Peter, July 27, 1304. But even his short reign as Sovereign Pontiff had been of sufficient length to allow him to capitulate to the State, and thereby to put an end to the conflict with Philip the Fair which he had inherited from his predecessor.

1. Creighton: Hist. of the Papacy, Vol. 1., pg. 32.
2. Villani, VIII, 80.

(2) THE CONTRIBUTION TO THE PAPAL INSTITUTION OF
MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES

The Epoch making achievement of Gregory, the Great, in the conversion of the English formed an important and, for us, illustrative development of the Papal theory. (1). Augustine was sent forth from his monastery on the Caelian Hill, as a general might have been sent to conquer and organize a new province.

"The Pope issued his orders from the center of Christendom as to how this Church planted on its outskirts is to be organized, as an Emperor might have directed his lieutenant to divide and administer a province which had just been annexed. And it is worthy of attention how the Roman spirit pervades Gregory's direction. He desires as little change as possible provided the possession of what has been acquired is made sure....The new Church was also thoroughly medieval alike in the Papal authority with which it was established and the monastic tone by which it was pervaded. It was from the monasteries of Canterbury that the light of truth was expected to spread throughout the island." (2).

The missionary zeal with which the Bishop of Rome sponsored the extension of the boundaries of the Christian sphere of influence enhanced his authority as head of the visible Church. Not daunted by the difficulties constantly confronting them, nor absorbed by the cares of their position at home, the Bishops of Rome had boldly pursued a system of religious colonization. Christianity was first carried to the distant English. (3) while dangers were rife in Rome.

1. Mosheim: Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, Vol. III. Pg. 19 sqq.
2. F. J. Foakes-Jackson, pgs. 20-21.
3. Francis Godwin: de Conversione Britann, Cap. 1, pg. 7.
Spanheim: Historia Ecclesia Major, Saecul II., pg. 603, 604.

Then, inspired by Pope Gregory II., Winifred, as Archbishop of Mainz, organized a German Church, (1) subject to the successor of Saint Peter. And until the fall of the House of Hohenstaufen at the close of the thirteenth century, the support of the German constituency was of inestimable value to the Roman hierarchy. And wherever, as in England and Germany, the banner of Christianity was carried under the encouragement of the Roman Bishop, the Papal system became essentially 'imperium in imperio'. (2). Thereby was strength given to the development of a mighty ecclesiastical empire deeply rooted in the domestic and international politics of the world.

In the Middle Ages the ramifications of the vast Catholic fabric penetrated every tissue of human society. (3). In this unique and expanding organism each individual member was held under the supreme duty of promoting the prosperity and sway of the whole Church, but especially and particularly the authority of its sovereign head, the Bishop of Rome. The genius of the Papacy, therefore, resolved itself into the fact that it was the extended influence of the Bishop of Rome. (4).

1. Calmet: Histoire de Lorraine, tom. I.
2. The rapid propagation of Christianity is ascribed to the efficient will of God, to the energy of divine truth, and to the miracles wrought by Christians.
3. "During the Middle Ages, a jurisdiction, universal and absolute, gave to the Papacy unlimited and irresponsible control over the Church and all its members, from the highest to the lowest." Lea: Studies in Church History, Pg. 153.
4. Eusebius: Eccl. Hist., Book V, Chap. 23, Pg. 92

(3) THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAPAL INSTITUTION
THROUGH SACRED ASSOCIATIONS

The development of the Primacy of Rome through the course of the centuries and out of the significant experiences that enhanced its prestige, lent itself also to the development of traditions and customs that centered in the established order. Of these traditions and customs, perhaps the one which was most dominant was that the Primacy was an established institution in the city of Rome. (1). Having been associated together for so many hundreds of years, it was inconceivable to a vast multitude of people that it could be transferred to any other locality. The Papacy was a Roman institution. (2). The Papacy represented the national feelings of the Romans. Throughout successive ages this spirit has manifested itself in different forms. We do well to recognize the existence of an "inextinguishable memory amongst the Romans that their city was, and ought still to be, the capital of the world. Nor was it the Papacy alone in the Middle Ages which upheld this idea. The people desired the pre-eminence of their city as keenly as the clergy. Though Rome might be poor, turbulent, uncivilized, at times almost forsaken, though her armies were scattered like chaff by the iron troops of the north, the Roman still clung to the idea that he was the natural master of the world." (3).

At the opening of the fourteenth century, that portion of the Middle Ages in which this paper is interested, the Papacy gathered up and cherished all those memories and experiences which the Roman people held most dear. The association of the

1. Gregorovius speaks of Rome as "The Capitol of the Christian World". 'Rome in Mid. Ages', Vol. 6, pt. 1, pg. 5.
2. Wylie: The Papacy, pg. 38.
3. F. J. Foakes-Jackson, pg. 245.

Papacy with Rome was furthered, also, by those places, customs, and practices that had become part and parcel of the life of the Church. The Christian Church had never shared the Jewish horror of the representation in art of the holy things or even of the holiest persons (1). From the earliest days of the Catacombs the Roman Christians decorated the resting places of their dead with figures borrowed from the conventional art of the time, yet given a graceful symbolism of their own. The Apollo 'Kriophorus' became Christ bearing home the lost sheep; salvation by baptism was typified by the ark and Jonah in pictures; the fish recalled the name of Jesus, as Christ, Son of God, Saviour. Nay, amid the flowers and fruit with which the walls were decorated there were to be seen children sporting (amorette), the little cupids of the art of the day. In process of time, with the honour of the martyrs, the visible tokens of their existence in the form of relics were treasured by the faithful, and after the discovery of the holy places men were reminded constantly of the reality of the events which had brought salvation to the world, (2).

An eminent French authority on International Law has portrayed the amazing pretensions of the Papacy in the following brief statement:

1. "Most persons placed more reliance upon relics, generally false or at least dubious and uncertain, than upon Christ and His merits, or upon prayers founded on His mediation". Mosheim, vol. II., pg. 252.
2. Baluze: Miscellanea, tom. IV., pg. 130.

"As head of the Catholic Church, the Pope exercised powers and possessed attributes absolutely unprecedented. His authority transcended the material boundaries of the states and extended throughout the entire world, in the East as well as in the West... everywhere that there was a Catholic community." (1).

Georges Bry, Dean of the Law Faculty in the University of Marseilles, says:

"It is a superior power to which kings submitted their differences and accepted its adjustments. Furthermore, the Popes who found in that epoch, in the exercise of the temporal sovereignty, the right to meddle in international relations and the struggles of politics, participated also, as the leaders in religion, in the internal government of states, through their representatives, whose mission was less to play the roll of diplomatic agents than as supreme judges and sovereign administrators. The Church had, in every land, its tribunals, its own domains, and the right to levy certain imposts." (2).

With one accord the writers on International Law attest the tremendous and virtually unchallenged authority of the Popes, - an ever increasing power and authority until it reached its zenith in the Middle Ages (3).

Despite all the scandals that occurred, the Papal authority did not diminish, (4). Pilgrims of all ranks flocked to the tombs of the apostles; and, that their visit to Rome was not always bereft of benefit we have the record, as preserved in the Papal offices, of the dwindling receipts from these sources during the Avignon period. With the hierarchy domiciled elsewhere, the attraction of Rome as a city of value to the pilgrim grew less and less. But the faithful never forgot. They remembered, and they reminded the Popes of the

1. Bonfils, Droit International Public, 7th ed., Sec. 372.
2. Droit International Law, - 6th ed., Sec. 130.
3. Hallam: Middle Ages, Vol. 1, Pg. 546.
4. Ranke: History of the Popes, Vol. 1, Pg. 22.

fact that the most holy relics, customs, and traditions, were wrapped up in the very city of Rome, (1). As places of veneration, Jerusalem and Mecca are the only cities that can compare with Rome.

It is easy to understand that any change in the established order of the institution around which so much of the life of the century revolved, would, of necessity, elicit the protests of the people themselves. No other issue could hope for success when the psychology of the religious environment, cultivated over a period of centuries, was disturbed. Man is so constituted that much of his religious experience is inwrought with the whole fabric of his environment, The atmosphere of the Church edifice with which he has been associated, the compelling or restraining expectations of life-long acquaintances, and the genius of established habits in the discharge of religious obligations, are factors in the spiritual life of every age that are all too little recognized. Certainly these factors had a definite bearing upon the religious life of the communicants of the Roman Catholic Church. Custom and habit provided an "urge" to regular and traditional worship so long as they were unmolested; but when the hierarchy removed to Avignon, and the forces of psychological change began to work, the decay of the influence of the Church became alarming.

Once before in the history of Rome, after the terrible and "truceless" war against the Ostrogoths, the city is said to have experienced desolation, (2). Not that it was a city of ruins: no sieges without cannon could have made it that. The physical aspects of the city had not been disturbed. It

1. Hallam: Mid. Ages, Vol. 1, pg. 551-556.

2. Gibbon: Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Ch. 29-31, 33-36.

still stood with its houses, temples, baths, theatres, and aqueducts; but all were empty and idle. Even as the capital of the world it would not have attracted a population then. But the city was re-established. Men were drawn back to its deserted streets by the relics of the martyrs, the churches, and, above all, the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul. Rome arose from her desolation a "holy city". (1). But again the city had fallen upon evil times through the perfidity of the Pontiffs. With a wanton disregard for the sacred associations which bound the Papacy as an institution to the city of Rome, the Bishops of Rome had removed their residence to Avignon in Southern France. The belief of a people, saturated with the conception that all those things which they held precious and venerable in the Papal institution were inseparably connected with the city of Rome, was ruthlessly shattered as though it had been so much glass, (2). The Popes had erred in believing that the seat of the Papacy was of little importance, that it was only a matter of custom or choice, for as events shaped themselves, it was demonstrated that the union of the Papacy and Rome was very food and life to the members of the Church. The people refused to willingly submit to the desolation of the city and the easy transference of the Papal residence.

1. Goldast: Monarchia, Vol. k, pg. 236.
2. Villani: Chronicle Florentine, Bk. VIII., Sec. 82, Pg. 369.

(4) THE PAPAL INSTITUTION AND ITS CONTEMPORARIES

Among those who laboured ceaselessly to effect the return of the Pope,-the one remedy in their opinion which would accomplish their rehabilitation of Rome,-was Birgitta of Sweden, (1). Recognizing her as a prophetess of no mean ability, Gregory sent to her in June of 1373 to demand a sign relative to his duty towards the Christian Church. In answer, Birgitta wrote her last letter to Alfonso, which he was to show to the Pope. This letter set forth that if Gregory would do what was in him for the honour of God, the salvation of souls, and the renovation of the Church, he would receive a sign of eternal consolation. But, she pointed out, if he failed to journey to Rome, he would receive a sign of another kind in the loss of things both temporal and spiritual, and in the remorse of his conscience. Above all things it was his duty to make peace with Bernabo, for the discord carried danger to innumerable souls.

"For, even if the Pope were expelled from the popedom, it were better that he should humble himself and make peace on whatever occasion it could be done, rather than that so many souls perish in eternal damnation." (2)

1. St. Birgitta (also known as St. Brigitta and St. Bridget) "was a Swede of princely race, the widow of a nobleman Ulf Gudmarson, to whom she had borne eight children. Christ appeared to her in a convent in her native country, and she had heard His voice saying, 'Go to Rome, where the streets are covered with gold and the blood of martyrs; there shalt thou remain until thou hast seen the Pope and the Emperor, to whom thou shalt make known my words'. She came to Rome for the first time in 1346, a year before the revolution of Cola di Rienzo; for the second time during the jubilee of 1350, and then remained until her death". Gregorovius: Rome in the Mid. Ages, Vol. VI. Pt. II, Pg. 446.
2. Birgitta: Revelations IV., 127.

The letters, the preaching, the demonstrations of the time all add their testimony to the fact that the Papacy was removed from its home on the Tiber only against the universal opposition of Christendom, (1), France excepted. The majority of the people refused to accommodate themselves to the new situation. As a result, established religion lost its attraction, its influence, and its devotion. The people were neither charmed by it, nor was it supported by the people. How graphic and how vivid are the descriptions of the destitute conditions in the Eternal City! In a letter urging Gregory to return to Rome, we find this to be the burden and the feeling and the desire, expressed for all Italy, by another recognized leader, Saint Catharine of Siena: (2)

1. Goldast: *Monarchia*, Vol. III., pg. 996; Letters of St. Catherine, 94; Dante, *Eclogues*, VIII. 4; Petrarch, *Rerum Sinilium*, Lib. XIII., ep. 13
2. Catharine was the daughter of a dyer called Benincasa in Siena, born in the year that Cola di Rienzo accomplished the revolution in Rome, 1347. She was endowed with a prophetic spirit, was thoughtful and poetic. From childhood she had lived as a nun attached to the Dominican order. She was a true saint of the people. Petrarch, as the greatest sage of the time, as the friend of popes, kings, and republics, and as their frequent ambassador in affairs of state, had justly been regarded as the representative of Italy. Now that his voice was hushed the humble maiden of Siena undertook his mission. She protested against Avignon. She went as an angel of peace to and fro between Italy and the Pope. She exhorted Gregory XI. to reform the Church and to return to Rome. Gregorovius: *Rome in the Mid. Ages*, Vol. VI, Pt. II, Pg. 458.

"O my sweet, most holy babbo, I can see no other means for you to have back your little sheep, who like rebels have strayed from the fold of the Holy Church. Wherefore I pray you in the name of Christ crucified, and I would have you do this mercy for me, conquer their malices with your benignity. We are yours, O Father; and I know that they all in general realize that they have done wrong; but, albeit they have no excuse for working evil, nevertheless, because of the hardships and cruel injustice that they suffered by reason of bad pastors and governors, it seemed to them impossible to not act otherwise.... I tell you, sweet Christ on earth, in the name of Christ in heaven, that, if you act thus, without storm or strife, they will all come in sorrow for the offense committed and will lay their heads in your lap. Then you will rejoice, and we shall rejoice; for with love you will have put back the sheep that was lost into the fold of Holy Church". (1).

At no time during the whole period of the "captivity" did the people become reconciled to the adventure. Every abuse, every mark of decadence, every lack of proper spiritual nurture, was laid at the door of the absence of the Papacy from Rome. The people steadfastly refused to acquiesce in the new order of things. From the beginning of his pontificate, Gregory was under tremendous influence to return with the hierarchy to Rome. Of foremost importance in this concerted effort in addition to the labors of Birgitta, and Catharine was the work of Petrarch, who incessantly exhorted the Pope to repair the scandal caused by the defection. But the burden of all these great workers was that if the Pope would but return to Italy all would be well with the Church and with the States. In a vision Birgitta heard the Voice of the Blessed Virgin, promising that,

"if Gregory will restore the Papal chair to Rome and

1. Catherine: Letter 196, 4.

reform the Church, her prayers will flood his soul with spiritual joy from her divine Son; if not, he will assuredly feel the rod of Christ's indignation; his life will be cut short, and he will be summoned to the judgment of God". (1)

(5) THE AVIGNON SUCCESSION IN THE PAPACY

The conclave that was charged with the selection of a successor to Benedict XI. was torn by factions, and beset by secret intrigue and open discord, (2). After an interval of eleven months, Bertrand de Got was elected Pope, (3). He was the incumbent of the archbishopric of Bordeaux, and by his French connections made an acceptable compromise candidate. He chose the name of Clement V. His selection marked a complete triumph for the French party in the Sacred College. He was a Frenchman, and French he remained in his sympathies, in his habitations, and in his allegiances. After he had been elevated he never journeyed out of his beloved France. He held his court first at Bordeaux, then at Poitiers, later at Toulouse,

1. Birgitta: Revelaciones IV. 139.
2. Baluze: Vitae Pontificum Avenionensium, tom. 1 pg. 59.
3. Also known as Bertrand d' Agoust or de Goth. Mosheim, Vol II., pg. 371, tells us that "Philip caused Bertrand de Goth, a Frenchman and Bishop of Bourdeaux, to be created Pontiff on the 5th day of June A.D. 1305...The King thirsted for revenge and designed to extort from the court of Rome a condemnation of Boniface; he also meditated the destruction of the Templars, and other things of great importance, which he could hardly expect from an Italian pontiff. He therefore wished to have a French pontiff, whom he could control according to his pleasure, and who would be in a degree dependent upon him. The new pontiff who took the name of Clement V. remained in France as the king wished, and transferred the pontifical court to Avignon."

and from 1309 in Avignon. By the selection of this city for his court he gave a definite trend to the Papacy for the ensuing sixty-eight years. He surrounded himself with a gay court, (1) and surrendered to a life of sensuous luxury and the accumulation of wealth. In company with his sister, his niece, and his particular friend, the Countess of Talleyrand-Périgord, he dwelt at Avignon until his death, March 12, 1314. As the world judges success, he attained eminence; he left an estate of almost 1,000,000 florins, (2) said to be the equivalent of approximately \$2,500,000, (3).

With Clement V. the Papacy was established on French soil there to remain for a period almost identical with the exile of the children of Israel in the land of Babylon, 1305 to 1377.. The transference of the chair of St. Peter from the Eternal City of Rome was not the result of a preconceived and carefully executed plan, (4). Like so many critical and far-reaching events in the lives of states, as well as in those of individuals, the change was the result of no definite or matured policy; the bark

1. Petrarch described the Avignon court as the "fountain of afflictions, the refuge of wrath, the school of errors, a temple of lies, the awful prison, hell on earth"... "the sink of every vice, the haunt of all iniquities, a third Babylon, the Babylon of the West"... "filled with every kind of confusion, the powers of darkness overspreading it and containing everything fearful which had ever existed or been imagined by a disordered mind". Quoted by Robinson: Petrarch, pg. 87.
2. There are various estimates of the fortune left by Clement. Ehrle, V:147, places the amount at 314,000 florins. He calculates that Clement's annual income amounted to between 200,000 and 250,000 gold florins, of which he employed approximately one half in the maintenance of his court. He was successful, however, in saving more than 100,000 florins a year during his pontificate.
3. Villani, IX: 59 Characterized Clement "as licentious, greedy of money, a simoniac, who sold in his court every benefice for gold."
4. See Finke: Quellen, Pg. 92.

of Peter "drifted", rather than was steered, thither. But a continuance of the strong wind of French influence that was propelling that bark was evident in the election of the successor of Clement, (1).

Clement had surrounded himself with a formidable majority of French cardinals. And when the sacred college met in the episcopal palace of Carpentras, fifteen miles removed from Avignon, the French cardinals demanded an Avignon Pope: in fact, a Gascon Pope, (2). The pitiful story of the six cardinals, who depicted the ruin of Rome and of the patrimonies because of the absence of the Pope from Italy, did not arouse sufficient sympathy to secure the election of a Pope of their preference. After an unceremonious dispersal because of the menacing attitude of the infuriated followers of the Gascon cardinals, to the grave scandal of Christendom, the members of the college refused to agree on a place of meeting until Philip of Valois enticed them to Lyons, entrapped them in a monastery, and told them they were prisoners until they made a Pope, (3). Under these circumstances Jacques de Cahors, Cardinal of Porto, became John XXII. (4).

1. Baluze: Vitae Pontif Avenion, tom II, Pg. 290-291.
2. Muratori: Antig. Ital. tom. III., Pg. 397.
3. Gregorovius: Vol. 6, Pt. 1, Pg. 101.
4. Villani, IX: 81 gives the suspicious report that the cardinals, weary of their inability to make a choice, left it to John. Following the advice of Cardinal Napoleon Orsini, he grasped his supreme chance and elected himself. He was crowned at Lyons.

John is described as a "little, dry, billicious old man of seventy-two: but an able lawyer and administrator and a man of wonderful vigor for his age". (1). Certainly he was not morally and spiritually attractive, but he had a remarkable and powerful personality, and he achieved more than has often been supposed. After a gorgeous coronation ceremony at Lyons on September 5th, he at once proceeded by boat to Avignon, (2). The Italian cardinals left him in disgust; but John promptly promoted ten new cardinals, of whom nine were French. The cardinal college was unmistakably French. The Papacy was fixed at Avignon.

When John entered Avignon he found the town still small and poorly built. An ambition was born within him to build a great Papal palace. Unto the accomplishment of this ambition John set himself, and as a monument to his energy may still be seen that massive Gothic structure with its six great towers, though now it stands in spoiled magnificence, (3). John XXII. is remembered in history because of his success in the organization of the Papal income, (4). His annual income, upon a conservative estimate, has been placed at \$1,000,000 a year, -an enormous amount when it is remembered that the patrimonies were mostly alienated, and that the revenue from pilgrimages and the sale of relics

1. Villani , IX: 70.
2. Petrarch: Rerum Sinilium, Lib. VI, ep. 4.
3. Thomas Oakey: Avignon 294, 309-329; Baluze, op. cit. Vol. I: Pg. 261, 262.
4. John XXII. is known as the financial wizard of the Pontiffs.

had become insignificant. But the labors necessary to acquire so great a revenue left the Pope little time for the discharge of the duties for which he had primarily been elevated, (1).

Avignon, itself, flourished under this "stream of gold." (2) Enabled by the generosity of John, his family and his cardinals began to rear great houses and palaces, whose vaulted roofs rose above the lowly dwellings of the town: a gay and colorful life filled the streets of the Papal city. But what a life it was! In all its phases it was inconsistent with the proper life of "religious", (3). With the sacred Scriptures in its hands, with the apostolic traditions behind it, with the New Testament code of ethics before its eyes, under the avowed commission of the Christ of love and peace and truth and purity, and opportunity.

1. According to Villani XI; 20, John XXII. left behind him 18,000,000 gold florins and 7,000,000 florins worth of jewels and ornaments, -in all 25,000,000 florins, or \$60,000,000 of our present coinage. Villani concludes his record saying that no longer were remembered the words which the Good Man in the Gospels spake to His disciples, "Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven." Another writer, Galvoneus de La Flamme says John left 22,000,000 florins besides other "unrecorded treasure." This writer adds, the world did not have a richer Christian in it than John XXII. (Muratori, XII: 1009).
2. Halder says, Pg. 103, that the characteristic of John's pontificate was finance. der Fiskalismus, Tangl, pg. 40, compares his commercial instincts to the concern for high ideals which animated Gregory VII., Alexander III., and Innocent III.
3. "religious" is an expression used by contemporary writers of the Avignon period to include those dedicated to a religious life and living in holy orders.

was offered which, if it had been siezed, might have changed the history of Europe. But the opportunity was not bought up. On the other hand, Petrarch, a comtemporary historian, rhetorician, and poet, has characterized the Papal Avignon as "Babylon", "a living hell", and "the sink of all vices", (1). And while we recognize that this characterization applies particularly to Avignon under Clement VI', we are assured that the condition was only a change "from bad to worse" since John's day.

The Popes of this entire period were controlled by the French crown, (2). As it began, so this period continued, one of general decline and loss of prestige, in which the ascendant power of the political governments was distinctly and certainly marked. The five Popes who succeeded John the XXII. were never able to rise above the standards, or free themselves from the political domination, that had been manifest from the very first in this "captivity." What an indictment is that brought against the Avignon Papacy: "The morals of Avignon during the Papal residence were notorious throughout Europe. The Papal household had all the appearance of a worldly court, torn by envies and troubled by schemes of all sorts. Some of the Avignon Popes left a good name, but the general impression was bad,-weak, if not vicious. The curia was notorious for its extravagance, venality, and sensuality. Nepotism, bribery, and simony were unblushingly practised. The financial operations of the Papal family became oppressive to an extent unknown before.

1. Petrarch: Rerum Sinilium, Lib. IX, ep. 3.
2. Celebrated pamphlet of Marsiglio of Padua, 'Defenser Pacis.'

Indulgences, applied to all sorts of cases, were made a source of increasing revenue....This ill-fame gives Agivnon a place at the side of the courts of Louis XIV. and Charles II. of England", (2).

(1)
The years of the rule of John were not devoid of other interests than that of building and finance. A new feud broke out between the Papacy and the Empire; and the accession of Lewis of Bavaria (3) without the full consent of the Pope did not pour oil on troubled waters. And so to his successor, Benedict XII, (4), John bequeathed a troubled heritage. But Benedict was an entirely different type of man from John. There is a strong probability that he would have been reconciled to Lewis, and even have returned to Rome, had it not been for the deterrent influence of the French king. The entire relationship surrounding the Papacy at this period was an incontrovertible witness to the subservience to temporal powers that had overtaken the Church.

Clement VI. succeeded Benedict. He, likewise, was a tool of the French sovereign and a man so thoroughly in love with his native country, and so ardent in his desire that the hierarchy should ever remain there, that he purchased the territory of Avignon

1. In his endeavor to make his kingdom the most potent in Europe, King Louis of Hungary scrupled not to stoop to depths of infamy. For instance, in 1347 to avenge the death of his brother Andrew, and with the black standard of vengeance floating before him, he invaded the Kingdom of Naples and executed his own cousin Charles of Durazzo.
3. Mosheim: Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. pg. 373-375.
4. Baluze: Vitae Pontiff. Avenion, tom. I., 221-224.
2. Schaff: History of the Christian Church, Vol. V., pt. II: pg. 46

from Queen Giovanna, (1) for 80,000 Gold florins, (2) - and this without apparent sacrifice on his own account. Innocent VI., (3) was elected to succeed Clement, and has the distinction of being one of the best Popes in the Avignon line. He exerted his influence in three directions,-the reform of ecclesiastical discipline, the achievement of peace in many quarters of Europe, and the encouragement of learning.

1. There are three variations of the spelling of this name because of the variety of relationship which she sustained to her differently located possessions. Giovanna she received as Queen of Sicily after 1356; Joanna indicated her relationship to Naples, of which she was the Queen from 1342-1382 by the will of her grandfather, Robert; Jeanne was the spelling of her name derived from the fact that she was countess of Provence. Walsingham in his "Historia Anglicana", speaks of her as a mysterious and unhappy woman; "the great harlot that sitteth upon many waters and was called the Queen of Naples". She had been married to Andrew, the second son of Robert of Hungary, in 1333, when both were seven years of age. But the marriage was unhappy, and on September 18, 1345, Andrew was strangled as he left the Queen's chamber at Aversa. Suspicion implicated members of the royal family, and to avenge his death, the dead man's brother, Louis of Hungary, a young king strong and terrible, invaded Italy in 1347 with his army. Giovanna, who in the meantime had married her cousin, Luigi of Taranto, fled to Provence (of which she was Countess), where she convinced the Pope of her innocence, and sold Avignon to him for a Papal domain.
2. "Joanna sold Avignon to the Pope on June 12, 1348, for the absurdly insignificant sum of 80,000 gold florins, and the sale may consequently be regarded as a gift of gratitude or a bribe given to the judge. The characterless queen, it is true, when securely seated on the throne of Naples, repeatedly protested against her own action; saying that she had been led astray by her youth, by the weakness of her sex, and by various intrigues. Her successors made similar protests, but the popes remained in legal possession of Avignon." Gregorovius: Vol. VI, pt. I, pg. 334.
3. Innocent VI., or Stephen Albert a Frenchman, previously bishop of Ostia, governed the church ten years and died A.D. 1362. There was more moderation and probity in this pope than in his predecessor; though he favored his own relatives too much, in the opinion of historians; in other respects he encouraged the pious and the well informed, held the monks to their duty, and did many things worthy of commendation. See Baluze: Vitae Pontif. Avenion. tom. I, pg. 321.

2. MOVEMENTS TOWARD THE RETURN TO ROME

Now and then upon the horizon of history there looms an especially interesting character. Such a man was Urban V, (1), successor of Innocent VI. Petrarch says:

"The newly elected Pontiff was fifty-three years old, Never having been a cardinal, he was untainted by the corruption of the Curia. A man of simple and blameless life, learned and devout, he hated pomp and luxury, abominated simony and nepotism, and all the vices he saw around him. His choice of a name, Urban, was held by the Italians to point towards Rome." (2)

Urban is reputed to have been one of the best of the Avignon Popes, and he resolved to remove to widowed Rome, and despite pressure from the king of France and the majority of the cardinals, he left the Papal palace of Avignon on April 30, 1367. On landing at Corneto in June, Urban was met by a multitude of nobles and prelates, and the great warrior-cardinal, who laid at his feet the keys of an hundred captured cities. (4)

1. William Grimoard, abbot of St. Victor at Marseilles, was chosen to succeed Innocent VI., and chose the name of Urban V. He is said to have been "free from great faults, if we except those which are almost inseparable from the office of a pope." A good biography of his life is given us in Muratori: *Scriptores rerum Italicar.* tom., III., pt. II., pg. 589 sqq.
2. Petrarch: *Rerum Sinilium*, Lib. VII, ep. 3.
3. Petrarch: *Rer. Senil.*, Lib. IX., ep. 2. For the Pope's Journey see the *Iter Italicum Urbani V.* in Baluz, *Vitae*, II. pg. 768.
4. The Pope (Urban) entered Viterbo in state on June 9, 1367, "with such grace and exultation that it seemed the very stones would cry: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." "This Holy Father," wrote Giovanni Colombini to the Abbess and nuns of Santa Bonda, "is considered a good man, and we believe that God through him is working good and holy things... Think, Madonna and our mothers, that here is all the nobility in the world, with pomps and delights and goodly robes and lordship, and all lovely things and great are here." The Romans were profoundly edified, even by the Papal courtiers. "You could not imagine how much virtue we find in these cardinals and in these great lords and many others, so much so that we are confounded at what they do. They have more humility in their great estate and in their vast wealth than we, poor and proud, in our vile and abject condition; we make the show, and they do the deeds." Letter del B. Giovanni Colombini, 90-93; 95; 108.

Instrumental in effecting the return of Urban to Rome had been the Swedish princess, Birgitta. She had left her native land in 1349, and journeying by Milan, Pavia, and Genoa, entered Rome for the Jubilee. With Italy the rest of her life was to be associated. She has left on record, (1) the impressions that the Holy City made upon her when she entered it. The desolation of it struck deeply into her soul, and, inspired by a Voice, she wrote pages of pure eloquence said to be not unworthy of Petrarch himself. One of the entries regarding the state of the City is instructive. The Voice cried in her heart:

"O Rome, Rome, thy walls are broken down; thy gates are left unguarded; thy vessels are sold and thine altars are desolate; the living sacrifice and morning incense are consumed in the outer courts, and therefore the sweetest odour of sanctity rises no more from the Holy of Holies." (2)

But still she saw room for hope. She could not think that the desolation around her on every side was according to the will of God; she could not believe that He who had ministered to the souls of men through the centuries from the Eternal City could now will that its spoilation should be perpetual.

"Rome is verily as thou has seen," said the Voice; "the altars are desolate, the offertory is spent in the taverns, and they that serve, serve the world rather than God. Know nevertheless, that from the time of Peter the humble even until Boniface ascended the seat of pride, innumeralbe souls have ascended to Heaven. Rome is still not without friends of God; let them call upon the Lord, and He will have mercy upon them." (3)

1. Revelaciones III:27; Revelaciones extravagantes, 8.
2. St. Birgitta, Revelaciones III:27.
3. Revelaciones III:27.

The great event for which Birgitta had long waited in patience occurred on October 21, when Pope Urban, mounted on a mule led by the Emperor Charles, entered the city of Rome. But the event, itself, brought the Princess a personal trial and disappointment. She had communicated her visions concerning the reformation of the Church to the Pope. She had written to the Emperor, urging him to unite in this great work; and she now wrote again in the name of Christ, bidding him hearken to her revelations, and strive to make the Divine justice and mercy feared and desired upon earth. (1). But Charles simply ignored her, and Urban had no time at present to attend to a woman's admonitions. (2).

Urban found the city in no better condition than had Birgitta. Indeed, its very desolation palled upon him in contrast to the beautiful city of Southern France that he had left, (3). He began to grow uneasy. And again the Voice of high command spoke unto Birgitta:

"Thou shalt remain in Rome until thou seest the Pope and the Emperor, and thou shalt speak to them in My name the words that I shall tell thee." (4)

Eventually, at Montefiascone, Birgitta was ushered into the presence of the Sovereign Pontiff. Urban received her kindly, granted her the authorization of her rule, but refused to discuss the affairs of the Holy See.

1. Revelaciones IV:45; VIII: 50,51.
2. Gardner: Saint Catherine of Siena, Pg. 67.
3. Oakey: Avignon 267 sqq.
4. Birgitta: Revelaciones III:27

Upon meeting with this treatment, the Princess started home, but presently the Pope sent a messenger after her, to ask her what was the divine will in the matter. The visionary spirit seized again upon Birgitta, and to her the blessed Virgin spoke in her heart to this effect:

"Because of my prayer, the Pope obtained the infusion of the Holy Spirit that he should go through Italy to Rome, for nought else save to do justice and mercy, to strengthen the Catholic faith, to confirm peace, and thus to renovate Holy Church....Now he turneth to me his back and not his face, and he intends to depart from me; to this a malign spirit leads him with its fraud. He is weary of his divine labor and lusteth for his bodily ease....If it should happen that he return to the regions where he was elected Pope he will in a brief while receive such a stroke that his teeth will gnash, his sight will darken and grow dim, and all the limbs of his body will tremble....And he will render account before God of the things which he has done in the Papal chair, and of the things which he has omitted, but could have done to the honor of God in his great position." (1).

Despite this warning, which Birgitta had delivered in person, Urban went sadly on his way. (2). The ruinous condition in which he found the city, and the little success which rewarded his endeavors to repress the disorder of the times, made him view as hopeless the task he had undertaken. (3) On September 5, 1370, he sailed from Corento, reaching France on the 16th. Three months later, on December 19, he died at Avignon, in the

1. Revelaciones IV: 138. Cf Revelaciones IV:144, and Petrarch: Rerum Sinilium, lib. XIII. ep. 13.
2. For a fuller discussion of this point see Gardner: Saint Catherine of Siena, Pg. 74.
3. Urban found that the realization of his plans were impossible. He had intended to crush Bernabo Visconti, the tyrant, first, and then send all Christendom forth to recover the Holy Places. But "wars raged everywhere. France was at war with England; the Emperor was on the point of hostilities with Hungary; the King of Hungary was assailing the Venetians. Italy clung to her state of anarchy. Siena fought Perugia for the possession of Cortona and Montepulciano; Florence, with mercenaries under Sir John Hawkwood." In vain did Urban publish bull after bull, hurling anathemas at the companies and their leaders. The condotteri mocked at Rome's thunders. Gardner: Saint Catherine of Siena, Pg. 62.

house of his brother Anglico, at his own wish stretched on the couch of poverty and dressed in the Benedictine habit. Well-intentioned, he had been never-the-less an ineffectual Pope; but he remained a faithful monk to the very end. (1)

Urban had pioneered the way for the close of the "Babylonian Captivity." (2). On December 30 Cardinal Pierre Roger de Beaufort was elected to succeed him; he was ordained priest on January 4, 1371, and, the next day was crowned Pope under the title of Gregory XI. He was the last incumbent in the line of legitimate French Popes. Urgent exhortations to return to Rome were despatched to Gregory XI. Petrarch, in an apologia that amounted almost to fanaticism, heaped the most unmeasured epithets on "the barbarous cloaca of the world," Avignon, (3). He did not live to see the final return of the Papacy to Rome, for he died July 18, 1374, just two years before Gregory turned his back upon

1. Muratori: Scrip. Rev. Ital., tom. 1, Pg. 642.
2. Petrarch, in his last letter to Urban, 1370, addressed the fugitive successor of Peter in the name of Italy: - "When I was lacerated with deadly sores, thou didst descend to me to cure my wounds, and didst say with Peter: 'I am an Apostle of Christ; have no fear of me, my daughter.' Thou didst begin to pour into them oil and wine, and now, without having bound them up or applied the remedies, thou art departing from me. Thou didst find, it may be, that my malady was such as seemeth to thee incurable, and for this thou art, perchance, deserting me, like a despairing physician who is ashamed to await the death of his patient. But who knoweth that He would not lay His hand upon thee, who healed the sick from all diseases? Who knoweth if He would be with thee, at whose word the limbs of the infirm were made whole? Thou art the vicar of the one, the successor of the other; thou holdest the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven....If thou wilt not be moved by my entreaty, He will meet thee on the way, who to Peter's words when he fled: 'Lord, whither goest thou? answered: 'I go to Rome to be crucified again.'" A.M. Nandini, Bibliotheca Leopoldina Laurentiana, Tom. II., Coll. 101-103.
3. Petrarch, in a letter written March 1372, estimates the character of the French as: "leves, laetique homines, faciles ac jucundi convictus, qui libenter adsciscant gaudia, curas pel-lant ludendo, ridendo, canendo, edendo et bibendo. - barbarorum omnium mitiores--Ut ad bella suscipienda Gallor, alacer ac promptus est animus, sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates perferendas mens eorum est."

the land of France. The exhortations which the Romans addressed to Gregory through Petrarch were supported by Birgitta, (1). and by Catherine, daughter of Benincasa, a dyer in Siena. Gregorovius has given us a careful estimate of these women whose influence upon their times was so great.

"In no direction does nature seem to tolerate isolated phenomena. As Francis and Dominic appeared contemporaneously, so likewise did Bridget and Catherine of Siena. The current of intellect and power in the Church of Innocent had produced two great founders of religious orders of far-reaching activity; from the weak or vicious period of Avignon issued only two visionary women, who shone as ideals of Christian virtue, but who also testified to the need of reform in the corrupt Church. The religious heroines of antiquity, Miriam, Deborah, Judith and Cassandra, would have seemed entirely strange types of human nature beside these incorporeal prophetesses of the fourteenth century, of whom one begged alms as a pilgrim, the other exchanged her heart for that of the Saviour. The renunciation of self, however, is a heroic action, which transcends every other in moral granduer." (2).

Gregory set forth from Avignon, for Rome, September 13, 1376. (3)

The decision had not been easy; his relations, including his aged father, his Curia which included twenty-one French Cardinals out of a total membership of twenty-six, and the French King had besought

1. Birgitta died July 23, 1373; and received sobemn burial in the Convent of S. Lorenzo in Paneperna.
2. Gregorovius: Rome in the Mid. Ages, Bk. XII. ch. II (vol. VI, pt. II, Pg. 457).
3. See here, the Epistolae Colucii Salutati, written in the name of the Florentines, Pt. 1, Pg. 47 - 100 - published at Florence by L. Mehus.

him in vain to remain, (1). Avignon recognized that the Papacy was departing forever, and with the Papacy the splendour of the city. The dismay was great. The voyage to Corneto was stormy and unfortunate, (2). It consumed from October 2, when Gregory embarked with the Curia at Marseilles, until December 5, (3). It was a memorable and momentous experience.

The day of the Papal entry into Rome was one of joy and glad acclaim, (4). Nor had any preparation been omitted which might increase the impression of the spectacle, and the gorgeousness of the event whereby the Papacy was re-established in its proper home on the Tiber. Gregory's name will forever live in this connection. Yet, doubtless, he has been assigned far more credit in

1. The Duke of Anjou (brother of the French King), foreseeing the Schism, if Gregory XI. died in Rome, said to him: "si vous mourez par dela, ce que il est bien apparent, si comme vos maitres de physique me disent, les Romains, qui sont merueilleux et traitres, seront maitres, et seigneurs de tous les cardinzux, et feront pape de force a leur volonte." Quoted by Gregorovius from Froissart, liv. II. c20.
2. The voyage was unfortunate; the sea was stormy; some vessels were wrecked; the Bishop of Luni was drowned; no good was foreboded. Because of the storms, the Pope and his train sailed close to the Italian coast, and spent the nights in the towns along the shore.
3. On stepping ashore at Corneto, "the Pope was received with rejoicings by an innumerable crowd, as Urban V. had been received nine years before, but no Albornoz now appeared with the keys of a hundred conquered cities; no envoys of republics offered homage; no princes with trains of soldiers showed themselves. With faint heart Gregory set foot on the ecclesiastical State....The Pope celebrated a joyless Christmas at Corneto...Not until January 16 did he step ashore on the banks of the Tiber. The whole of Rome had come to St. Paul's... The solemn entry took place on January 17, 1377...The procession took its way thru the venerable gate of S. Paul's thru which a Pope had never before entered." Gregorovius: Rome in Mid. Ages, Vol. 6, pt. 2, pg. 478-481.
4. Gregorovius: Rome in the Mid. Ages, Vol. VI., pt. II, pp. 480-484.

this re-establishment of the Papacy in Rome than he rightfully deserves. (1). He was neither enthusiastic or over-anxious to make the trip to Rome; and it is an indisputable fact that he was engaged in preparations to return to France when death overtook him. (2). Perhaps, even in death, he made a larger contribution to the life and influence of his Church than he could have done in life. For as events shaped themselves, from that day to this no Frenchman has ever sat in St. Peter's chair at Rome, and no universally recognized Pope has dwelt beyond the walls of the Vatican. In Gregory, the "Babylonish Captivity" had drawn to a close.

Looking at this event from the balcony of the centuries, the question presents itself, 'What led to the return of the Popes to Rome?' Was it merely an expedient? Was it the natural man following the line of least resistance? Was it the dominant psychological relationships that inseparably connected the Papacy with Rome? Was it the power of the tremendous pressure brought to bear upon the Pope, - a power so great that it outweighed the influence of the King of France, the College of Cardinals, and the blood relationships of life? Was it the cold calculation that saw in the move a way to preserve the States of the Church,

1. St. Catherine's Letter 171:4
2. "Gregory soon after repented of his removal; for by their long absence from Italy, the authority of the pontiffs was so fallen there, that the Romans and the Florentines had no scruple to insult and abuse him in various ways. He therefore purposed to return to Avignon; but was prevented by death, which removed him from earthly scenes, in the year 1378." See Baluze, Vit. Pontif. Aven., tom. I. Pg. 426 sqq.

and appreciably increase the Papal revenue? Was it the insistence for a proper spiritual leadership which was duly recognized as impossible from Avignon? Without a doubt everyone of these motives made some contribution. Probably no one of them, of itself, would have been sufficiently strong to have effected the re-establishment. But, unitedly, these causes were of such magnitude and significance that eventually they prevailed.

The interest of this paper is not so much in adducing any new evidence relative to the return of the Papacy and Curial Court to Rome, or in demonstrating some startling fact in connection therewith. Rather, the purpose is to inquire into the permanence and universality of the impulses which manifested their power when the Papacy returned from the quiet city on the Rhone to the ancient city of the Caesar's. The question which confronts us in this study is this: 'Were the causes that led to the close of the "Babylonish Captivity" (1) of the Papacy related to and an expression of the religious nature of man?'

1. An expression which was coined by Petrarch.

AVIGNON AND THE PRINCIPLE OF ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITY

THE PRINCIPLE OF ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITY

In a world ruled by a good Being, obedience must and will lead to wellbeing. The mother of all graces of conduct is the submission of the finite will to the infinite will and to divine authority. As the interpreter of that Infinite will, the Church has developed its ministries and services to men. The Church is more than wood and brick and stone, - more even than flesh and blood, - it is the composite soul of all who have entered into its life. It alone can answer Macbeth's question:

"Canst thou minister to a mind diseased;
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow;
Raze out the written troubles of the brain;
And with some sweet, oblivious antidote
Cleanse the foul bosom of that perilous stuff
Which weighs upon the heart?" (1)

Because of its ministry, the Church has laid claim to the first place in the hearts, the highest place in the minds, the principal place in the activities, peace and progress of the life of men. The subject of authority in the organization of the Church is one of fundamental and universal interest.

In the Church of Rome, authority is vested in the Bishop of Rome, known as the Pope, who is, according to Catholic doctrine, "the successor of Saint Peter, and as such the Vicar of Christ, the visible head of the Church." (2).

1. Shakespeare: Macbeth, Act 5, sc. 3.
2. Catholic Dictionary.

"The identification of the Petrine idea with Rome was needed to localize and make concrete the abstract claims of a divine commission. Whatever powers were conveyed to Peter by Jesus Christ were now held to be continued in full measure to his duly appointed successors in the Roman bishopric. Although a majority of Christians reject both the Roman interpretation of the Petrine commission and the historical proof of a "bishopric" of Peter in Rome, and still more emphatically deny any connection whatever between these two sets of ideas, the historian finds abundant explanations of the origin and growth of the Roman supremacy without resorting to these sources. Doubtless the tradition of an apostolic origin was a powerful aid to the bishops of Rome in establishing their claims to supremacy."(1).

The precedence of the Bishop of Rome was a matter of natural growth. The need of organization was forced upon the Church by internal discords and the hardships of stormy days. (2). The traditions of organizations were a bequest from the Imperial system. As early as A.D. 347 the Council of Sardica had entrusted the Bishop Julius of Rome with the duty of receiving and disposing of appeals from all other bishops. This power of the Bishop of Rome was increased when the Council of Chalcedon (3) accepted the deliverance of Leo the Great as an orthodox settlement of the weary contests about the union of the divine and human natures in the person of Christ. Indeed, by their integrity, impartiality, and practical sagacity, the heritage bequeathed by so eminent a man as Gregory the Great, together with the historic prestige of the city itself, won for the Bishops of Rome, generally, pre-eminent recognition. (4)

The authority of the Roman See was also magnified by the decadent condition of the Imperial government in Rome. (5).

1. New International Encyclopaedia: article, Papacy.
2. Lea: Studies in Church History, Pg. 325.
3. Concil. Chalcedon, Con. 17.
4. Bower: Lives of the Popes, Vol. III, Pg. 331.
5. Muratori: Antiq. Ital. Medii aevi, tom V., pg. 712.

When Europe was disorganized through the invasion of the Vandals, (1) and a fallen Roman Empire demonstrated how superficial the subjugation of Europe had been, it was the Church which helped to chain the wandering warriors to the soil, to create a love for the land and (2) for nature, and so to prepare for the patriotism of more modern times. At the twilight of the Middle Ages, when the barbarians from Northern Europe poured over the frontiers of the decaying Roman Empire and swept away the Imperial fabric that had so long dominated and controlled the civilized world, two institutions arose for the restraint of society amidst the strife and commotion of life in that turbulent age. Those institutions were the Papacy and the Feudal System. (3) As barbarian invaders threatened the city of Rome, no Caesar could be found to roll back with valorous legions the tide of invasion and interpose a barrier stronger than the Alps. In this extremity the Bishop of Rome, Leo I., who had already attained to ecclesiastical eminence in the West, being then the most conspicuous person in Rome, undertook the protection of the city. This opportunity to render peculiar services to his city greatly enhanced the prestige of his office. The popes vied with the triumphant leaders of the conquering barbarians for civil supremacy. While conceding to the feudal potentates sovereign power over their respective countries, the Popes claimed suzerainty over all the rulers of the earth and made good that claim by receiving homage from the most powerful

1. Neither the time nor the circumstances, in which this people embraced Christianity, can be ascertained. It is probable that they got their first knowledge of Christianity from their neighbors, the Goths, and according to the Arian principles
2. Eusebius: Hist. Eceles. Lib. V.:24
3. Goldast: Monarchia, Vol. I: pg. 188.

monarchs of the Middle Ages. (1) Demanding fealty of every Roman Catholic throughout the World, from the king on the throne to the humblest peasant, the Popes exercised the right to control the domestic and foreign affairs of every nation, (2). The Papal institution was well on its way to unprecedented authority.

1. "Nothing in all past history is better authenticated than the fact that the Papacy has claimed supremacy over kings and kingdoms. This claim is a legitimate inference from the fundamental principles of the Papacy,-that these principles are of such a nature as to imply a Divine right,-and that the arrogant claim based on these principles, Rome has not only asserted, but succeeded in establishing. Her doctors have taught it, her casuists have defended it, her councils have ratified it, the Papal bulls have been based upon it, and her popes have reduced it to practice." Wylie: The Papacy, pg. 146.
2. Lea: Studies in Church History, pg. 388, sqq. Goldast: Monarchia, Vol. I, pg. 237.

(1) THE AUTHORITY VESTED IN THE ROMAN SEE

To permit a genuine understanding of the religious reasons contributing to the close of the "Babylonish Captivity" it is necessary to recognize the fact that the Papacy was founded on the principle of inherent authority. (1). Expressive of this authority above the bishops and princes of the world accorded the Bishop of Rome were the recognized emblems of sovereignty, - the throne and the crown.

In every land and in every age a throne has signified sovereign power. Emperors and kings deliver messages of state and perform the most solemn of their imperial and royal functions seated on thrones. By the universal custom and consent of the human race, thrones belong exclusively to persons vested with supreme and sovereign authority. It is in view of this historic background that Websters Unabridged Dictionary defines a throne as a

"Seat of a Prince or Bishop, or other high dignitary... to which attaches sovereign power and dignity."

1. "All who had any share in the government of the church were like sovereign lords; at least in their feelings and dispositions. They stiffly maintained with violence and threats, with both wiles and weapons, those fundamental principles of the Papish canon law, that the Roman pontiff is the sovereign lord of the whole world, and that all other rules in church and state have so much power and authority as he sees fit to allow them to have. Resting on this eternal principle as they conceived it to be, the pontiffs arrogated to themselves the absolute power, not only of conferring social offices or benefices as they are called, but also of giving away empires, and of divesting kings and princes of their crowns and authority." Mosheim: Ece. Hist. Vol. II, pg. 294.

Certainly through the progress of the centuries this had become true of the Bishop of Rome, the Supreme Pontiff of all Christendom. And as though it were a seal of this authority the Pope is vested with a crown, commonly called a tiara. The original Papal crown consisted of the cap alone, and was first used by Bishop Nicholas I. (858-867). Alexander II. added a second coronet about 1065, and Urban V. (1362-1370) a third coronet. This crown is placed on the Pope's head at his coronation by the second cardinal deacon, with the words,

"Receive the tiara, adorned with three crowns, and know that thou art father of princes, and kings, ruler of the world, vicar of our Saviour Jesus Christ." (1).

And all the authority that was implied in these symbols was granted to the Popes until the death of Boniface VIII.

The authority secured for the Roman See was the direct result of certain definite experiences within the Christian Church. For the history of the Church is the history of realities, a history of experiences regarded as more precious than life.

"The history of the early Church shows that even in the Apostolic times the Christian congregations felt a need of organization. As the Apostles passed away, the need of presidency over meetings of the representatives of congregations developed the order of bishops, and led to the formation of districts within which their authority was exercised. The political life which had been extinguished under the Roman Imperial system began to revive in the organization of the Church, and the old feeling of civic government found in the regulation of ecclesiastic affairs a new field for its exercise. A line of separation was gradually drawn between the clergy and the laity, and the settlement of controversies concerning the Christian faith gave ample scope for the activities of the clerical order." (2).

1. New Int. Ency., Vol. XXII., pg. 254.
2. Creighton History of the Papacy, Vol. I., pg. 29.

The clergy claimed authority over the laity; the control of the bishop over the inferior clergy grew more definite; and the bishop in turn recognized the superiority of his metropolitan. The precedent of the Bishop of Rome was a natural outgrowth of the conditions of the times. (1).

In the course of time, when the Imperial system had crumbled away, the Church alone possessed a strong organization. In such a crisis Gregory the Great (2), raised the Papacy to a position of decisive eminence, and marked out the course of its future policy. Gregory was Roman by training, and he represented the tradition not only of the Church, but also the tradition of the Republic. We are told that to him

"even the City was as a nothing compared to the world which it was his duty to bring under the Roman sway. As a Christian priest he might have taken as his motto 'Pascere subjectos', but, as a Roman, he would have left Virgil's words 'debellare superbos' unchanged." (3).

1. Theoretically, indeed, the system was one of strict accountability, but practically it amounted to irresponsibility. With the growth of the Papal power all the active forces of the church came gradually to be centered in the Successor of St. Peter, He was supreme, and his subordinates everywhere exercised only a delegated authority, to be set aside or overruled at his pleasure.
2. The bishop of Constantinople, in this period, not only claimed the primacy in the eastern churches, but maintained that his see was in no respect inferior to that of Rome. The pontiffs of Rome were exceedingly disturbed by this, and contended that their see held a rank and pre-eminence above that of Constantinople. In particular, the Roman pontiff, Gregory the Great, did so in the year 587, when he contested the use by the bishop of Constantinople of the title, œcumenical or universal bishop. His claim to superiority was acknowledged and his authority increased by a Court of Commissioners.
3. F. J. Foakes-Jackson, Pg. 135.

Over the universe of mankind the Popes of the Middle Ages sought to impose unquestioning obedience to the demands of the Holy See, (1) Despite their haughty position in the world, kings and princes were but laity, who, if they sinned, must be rebuked and chastened by their spiritual superiors: for "gold is not so much more precious than lead as the sacerdotal dignity is higher than kings."

Probably, however, the inherited prestige of Rome contributed more to the establishment of Papal authority than any other single factor, (2). Inwrought in the very fabric of the City itself was that pomp and glory and eminence,-that "superiority complex" according to the psychological terms of this day,-that first secured the preference of the Bishopric of Rome above the Bishoprics of Alexandria and Ephesus, above the Bishoprics of Jerusalem and Constantinople. And the continuous and undisputed Primacy of that

1. The dominion of the Roman pontiffs, impregnable and durable as it seemed to be, was gradually undermined and weakened in the fourteenth century, partly by the rash insolence of the popes themselves, and partly by the occurrence of certain unexpected events. The commencement of this important change must be referred to the contest between Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair, of France. Boniface published the celebrated bull "Unam Sanctum" in this connection in which he asserted that Jesus Christ had granted a twofold power to His church, a spiritual and a temporal; that the whole human race was subject to the Pope; and that all who dissented from this doctrine were heretics, and could not expect to be saved. The king on the contrary in 1303, through the famous lawyer, William de Nogaret, publicly accused the Pope of heresy, simony, dishonesty, and other enormities; and he urged the calling of a general council, for deposing the guilty pontiff from office. Boniface excommunicated the King, who retaliated by inciting the Colonna family to attack the Pope, while in residence at Anagni, inflicting wounds from which he died shortly after at Rome.
2. Petrarce: Rerum Senil. VII.4.

city for more than a thousand years had gathered unto it so much of credence in its divinely established perpetuity that it was the common conception that the very seat of authority rested inalienably in the City of Rome. (1).

And because in the ancient Church religion was commonly viewed as an objective thing given men from without, this influence of prestige was of great bearing. Whether natural or revealed, such religion had its origin in the will of God, and it came to man as a gift from above through the agency of the Church. Religion being thus conceived as external, religious authority was magnified in accordance, (2). Religious leaders saw in the Church the mouth piece of God, and they recognized the power of the Church to infallibly declare the will of God. (3).

1. Bower: Lives of the Popes, Vol. V, pg. 350.
2. Ranke: History of the Papacy, Vol. II, pg. 261.
3. Geoffrey Vinsauf declared, addressing Innocent III.,- *Non Deus es, nec homo; sed neuter et inter utrumque, Quem Deus elegit socium: socialiter egit tecum partitus mundum, sibi noluit unus omnia, sed voluit tibi terras, et sibi coelum.*- Hunter: Hist. du Pope Innocent III., pg. 80. This is not to be considered as the delirium of blasphemous flattery. It was the conviction of the age, and Innocent himself, in his sermon delivered on his coronation, had no hesitation in asserting the same of himself-"Now you may see who is the servant who is placed over the family of the Lord; truly is he the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the successor of Peter, the Christ of the Lord, the God of Pharaoh; placed in the middle between God and man, on this side of God, but beyond man; less than God, but greater than man; who judges all, but is judged of none." Migne: Patrol., pg. 659.

This, too, became a part of the common belief of Christians, and has ever since continued such within the Catholic Church, both East and West. So, as one has commented,

"The Christian Church of the fourteenth century was regarded as the only ark of salvation, outside of which there was no saving grace, and also as the supreme authority upon earth in the political and moral as well as in the religious sphere." (1)

With this insistence upon the fact that it was a divine and not a human institution, the Church demanded that it be listened to as the voice of God for whom it spoke. The heretic who refused to believe what the Church taught and the obstinate offender who refused to do what the Church commanded were children of perdition, equally with the schismatic and the unbeliever who were entirely without the pale. (2).

Yet in the Ancient and Middle Ages the authority demanded by the Church was not felt as a burden. On the contrary, with a great desire for assured happiness in the life to come, the Church performed the greatest of all services when it revealed the way of salvation. To the Church men owed the possibility of eternal life, and therefore they bowed to her, not grudgingly, but gladly. (3).

1. Gifford: Hist. of France, Vol. 1, pg. 502.
2. Villani VIII. 4. See the letters among the Epistles of Harmisdas.
3. *Zuoniom qui eis resistit, Deo resistit.* Nearly as extravagant was the principle that the laity should do nothing without the consent of their bishops. Strangers were not to settle in a diocese, nor were the inhabitants to leave it, without episcopal permission—"Auimoe vero eorum ei creditae sunt; ideo omnia ejus concilio agere debent, et eo inconsulto nihil"-Psuedo-Clement. Epist. III.

(2) THE BREAKDOWN OF AUTHORITY IN THE
ROMAN CHURCH

With the changing order of things, especially the removal of the Papacy to Avignon, difficulties began to arise. New points of view, new ideals, new aspirations were not easily aligned with old and well-established customs and traditions. The result was the outbreak of a conflict of tragic significance to everyone who found himself involved in it. Under the new conditions, people were divided in their allegiance between Italy and the Church. For one, Catherine of Siena watched the events with agonizing dismay, and she exclaimed: 'lo moio di dolore e non posso morire', "I am dying of grief and cannot die." It seemed to the spiritually minded maiden that, because of the perfidity of the Popes in deserting Rome, the very jaws of hell were opened, and the devils were carrying off the souls of men on every side. Her soul was rent in twain between Italy and the Church, between liberty and religion, and hence comes what at times seems the exquisite inconsistency of the letters with which she attempted to win the contending parties to counsels of charity and peace. She is truly typical of a great part of the constituency of the Church.

Though the people were grieved at the conduct of the Pope in absenting himself from the Eternal City, yet they steadfastly believed that nothing could be done without the assertion of the final authority of the Pontiff. (1). Obedience was the great essential in acceptable living. So, as giving expression to this

1. Petrarch: Rev. Senil. VIII. 5.

belief, a passage in Catherine's 'Dialogue' runs,

"I (the Lord God) then, being constrained by My infinite goodness since I saw that man, whom I so much loved, did not return to Me, his End, took the keys of obedience and placed them in the hands of My sweet and amorous Word--the Truth--and He, becoming Porter of the door, opened it, and no one can enter except by means of that door and that Porter. Wherefore He said in the Holy Gospel, that 'no one could come to Me, the Father, if not by Him.' When He returned to Me, rising to heaven from the conversation of men at the Ascension, He left you this sweet Key of obedience; for as thou knowest He left His vicar, the Christ on earth, whom you are all obliged to obey until death, and whoever is outside His obedience is in a state of damnation." (1)

The prolonged absence from Rome was a great shock to the Papal system. Transplanted from its native soil, the Papacy was cut loose from the hallowed and historical associations of thirteen centuries. (2). No longer did it speak from the center of the Christian world. But so great a grip did it have upon the imaginations of the people that, despite their wounded and disappointed feelings, they still venerated the institution in their hearts, and in their very protests against its conduct they rendered it obeisance.

1. Catharine: Dialogue
2. Baluze: Vitae Pontif. Avenion , tom. II., pp. 290-291.

(3) THE PROTEST OF CONTEMPORARY WRITERS AGAINST
THE DECLINE OF PAPAL AUTHORITY

The contemporary writings of the period are impressive in their opposition to the usurped authority of the Gallicized Papacy. (1). For all who refused to abandon the doctrine of the Primacy of Rome looked upon the transference of the Holy See to Avignon as a theft and usurpation of power altogether unwarranted even as it was unprecedented. (2). Dante had dreamed of a United Italy, protected, and once again upheld by Imperial force. His vision pictured the revival of the Holy Roman Empire, with the Pope supreme in fact, if not in name. Petrarch anticipated the return of the Pope and the establishment in that hour of a Rome reincarnated and reclothed with glory, (3). Catharine of Siena pursued the ideal of a united Italy and a restored Empire of Rome. In the minds of the leaders, as well as in the minds of the multitudes, hung pictures of the peoples of the earth ranged as loving, obedient children of a Holy Father, seated in Rome, to whom the Most High had once and for all bequeathed the keys of all mysteries and knowledge, even those for the reconciliation of every man with his neighbour and every soul with his God.

1. Dante wrote to the Italian Cardinals at Carpentras, pleading for the return, and renewed the lamentation of Jeremiah for Rome. Ep. VIII. 4. He wrote his immortal poems to this end; Petrarch wrote two poetical epistles to Benedict XII. exhorting him to return to Italy, and made a similar appeal to Clement VI., in the name of Rome; Birgitta had written her letters and proclaimed her visions; Catherine wrote and pleaded and exhorted to the end that the Papacy be restored to Rome. In addition to these were numerous other writers who labored to the same end.
2. Dante: De Monarchia, III:2.
3. Petrarch: Rev. Senil VII. 3.

When the campanille of St. Peter was struck by lightning on December 2, 1352 and all the bells were dashed to the ground and molten together as though they had been molten in a furnace, St. Birgitta interpreted it in the spirit of hostility of God to the Gallicized Papacy, and evidenced in a direct visitation. And when immediately thereafter the report spread through Rome that Pope Clement was dead, it seemed to the Swedish widow that Christ said in her heart,

"Lo, now the bells are burning and men are crying out: Our Lord is dead, our Lord the Pope departed; blessed be this day, but not blessed that Lord. How strange, for where all should cry: May that Lord live long and live happily; there they cry and say with joy: Down with him and may he not rise up again! But it is no wonder, for he himself, who should have cried: 'Come and ye shall find rest for your souls'; has cried: 'Come and behold me in pomp and ambition more than Solomon. Come to my court, and empty your purses, and ye shall find perdition for your souls'. For thus did he cry by example and in deed. Therefore the time of My wrath is approaching, and I shall judge him as one that has scattered the flock of Peter. O what judgment awaits him!" (1).

The people loved their Church. They loved it passionately, fervently, devotedly. Their love was the natural outcome of their centuries of devotion to it. (2). In no way could this be shown more conclusively than in the universal regret over the demarcation that was taking place between the Church and hierarchy. (3). The people were beginning to distinguish between the Church, and the ministry of the Church. (4). They were beginning to see that it was possible to adhere to the institution which had been so much a part of their life, and yet renounce the faithless, immoral, and

1. Revelationes VI:96. Cf Villani, III:42
2. Muratori: Antiq. Ital., tom. III 407.
3. Catharine: Letter 176. 3. Villani III. 21.
4. Petrarch: Egloga, VII.

unworthy men who had ascended to the control of that Church, (1).

And how could conscientious and spiritually minded people adhere to the rule of men who were not alone content with forsaking rectitude themselves, but who had actually taken the institution they served into the depths of sin and degradation. It is said that the saintly Catharine had few illusions concerning the characters of the men and women who associated with her, although she often expected more of them than proved to be in their power of will to render. With peculiar significance, then, must we regard this scathing denunciation:

"Oh! demons and more than demons! If only your iniquities were more concealed from the eyes of your subjects, doing them in secret, you would indeed offend Me and hurt yourselves, but at least you would not do the harm you now do to your neighbour, laying bare your criminal life before his eyes, so that your example gives him no reason to leave his own sins, but rather causes him to fall into similar and greater ones than you fall into yourselves!" (2).

What a picture of the Church of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries! Yet, although priests sinned, the Ark of the Lord remained sacred for multitudes of devoted worshippers, and for them the sins of the unworthy were not to be visited on the worthy of the Lord's ministers.

1. "All who acquaint themselves with the history of these times, must acknowledge the corrupt state of religion, both as theoretically taught in the schools, and as practically inculcated on the people. Almost no part of the Christian doctrine retained its native form and comeliness. And hence the Waldenses, and all those who desired a reformation in religion and who separated from the Roman pontiff, though nowhere safe from the fury of the inquisitors and the monks, yet could be suppressed by no means whatever."
Mosheim: Ecc. Hist. Vol. II, Pg. 406.
2. Catharine of Siena: Letter 94.

AVIGNON AND MORAL AND ETHICAL CORRUPTION

III-AVIGNON AND MORAL AND ETHICAL CORRUPTION

(1) RECURRENCE OF CORRUPTION IN RELIGION

The corruption of the Papal hierarchy of the fourteenth century is by no means peculiar to it. It had been manifested at earlier times in the history of the institution; (1) it has been manifested in times that have since dawned and gone, (2). But there was reason to expect better things of the ecclesiastical leaders of the fourteenth century.

A lustrous star in the firmament of righteousness, Gregory VII., was not far removed from this period of history. The whole fabric of the hierarchy had been honeycombed with grievous sins at the time of Gregory's elevation. Against three of those sins, especially, he waged unrelenting warfare, - the marriage of the clergy, simony, and investiture by secular princes. In his opinion these three abuses hindered the full exercise of that power which rightfully belonged to

1. In the early church, because of the incurable corruption of social life under the empire, neither regeneration by the waters of baptism, nor the purifying influence of occasional persecution, could preserve the Church from constant and wide-spread contamination. It was not merely the Christian ideal of purity of character and abstinence from evil thoughts and desires that were lacking, for even the grossest sins and crimes were not infrequent. When a fraudulent banker like St. Calixtus I. could be elevated to the bishopric of Rome, there could not be any very elevated standard of morality in the Christian society of the Eternal City.
2. Petrarch: Epist. sine titulo, VII sqq.

the Church, (1). The impetus which he set in motion toward a purified clergy, though distasteful to the clergy itself, carried down into the succeeding century. The ideal that he set aloft still lives.

Much of the effectiveness of the campaign of Gregory against the three sins had depended upon the power of the people. As now, public opinion was a specific to effect the end sought. Men walked in fear of that opinion; and even the Papacy gave it the semblance of respect. But after the removal of the hierarchy to Avignon, the stringent bindings of public opinion were relaxed; and unrestrained, if not actually encouraged, by less circumspect and exemplary opinion, they fell into the depths of vice and iniquity, (2). In its domicile in Southern France the hierarchy found itself unhampered to proceed in the lascivious practices suggested by its corrupt heart. The morals of the people in that region were less strict than those of Rome; and the subsequent judgment which they passed upon the conduct of others was less rigorous. The very environment lent itself to "liberty" which became manifest in licentiousness.

1. The design of Gregory VII. to raise the Church above all human authority, and to render it perfectly free and independent, was obstructed especially by two capital vices of the European clergy, concubinage and simony. The Roman pontiffs from the time of Stephen IX. had combated with zeal, but without much success on account of their inveteracy, these vices. No honest man will deny that in hunting down these vices Gregory violated not only the principles of religion but also those of natural justice and equity, and committed deeds without number that were most incompatible with the character he professed to sustain, yet it must be acknowledged that evils of great magnitude resulted from these vices to the Church and to civil society, and that it was necessary that restraint should be laid upon them. cf. Muratori: *Scriptores rerum Italic.* tom IV., Pg. 36
2. Birgitta: *Revelationes* IV., 139. cf. Petrarch *Epist.* Sine titulo XVI.

(2) CORRUPTION OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURT
IN AVIGNON

Vices and abuses were bad enough under Clement V., but they grew worse under his successor, the Cahorsine John XXII.

"The gold which is the holiness of virtues has grown dim in the Church," wrote a contemporary, "for all covet material gold. Ordinations and sacraments are bought and sold for gold. Whenever I entered the apartment of the chamberlain of our Lord the Pope, I saw brokers, and tables full of gold, and clerics counting and weighing florins." (1).

Dante, also, has left us a frightful picture of the Papal court, albeit there is manifest exaggeration and rhetorical inflation.

"What difference is there," he asks, "between those enemies of Christ, who betrayed Him with a kiss and bent the knee before Him in mockery, and the Pharisees in our time? That same Christ, whose name they exalt night and day with hymns of praise, whom they robe with purple and gold, whom they load with jewels, whom they salute and adore prostrate,--that very same do they not buy and sell on earth like merchandise? As it were, blindfold that He may not see, they crown Him with the thorns of their impious wealth; they defile Him with most impure spittal, and assail Him with viperous hissing; they strike Him with the spear of their poisonous deeds and, so far as in them lies, mocked, naked, poor, and scourged, they drag Him again to Calvary, and nail Him to the Cross." (2).

To Dante, Avignon was the comprehensive symbol of all vices. He has given us his conception in that miracle of human achievements, the Divine Comedy, (3). To Petrarch, Avignon is the Babylon of the West, the home of all vices and misery, the same that the Evangelist saw in spirit; little, indeed, according to circuit of its walls, but immense in its accumulations of wicked-

1. Petrarch: Epist. sine titulo XVI.; Gottlob, Servitien, Pg. 30 sqq.-for an account of Papal financial transactions of this period.
2. Dante: Eclogues, VII.
3. Dante: Divina Commedia, especially the "Inferno".

ness, (1). He has painted the state of the society that gathered around Clement's throne, (2), in three terrible sonnets against Avignon. But in one of his poems, St. Peter, in the guise of the old shepherd Pamphilius, rebukes his hireling Mitio, who is Clement himself, for the desolation of the pastures and the destruction of the flocks, only to find him brazen-faced and exulting in his shame, (3). Reference has previously been made to the two poetical epistles to Benedict XII. which he wrote remonstrating against the wickedness of the Avignon court, and urging the Pope to return to Rome. The burden of those poems rests upon the description of the corruption in the Avignon court which he himself gives us:

"I know by experience," he wrote, "that there is no piety there, no charity, no faith, no reverence for God nor fear of Him, nothing holy, nothing just, nothing worthy of man. Love, purity, decency, candour, are banished from it. All things are full of lies and hypocrisy. The voices of angels conceal the designs of demons." (4).

1. "The satires of Petrarch against Avignon breathe a patriotic hatred, which must be regarded as the true expression of the Italian national feeling. He calls Avignon now Babylon, now the hell in which Cerberus devours everything; not a city, but a seat of demons; a sink of every vice that bears a name. He compared the Pope to Nimrod, the builder of towers. His letters are full of the most interesting descriptions of life at the Papal court, and the corrupt manners of that Damascus, where everything was venal, and where all innocence was swallowed up in the whirlpool of sensuality. His love of forsaken Rome, which amounted to fanaticism, rendered Petrarch unjust." Gregorovius: Rome in Mid. Ages, Vol. VI. Part VI. Pg. 423.
2. Speaking of the state of society in Avignon, Petrarch speaks of it "as filled with every kind of confusion, the powers of darkness overspreading it and containing every thing fearful which had ever existed or been imagined by a disordered mind." Robinson: Petrarch, pg. 87.
3. Petrarch, Eclogue VI.
4. Epist. sine titulo, XVI.

Clement, a typical Limousin Pope, may be allowed to personify for us the corruption of this epoch of the Papacy. Learned and eloquent, not without a certain magnanimity, his private life; both as archbishop and as Pope, was scandalous, and such was the luxury and prodigality of his court that he would have taxed all Christendom had he been able, to supply the funds, (1). He wasted the treasure of the Church in lending money to the French kings to aid them in their wars with England, and in the advancement of his kindred, filling the Sacred College with men of his own stamp and country, godless and worldly, many of them of evil and dissolute life, (2).

1. Clement VI. provided for his nephews and his Court at the expense of ~~the~~ Xtndom, and said, with a laugh that his predecessors had not known how to be Popes. Besides provisions, reservations, and dispensations, he demanded large fees for the confirmation of all episcopal elections, and succeeded in wresting from the bishops many of their rights over the inferior clergy. Chief of these were the revenues of benefices during a vacancy (*fructus medii temporis*), which arose from the extension of feudal reliefs to eccles. holdings. Moreover, the Pope imposed tithes from time to time on clerical revenues; sometimes for his own use, sometimes granting them to princes on the specious pretext of a crusade. A vast system of Papal extortion was gradually developed, partly from the fault of churchmen, who too readily brought their quarrels to the Pope's tribunals, partly from the shortsighted policy of kings and princes, who found in an alliance with the Pope an easy means of helping themselves to eccles. revenues. creighton, *Hist. of Papacy*, Vol. I., Pg. 53.
2. Baluze: *Vitae Pontif. Avenion*, tom. I, Pg. 143 sqq, Muratori: *Scriptores rerum Italic.*, tom. III Pt. II., pg. 550.

A sinister sign of the times must have appeared in the creation of cardinals. Of nine new princes of the Church created by Gregory, three were the Pope's own kinsmen, including Gerard du Puy, the infamous Abbot of Marmoutier, (1). All were French, with the exception of Simone Brossano, a young Spanish prelate of noble birth, great learning and apparently sincere piety. His choice of cardinals utterly destroyed all hopes in a possible reformation of the Sacred College, (2). To Catherine it seemed a cruel act of a cowardice on the Pope's part,-a putting ointment on a mortifying wound where the steel and cautery were needed for the life of the patient. So we gather from the first of her letters to Gregory which have been preserved to us, evidently written about the year 1376, "with desire of seeing you a fruitful tree, planted in the soil of true knowledge of yourself." (3). Love of self has corrupted prelates and subjects alike, and no one dares begin the work of reform.

"The sick man is blind, for he knows not his need, and the pastor, who is the physician, is blind for he considers nothing save his own pleasure and advantage, and, in order not to lose that, does not employ the knife of justice nor the fire of most ardent charity. Such a one is surely a hireling shepherd, because not only does he not draw his little sheep out of the hand of the wolf, but he himself devours them; and the cause of all this is that he loves himself without God, and does not follow sweet Jesus, the true Shepherd, who has given His life for His sheep. O, babbo, mio, sweet Christ on earth, follow that sweet Gregory, for it will be as possible to you to quench self-love as it was to him, for he was of the same flesh as you; and the same God is now who was then; we only need virtue and hunger for the salvation of souls. This is our remedy, Father; that we lift up this love above our selves and every creature outside God; let us think no more of friends and kinsmen, nor of temporal necessities, but only of virtue and of the exaltation of spiritual things; for temporal things are failing you for no other reason save that you have abandoned the care of spiritual things.

1. Catherine: Letter 87: 21.
2. Baluze: Vitae Pap. Avign. tom. II, 763.
3. Catherine: Letter 76:6.

I beseech you to send to Lucca and to Pisa, dealing with them like a father as God will teach you, helping them in whatever can be done, and inviting them to stand firm and persevere. I have been at Pisa and Lucca until now, inviting them to the utmost of my power, not to make a league with the putrid members who are rebels to you. But they are in great perplexity, because they have no encouragement from you, and are being continually urged with threats by the other side to join it. But, up to now, they have not entirely consented. I beseech you also to write forcibly to Messer Piero, and do it zealously and do not delay. I have heard that you have made some cardinals. I believe that it would be more to the honour of God, and better for yourself, if you would always take care to make virtuous men. If the contrary is done, it will be a great insult to God and the ruination of the Holy Church. And let us not wonder afterwards, if God sends His chastisements and His scourges upon us, for it is just. I beseech you do what you have to do manfully and with fear of God." (1).

If Petrarch is to be believed the riotous licentiousness of the younger cardinals was but too well matched in the senile debauchery of their elders who wore that hat to which Dante applied the phrase, 'che pur de male in peggio si travasa', "which doth but pass from bad vessel to worse."

"Our two Clements" said an unidentified prelate of the Curia, "have destroyed more of the Church in a few years than seven of your Gregories could restore in many centuries." (2).

And the condition depicted by Catharine above was the outgrowth of her observation when she visited Avignon as envoy of Florence; (3) it represents that the only change that had taken place since Petrarch wrote the estimate above was that, instead of a strong Pontiff enslaved to vice and luxury, there now sat on the Papal throne a weak Pope, who, in his sincere but ineffectual way, looked for righteousness, (4).

1. Catharine: Letter 185.
2. Quoted by Villani
3. In June 1376 the Florentines sent envoys to Avignon, among them Saint Catharine. She spoke at the Papal court with gloomy zeal in favour of peace between the Papal states and the Republic, but the terms of the Florentines and those of the Pope remained irreconcilable. Catherine availed herself of the opportunity to advise the pope to pay no heed to the French cardinals, but to decide quickly and piously to deceive them and return to Rome.
4. Catharine's Dialogue.

The corruption and abuses of the Avignon Papacy is a black mark upon the history of the Church. It marks the low ebb in the life of established religion in the Middle Ages. The extent of the corruption has been summarized thus:

"The luxury, vice and iniquity of Avignon during the Papal residence became proverbial throughout Europe; and corruption of the Church was most clearly visible in the immediate neighborhood of its princely head. Luxury and vice, however, are costly, and during the Pope's absence from Italy the Papal States were in confusion and yielded scanty revenues. Money had to be raised from ecclesiastical property throughout Europe, and the Popes at Avignon carried extortion and oppression of the Church to an extent which it had never reached before." (1).

The life of the Curial Court was noxious in the sight of the people. The sensuality that prevailed there, appears from the sources to have been of the grossest nature.

"Whence comes the stench that so infects their souls?" asked Catharine. And to her question she made answer, "from their own sensuality, which sensuality and self-love have they enthroned as the mistress of their soul, who has become sensuality's handmaid, whereas I had made her free with the blood of My Son. I speak of the general manumission when the whole human race was freed from the servitude of the lordship of the Devil." (2).

In another place this same writer says,

"They are rogues and cheats, and having played for their souls and lost it to the Devil, they stake the goods of the Church, and the temporal substance which they receive by virtue of the Blood, cheating and gambling it away. Wherefore the poor do not receive their due, and the Church remains unfurnished and deprived of the necessary ornaments; for these men, having become temples of the Devil, take no further care of My Temple. But those ornaments which they ought to place in the Church out of reverence of the Blood, they place in their own houses; and what is worse, they do this as bridegrooms adorning their spouses, for these incarnate demons adorn with Church property their she-devils, with whom they live shamelessly in iniquity and impurity." (3).

1. Creighton: History of the Papacy, Vol. I., Pg. 51.
2. Catharine: Dialogue.
3. Catharine: Letter 109:41.

(3) PROTESTS AGAINST THE ABUSES OF THE
AVIGNON PAPACY

The people rose in righteous indignation against the licentiousness and wantonness of the Papacy at Avignon, (1). They aspired for that purity in religion which God requires. They felt that the men who led them in holy religion should eschew everything that approached uncleanness,-that they should shrink from even the shadow of an impure stain. Throughout the whole domain of the Church, France excepted, there rose, as though it were with one voice, a protest against the corruption and abuses of those in high places in religion.

The protest of the great majority of the Catholic fellowship was joined by a considerable number of the lesser clergy. It does not require a great working of the imaginative powers to conceive how those priests who made an honest endeavour to conform their lives to the high ethical teachings of "Jesus Christ could not accommodate their sympathies to the flagrant vice which their superiors in Church office practised. They were outraged by the insincerity of the hierarchy," (2). And here and there, a priest or an order of "religious" protested the conditions. In fact we may note three distinct types of protest that were lifted against the Avignon corruption and abuses,-the protest of the lesser clergy, the protest of people en masse, and the protest of outstanding leaders.

1. Petrarch: Epist. sine titulo, Lib. XIV: 3; Dante, Eclogue, VIII; Catharine, Letter 107:2.
2. Goldast: De Monarchia, Vol. II, Pg. 761.

(a) The Protest of the Lesser Clergy against the
Abuses of the Avignon Papacy

The pomp and luxury that prevailed within the Avignon court called forth the protest of all who believed in the fundamental virtue of Christian simplicity. Gregorovius tells us that,

"The Poor Brothers, Fraticelli, Lollards, Beghards, thoughtful mystics,--all evangelical enemies of the temporal pomp of a Church which sank ever deeper into the vices of the time,--preached in squares and streets, proclaimed the Pope and his Church heretical, and taught that only such as imitated the humble life of the Saviour preserved the gospel of Christ." (1).

The teachings of evangelical poverty created the material for violent ferment amongst the masses of disaffected people, (2).

Under the Pontificate of John XXII. the force of this opposition reached tremendous proportions, and neither John nor his court was spared in the preachments against temporal possessions, (3).

A schism broke out among the Minorities (4) one section of which proclaimed the doctrine of poverty with such persuasion that it rose in fury in the South of France, in Belgium and in Germany.

1. Gregorovius: Rome in the Middle Ages, Vol. VI.; Pt. 1, Pg. 115.
2. "The licentiousness of the popes excited the indignation of Christendom." D'Aubigne, Hist. of the Reform, Vol. 1, Pg. 78. cf Erasm. Epp., Lib. XII, Pg. 634.
3. The bull of John XXII. of January 23, 1318, says: "Primus itaque error--duas fingit ecclesias, unam carnalem, divitiis pressam, effluentem delitiis, sceleribus maculatam, cui Romanum Praesulem--dominari asserunt; aliam spiritualem--paupertate succinctam."
4. The Minorites is the term applied to the Friars Minor, one division of the Franciscan order of the Catholic Church, founded by St. Francis of Assisi in 1209.

Their teachings also found a ready echo in Italy where bold sectarian forerunners had preached a similar doctrine (1). As we would naturally expect, these teachings provoked condemnation from the Popes and opposition from the clerical parties within the Church.

*It seemed as if the party war of Guelfs and Ghibellines had been removed into the Church, where in the Dominicans and Franciscans, in the Realists and the Nominalists, these factions found their representatives on scholastic soil. In 1322 a furious quarrel arose between the Dominicans and Minorites on the question whether Christ owned temporal property or not. Under the presidency of the General of the Order, Michael of Cesena, the Provincials of the Minorites assembled at Perugia and here issued a formal declaration, asserting that the theory that Christ and His Apostles owned neither personal nor common property was by no means heretical, but a strictly Catholic article of faith. This manifesto provoked a storm of scholastic enquiries, and after it had been condemned by John XXII. in the bull Cum Inter, further led to a schism which some years later drove the recalcitrant Minorites under their general Michael into the camp of the Emperor, (2) to join him in warring against a Pope whom they

1. Scarcely had Rome usurped her power, before a strong opposition was formed against her, which was continued during the Middle Ages. Archbishop Claudius of Turin, in the ninth century; Pierre de Bruys, his disciple Henry; and Arnold of Brescia, in the twelfth century, in France and in Italy, labored to reestablish the worship of God in spirit and in truth. The Mystics, who have existed in almost every age, seeking in silence for holiness of heart, righteousness of life, and tranquil communion with God, beheld with sorrow and affright the abominations of the Church and endeavored to withdraw men from the vain formality of external worship and the inconsistencies of worldly living. The Waldenses who compose a long line of witnesses to the truth, from their mountain-heights, protested against the practices of the Roman ecclesiastical system. Likewise a protest was raised by the Albigenses, whose doctrines were tinged with heresies somewhat akin to the ancient Manichaeism, but whose self-denying devotion and zeal for moral purity were sealed with their lives.
2. To an emperor called to wage war on a pope who claimed the government of the empire, nothing could have been more welcome than this scholastic dispute. Lewis the Bavarian consequently invoked Christ, the Apostles, St. Francis and his followers, as allies against the Pope..It is precisely this alliance of the Ghibelline political rights with the tenets of the Franciscans that invested the quarrel between Lewis and the Pope with such importance in the history of culture, and that produced such serious consequences for the entire relations between Church and State.

esteemed heretical." (1).

A fuller statement of the various positions taken by those lesser clerics who opposed the abuses and corruptions of Avignon will be considered under the contributions of members of the orders who distinguished themselves as leaders of their fellow men.

(b) The Protest of Outstanding Leaders Against
the Abuses of the Avignon Papacy

Among the clergy, schoolmen, and laity there were a number of outstanding leaders who protested against the existent conditions in the hierarchy. Each made a substantial contribution to the mounting evidence of discontent with the "Babylonish Captivity." We will note the outstanding positions and endeavors of the more important leaders.

Michael of Cesena.

Michael was General of the Franciscan Order, and he openly and enthusiastically maintained against the Pope the principles on which his order was founded,--simplicity and poverty, (2). In his "Tractate against the Errors of the Pope" he criticised the Papal utterances, (3), denounced part of them as erroneous, and appealed against the Pope as against an heretic,

"to the Universal Church and a General Council, which in faith and morals is superior to the Pope, since a Pope can err in faith and morals, as many Roman Pontiffs have fallen from the faith; but the Universal Church cannot err, and a Council representing the Universal Church is likewise free from error." (4).

1. Gregorovius: Rome in the Middle Ages, Vol. VI. pt. 1, pg. 116.
2. Goldast: Monarchia, Vol. II, 1236 sqq.
3. The tract was directed against John XXII. in particular.
4. Goldast: Monarchia, Vol. III., pg. 1360.

John of Paris.

In John of Paris, famed as preacher and master, we meet one of the most influential men of the period. (1). In a tract which he called "de potestate regia et papali" he drew a clear distinction between "the body of the faithful", which is the Church, and the "body of the clergy". (2). John argued that as Christ exercised no dominion in temporal matters, no priest could on the ground of being Christ's vicar, exercise a power which his Master never claimed. The sphere of the Church and of the Pope as head of the Church extended only to the moral and spiritual life of the people. "Christ had no worldly jurisdiction, and the Pope should keep clear of 'Herod's old error.'"

The startling thing in the writings of John was the clear distinction, in contradiction to the usurpation of the times, that the Pope was only the representative of the Church, not its lord, and that the Church might call him to strict account with all the implications pertinent thereunto, (3). He agreed with Michael in declaring that the final seat of ecclesiastical authority was in the general council; but he went further, and declared that a council might even depose a Pope.

Peter Dubois.

Peter Dubois was a worthy colleague of John, and he proved an able assistant in the promulgation of the new conception of Papal authority which John was disseminating. Peter demanded, however, not only the recognition of the supreme authority of the

1. Gregorovius: Rome in the Mid. Ages, Vol. VI., pt. 1, pg. 121.
2. "Congregatio fidelium...congregatio clericorum"
Goldast: Monarchia, Vol. II, pg. 108.
3. Long treatise of Joh. de Parrhisia De Potestate regia et Papali, given by Goldast: Monarchia, Vol. II., pg. 109 sqq.

council of the Church, but also that laymen should have a voice in those councils. Without the semblance of favor, Peter repeatedly called attention to the open and flagrant violation of the celebrate vows of the clergy, and invoked both the Pope and the clergy "to devote themselves to the spiritual well-being of mankind, and to foster peaceable measures for the world's conversion."

William of Occam.

Another great disputant hailing from the University of Paris was the Englishman, William of Occam, who won the title at the University of "The Invincible Doctor." In a series of Dialogues and Tractates (1) he poured forth a flood of erudition in which scholastic arguments are strangely mingled with keen criticism of the Papal claims. At one time he is immersed in details of the passing conflict; at another time he enunciates general principles of far-reaching importance (2). Against the plentitude of the Papal power he asserts the freedom of the law of Christ; men are not by Christ's ordinance the slaves of the Pope, nor can the Pope

1. See Goldast: Monarchia, Vol. II, pg. 993
2. "The jurisconsults of Philip of France and the professors of the Sorbonne, such as John of Paris and William of Occam, were the first to rebel against the doctrines of Canon law. They subjected the legal extent of the Papal and royal power to scientific enquiry; they demonstrated the independence of the monarchy; they denied the secular jurisdiction of the Pope, and demanded the severance of the Papal and regal authority." Gregorovius:-Rome in the Mid. Ages, Vol. VI, pt. 1, pg. 121.

dispose of temporal affairs. Christ gave to Peter spiritual jurisdiction over the Church, and in temporal matters the right only of seeking his own maintenance and enough to fulfil his office. Peter could confer no more on his successors; if they have more it comes from human grant or human indolence. It is not necessary that there should be one primate over the Church, for the Head of the Church is Christ, and by the union of the Church with Him it has unity. This unity would not be lessened if there were different rulers over different ecclesiastical provinces, as there are kings over different nations; an aristocratic government maintains the unity of a state as well as does a monarchy.

15469 This summary of the teaching of Occam discloses his opposition to the Papal claims to temporal monarchy and spiritual infallibility. Moreover, it shows a remarkable tendency, for that age, to assert the authority of Scripture as the supreme arbiter of all questions in the Church. The Pope may err; a General Council may err; the Fathers and Doctors of the Church are not entirely exempt from error (1). But on the other hand, Holy Scripture and the beliefs of the Universal Church are of absolute validity. It would seem that this great mind was groping for the truth that is eternal in the faith of the Church, and for the means of marking it clearly off from what is of human ordinance

1. "Occam asserted that even a general council might err; that faith might depart save from the souls of a few devout women; that the hierarchial system might be given up, if the good of the Church required it; that the king has all the powers of an ecclesiastical person, excepting such as spring from ordination, and that if an emergency requires it, the emperor could appoint or depose the pope." Fisher; History of the Christian Church, pg. 271.

and temporary device in the ecclesiastical system. Certainly his arguments presented a formidable opposition to the Papal system, against which there was a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction because of the corruption and abuses which flourished in its midst, unchecked.

Marsiglio of Padua.

An even more startling and audacious exposition of the entire position occupied by the Papacy, either by right or by assumption, was set forth by Marsiglio of Padua, (1). His chief work, 'Defensor Pacis', abounds in incisive thrusts against the prevailing ecclesiastical system, and lays down the principles of a new order, (2). Less daring and offensive works, even in more recent times, have drawn the fire of the Roman hierarchy and so it is to be little wondered at that when Marsiglius declared that Christ did not appoint a vicar to represent him upon earth, that the orders of the Roman hierarchy are not primitive in their origin, and that not only a Council, but even an emperor, had the right to depose a Pope, the very teachings acted as an arrester for the fire of John XXII. against whom it was aimed, (3). Nor did any of the

1. Marsiglius has been called by Catholic historians the forerunner of Luther and Calvin, Schaff: History of the Christian Church, Vol. V. pt. II, pg. 77. Dollinger: Kirchengesch, Vol. II, pg. 259 says, "In the 'Defensor' the Calvinistic system was, in respect to Church power and constitution, already marked out." Pastor; Vol. I., pg. 85 says, "If Calvin depended upon any of his predecessors for his principles of Church government it was upon the keen writer of the fourteenth century."
2. According to Innocent VI., Marsiglio was much influenced by Occam, then the leading teacher in France. This is inherently probable from their personal association in Paris, and at the Emperor's court, and the community of many of their views. See Haller: Papsttum und Kirchenreform, pg. 78.
3. Pastor points out that Marsiglio's theory of the omnipotence ~~of the omnipotence~~ of the state cut at the root of all individual and Church liberty and surpassed in boldness, novelty, and keenness all the attacks which the position claimed by the Church in the world had been called upon to resist up to that time. The Paduan died before 1343. Pastor: Geschichte der Papste, Vol. I., pg. 85.

succeeding Popes in the Avignon line ever feel comfortable as evidenced by their repeated defenses of their position.

The 'Defensor Pacis' had a well chosen title; it marked out the Pope as the originator of troubles, discords, and wars which a pacific Emperor wished to check. The work itself is a clear, keen bold assertion of the rights of the State as against the Church. Marsiglio traces in it the origin of government and of law. He finds that civil society is a community that exists for the purpose of common life; in such a community there are naturally various classes with various occupations; the occupation of the priestly class is

"to teach and discipline men in things which, according to the Gospel, ought to be believed, done, or omitted to obtain eternal salvation." (1)

Marsiglio set forth that the Church is the community of all who believe in Christ; for all, priests and laity alike, are 'churchmen', because Christ redeemed them with His blood. So far as a priest possesses worldly goods or is engaged in worldly matters he is under the same laws as the rest of the community, (2) What is more, the priest can have no authority except what was given by Christ, and the question to be considered is not what power Christ could have given them, but what He actually gave. Upon close examination it is found that Christ did not exercise coercive judgment Himself, and did not confer it on the Apostles, but He warned them by example, advice and precept to abstain from using it. Contrariwise, Christ submitted Himself to the coercive jurisdiction of temporal princes. Hence no priest has any judicial or coercive

1. Defensor Pacis, Pt. I., ch. XII (quoted by Goldast, III:169).
2. Goldast: Monarchia, Vol. III., pg. 172.

power unless it be given him by the legislator; (1) his priestly authority, which he derives from Christ, is to preach the doctrine and administer the sacraments. (2).

In the opinion of Marsiglio the Papal Primacy had corrupted the Church; for the Pope, through the plentitude of his power, interfered with elections, set aside the rights of chapters, and appointed bishops who could not speak the language of the people over whom they were set as shepherds, and who simply aimed at gathering money from their flocks. Generally speaking, he charged, the bishops could not preach, nor had they knowledge to refute heresies; and the inferior clergy were as ignorant as their superiors. Lawyers, not theologians, filled the Papal Court, he charged, and everywhere he saw ecclesiastic order overthrown by the dispensations from episcopal control which the Pope readily granted to monks and friars. These very relationships which contravened the rights of men, were the relations against which the Reformation was directed; and the general relations between Church and State

1. "Marsiglio attacked the papal theory of society, and proceeded to give a history of the rise and growth of papal pretensions. He swept away all the temporal power and jurisdiction of the priesthood and of the papacy by proclaiming one fundamental principle, which was that the supreme authority in the state is the whole body of citizens, or the greater portion of them." Fisher: History of the Christian Church, pg. 247.
2. Marsiglio contended that the Old Testament Law upon which the papacy was wont to base so many of its claims was not that part of the Scriptures that was necessary for salvation but rather the law of the New Testament, and that not even that can be enforced by temporal penalties. To teach its precepts, to preach the gospel, and to administer the sacraments are the only functions of the priesthood. In his historical investigations he pointed out that in the early Church presbyter and bishop were synonymous. He denied that Peter was supreme over the other apostles, and even denied that he can be proved to have ever visited Rome.

which Marsiglio foreshadowed were those which the Reformation established in countries where it prevailed.

Catharine of Siena.

We have already had frequent occasion to mention Catharine of Siena and have cited some of her letters to the Popes. She was one of the four outstanding leaders from Italy whose influence was of tremendous importance. Dante, Petrarch, Birgitta and Catherine were personalities that rose above even the leaders in the opposition to the abuses of the Avignon Papacy. Catharine was successor and heir to the labours and responsibilities of the other three, (1). How well she carried through this task is revealed in a letter to Gregory XI. which portrays her natural woman's indignation with the Pope's procrastination in carrying out the projects he had -caused her to know he intended.

"I tell you, on behalf of Christ crucified, " she wrote, "it befits you to achieve three chief things through your power. Do you uproot in the garden of Holy Church the malodorous flowers, full of impurity and avarice, swollen with pride: that is the bad priests who poison and rot that garden!... But reflect, sweet father, that you could not do this easily unless you accomplished the other two things which precede the completion of the other two: that is your return to Rome and uplifting of the standard of the most holy Cross....Do not delay then your coming. Respond to the Holy Spirit who calls you. I tell you, come, come, come, and do not wait for time, since time does not wait for you." (2).

This letter reflects most plainly the conviction that neither peace for Christendom, unity for Italy, nor virtue for society were to be obtained, unless first there was accomplished the return of the Pontiff to Rome and the uplifting of the standard of the Cross.

1. Gregorovius: Rome in the Mid. Ages, Vol. VI, pt. 2, pg. 458.
2. Catharine: Letter 147:7.

The flagrant abuses and corruptions of the Avignon Papacy were the undoing of all peace, happiness and joy, and to the utmost of her ability Catharine gives herself in an endeavor to overcome the existent circumstances.

(c) The Protest of the People against the
Abuses of the Avignon Papacy

It has been said, "Leaders give the form." Certainly this was the fact that underlay the protests of the people against the Avignon Papacy. It cannot be denied that they were righteously indignant at the flagrant abuses in the hierarchy. But trained as they had been, they would not have protested so courageously and so effectively if it had not been for the leadership of the men whom we have just considered, and of others like them who worshipped not the institution, nor the authority that had developed within the institution, but who worshipped the Christ,-the Head of the institution. They longed for the genuine and thoroughgoing care of God-fearing pastors and bishops. Amidst the turmoil of political faction and moral corruption, men and women arose who looked for righteousness; flowers of the spiritual life bloomed even in the bloodstained streets of Siena and on the arid desert of the seven hills of Rome.

Strong political factions developed in opposition to the

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established order of things, (1). For instance, there can be little doubt that the ruling faction in Florence had been for some time desiring a rupture with the Church, partly from really patriotic motives, partly with a view to weakening the power of the 'Parte Guelfa' in the Republic. Nevertheless, the evil government and iniquitous policy of the Papacy was calculated to arouse the worst apprehensions, and the Florentines could not look on with indifference. And when the Pope did announce his intention of returning to Rome the Florentines resolved to prevent him, (2). Therefore they sent envoys and letters to the cities surrounding, offering all the forces of the Republic to aid them in resisting the claims of the Church, and promising them that they would be responsible for the preservation of their liberty, (3). They were called upon to remember that they were Italians, whose portion it is to command and not to obey. Let them contrast the sweetness of liberty with the tyrannical rule of the barbarians whom the pastors of the Church have sent from Gaul to oppress them. Let them shake off

1. "The struggle of the parties filled the history of Italy for a considerable space, but in such distorted form that its moral value is no longer recognizable. The mother-country of western culture seemed in momentary danger of becoming extinct, like Hellas or Byzantium. The great institutions of the Middle Ages had arisen upon her soil. But what object now remained for the Italians when the ancient Church and the ancient empire fell to decay and when popes and emperors forsook the country? Nothing it appeared but the war of destruction of the factions, Without national constitution, a tumultuous chaos of struggling cities and tyrants, nobles and people, the dismembered land beheld the fall of the medieval system with the same dismay as she had witnessed the fall of the first empire." Gregorovius: Rome in the Mid. Ages, Vol. VI. pt. I, pg. 3-4.
2. In this connection see the *Epistolae Colucii Salutati*, written in the name of the Florentines, pt. I. pp 148,162 and the Pre face to pt. II, pg. 18.
3. Muratori: *Scriptores ret. Italic.*, tom. III., pg. 677 sqq.

the shameful yoke of the foreigner, and show themselves worthy of liberty and the Italian name.

The leadership of the lesser clergy, the scholastics, and the laity of influence was given an immediate and almost unanimous response. The exactions and misrule of the Papal officials had passed the limits of endurance, and the indignations of the Perugians had been further aroused by the death of the wife of one of their citizens, who, not able to escape from the violent hands of a nephew of the Abbot of Marmoutier, had thrown herself from the window of her house, and been dashed to pieces on the pavement below. The very ease with which the people joined cause with these leaders and insurrectionists is indicative of their thorough-going opposition to the despicable conditions that prevailed in the Avignon Papacy.

(4) The Futility of the Endeavors to Reform
the Abuses of the Avignon Papacy

In answer to the insistent protests that were continually being made, the Popes from time to time had launched movements looking to the reform of the system, (1). This method of procedure found its exponents among the Avignon Papacy. Of these Popes the efforts of Benedict XII. (1334-1342) are conspicuous as an endeavor to cope with the moral conditions surrounding the curial court. His attempts probably have attracted the most attention, and were also the most effective, though the three men who followed his successor, Clement VI. were all men of splendid parts.

Villani tell us that the election of this Benedict was an accident, through votes of various cardinals given to him in the filibuster following the death of John XXII. and which, when counted, proved sufficient for his election, (2). He was not an Avignon

1. The work of Hildebrand stands out as the most zealous and enthusiastic endeavour to reform the ecclesiastical abuses from within the system itself. After the Papacy had descended to unprecedented depths of corruption in the papocracy Henry III. (Holy Roman Emperor from 1039 to 1056) entered Italy in 1046, summoned the Synod of Sutri, and deposed the three rivals for the papal throne, Benedict IX., Gregory VI. and Sylvester III. A decree of the Synod gave him, as champion of reform, the right of choosing succeeding popes. Under his protection the party anxious to put an end to the evils that afflicted the Church grew in strength. In 1048 Bruno, a cousin of the emperor, having been made pope at the Diet of Worms, was persuaded by a young monk not to consider himself qualified to assume the office until he should be properly elected at Rome. The new Pope, Leo IX., took the advice, and brought the sagacious monk with him as a subdeacon. This zealous ecclesiastic was Hildebrand, a Benedictine, who, with Cardinal Peter Damiani, Bishop of Ostia, became the great promoter of all subsequent reforms. But even the labors and impetus toward reform of Hildebrand were not productive of lasting purity within the Church.
2. Villani: *Chronice Florentine*, Bk. XII., sec. 28. cf. Baluze: *Vitae Pontif. Avenion.* tom. 1., pg. 205, and the *Fragmenta Historiae Romanae*, in Muratori: *Antiq. Italic.*, tom. III., pg. 275

attache, and was not in sympathy with the conduct of the Papal court. For the reputation of the Papacy, therefore, the choice proved to be a happy one. He began at once with energy and determination to prosecute a vigorous reform.

"The prelates who had no distinct duties at Avignon he sent home, and to his credit it was recorded that, when urged to enrich his relatives he replied that the vicar of Christ, like Melchizedek, must be without father or mother or genealogy." (2).

But the efforts of Benedict, and the efforts of all the other Popes, were abortive. They proved unavailing to secure the reformation from within that was so necessary. The evil that had taken hold upon the hierarchy ate as a pernicious disease. The best endeavors of the Papacy were impotent to effect its reform.

1. "Historian allow Benedict XII., the praise of being an upright and honest man, and void alike of avarice and love of power." Mosheim: Ecc. Hist., vol. II., pg. 375.
2. Villani: Chronic Florentine, Bk. XII., sec. 37.

AVIGNON AND SPIRITUAL ASPIRATION

IV. AVIGNON AND SPIRITUAL ASPIRATIONS

(1) THE UNIVERSAL ELEMENT IN SPIRITUAL ASPIRATION

By the very constitution of our natures God calls us to Himself. Our restlessness, our yearnings, our movings about as aliens in the midst of things seen and visible, all these bid us turn to Him in whom alone our capacities can be satisfied, and the hunger of our souls appeased. Men wander through the earth, strangers in the midst of it. They cannot translate the cry of their own hearts, but it means, 'God, my soul thirsteth for Thee'; and the thirst bids us seek His face.

By all the providences and events of our changeful lives, God summons us to Himself. Our sorrows by their poignancy, our joys by their incompleteness and their transiency, alike call us to Him in whom alone the sorrows can be soothed and the joys made full and remain. Our duties, by their heaviness, call us to turn ourselves to Him, in whom alone we can find strength to fill the role that is laid upon us, and to discharge our daily tasks.

The craving for blessed satisfaction is universal; the powerlessness to satisfy it is co-extensive with the aspiration. Men seek and they do not find; they toil and they continue unsatisfied. But they who seek God, -not the blessedness, but the source of the blessedness, -by desire, by the direction of thought, and will, and love, and by the regulation of their daily lives, shall be satisfied. As surely as the mother hears the cry of her child, so surely does God hear the faintest voice addressed to Him. But before He can

pour out upon men the richness of His blessings, there must be a change in the ways of man and in the root of their thoughts. For the search which is not accompanied by forsaking self and evil ways is not genuine seeking, and can only end in disappointment.

The universality of spiritual aspiration was present in emphasized form in the fourteenth century when the Papacy was resting in Avignon. The Church had laid claim to a monopoly of saving power⁽¹⁾ In support of this claim, the Church professed not only to be inspired and infallible, and endowed with miraculous power, but also by the mere mechanical performance of sacramental rites to secure their efficacy, ⁽²⁾. So long as the Papacy had remained in Rome these claims had not been subjected to serious questioning. They were the product of gradual development, and it never occurred to the people to dispute their integrity. Out of history, therefore, we perceive ⁽³⁾ a Papal institution which took on the form of a "visible corporation." During the "Babylonish Captivity" the Pontiffs were often dissolute popes, surrounded by Cardinals whose morals were an open reproach, ⁽⁴⁾.

Out of the dismay and disapproval attendant upon the Avignon regime the people discovered that they had been trusting for salvation in the Churches; they found that they had been relying for salvation on the officers and the services of those officers to the neglect of Jesus Christ, ⁽⁵⁾. Unconsciously they had drifted into a trust of the established order, the Church with its imposing edifices and crowds of officials and multiplied ceremonies. The clergy had been regarded

1. Edgar: Genius of Protestantism, pg. 131.
2. D'Aubigne: History of the Reformation, pg. 61 sqq. cf. Myconius: History of the Reformation; and Seckendorf, History of Lutheranism.
3. Muratori: Antiq. Ital. Medii aevi, tom. XII., pg. 1009.
4. Baluze: Vita Ponti. Avenion. tom II., pg. 763.
5. Wylie: The Papacy, pg. 397 sqq.

as trustees of supernatural gifts of divine grace. They dispensed the sacraments without which no man could be saved; in their hands were the keys of heaven, (1). Those whose merits had won the favour of heaven wrought signs and wonders, they could foretell the future, they could forgive sins, they had a share in the counsels of God Himself, (2). In times of plague, of pestilence, of famine, their aid was indispensable. Endowed with mysterious gifts, they commanded

1. The penitential works substituted for the salvation of God, were multiplied in the church from Tertullian down to the thirteenth century. Men were required to fast, to go barefoot, to wear no linen, etc.; to quit their homes and their native land for distant countries, or to renounce the world and embrace a monastic life. In the eleventh century voluntary flagellations were superadded to these rare practices: somewhat later they became quite a mania in Italy, which was then a very disturbed state... The priestridden world sighed for deliverance. The priests themselves had found out that if they did not apply a remedy their usurped power would slip from their hands. They accordingly invented that system of barter celebrated under the title of Indulgences. They said to their penitents, "You cannot accomplish the tasks imposed upon you. Well we, the priests of God and your pastors, will take this heavy burden upon ourselves." "For a seven weeks' fast," said Regino, abbot of Prum, "you shall pay twenty pence, if you are rich; ten, if less wealthy; and three pence if you are poor; and so on for other matters." Courageous men raised their voices against this traffic, but in vain. D'Aubigne: Hist. of the Reformation, pp 52-60. See for a list of Indulgences, "Libro duo de Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis."
2. "The doctrine of Indulgences was vindicated and extended by Alexander of Hales in the thirteenth century. Jesus Christ it was said, had done much more than was necessary to reconcile God to man. One single drop of His blood would have been sufficient, but He shed it copiously in order to form a treasure for His church that eternity can never exhaust. The supererogatory merits of the saints, the reward of the good works they had done beyond their obligation, have still further augmented this treasure. Its keeping and management were confided to Christ's vicar upon earth. It is within his province to apply to each sinner, for the sins committed after baptism, these merits of Jesus Christ and of the saints, according to the measure and the quantity his sins require. Who would venture to attack a custom of such holy origin!" Ibid., Pg. 57.

the reverence of the most hardened men in the crises of their lives, But for them, it was believed, the powers of evil would engulf the world.

But the influence of the Papacy rested on other foundations than those of superstitious dread or selfish hope. Christianity, though unquestionably corrupted from its original purity, was still a constant protest against unrighteousness, (2). The Christian religion never ceased to extol the merit of charity to the poor; and as monasticism grew in strength, poverty acquired an additional merit in men's eyes, (3). There never was a time when the Christian conscience was entirely at ease on the question of slavery; and the

1. In 1335 Bishop Alvarex Pelayo laid down the doctrine that as Christ partook of the nature of God and man, so the pope, as His vicar, participates with Him in the divine nature as to spiritual things and in the nature of man as to temporals, so that he is not simply a man, but rather a God on earth,—"Papa non nomo simpliciter sed quasi deus in terris est." Lea: Studies in Church History, pg. 378.
2. Muratori: Antiq. Ital. medii aevi, tom. VI., pg. 469 sqq.
3. "At the head of the monks and indeed of the whole church, stood the mendicants, particularly the Dominicans and the Franciscans, by whose counsels and pleasure every thing of importance was transacted both at the court of Rome, and in the cabinets of princes. So high was the reputation of these brethren for sanctity and influence with God, that the most distinguished persons of both sexes, some while in health and others when sick and in the near prospect of death, wished to be received into their orders, for the purpose of securing the favor of God. Many carefully inserted in their last wills, that they would have their corpses wrapped in a sordid Dominican or Franciscan garment, and be buried among the mendicants. For the amazing superstition and ignorance of the age led people to believe that those would find Christ a gracious judge at the last day who should appear before his tribunal associated with the mendicant monks." Mosheim: Eccles. Hist., Vol. II., pg. 378. cf. Baluze: Miscellanea, tom. I., pg. 307; Wassing: Annales Minorites, tom. VI., pg. 361.

clergy proved a barrier, though at times but a feeble one, against feudal oppression. Above all, however, Christianity was a religion of hope. Miserable as the world was, at least the Church offered the hope of redress in the world to come, and happiness of heaven to those who knew of none on earth. The Church, therefore, was the only institution from which any hope of a regenerated world could be expected, (1).

But, as we have previously pointed out, the period of the Avignon Papacy marks a horrible degeneracy of the institution that for so many centuries had ministered to the spiritual needs of men. The abuses at Avignon were so flagrant and so shocking that the sensibilities of the people were injured. They sought for bread, and were given a stone. Their spiritual longings and aspirations met with effrontery and were repulsed. Explaining the impudent transgression of the bounds of duty and decorum which made answer to the desires of the people, Catharine wrote:

"They come full of iniquity and impurity to this mystery (the Sacrement), and not only of that impurity to which, through the fragility of their weak nature they are naturally inclined, but these wretches not only do not bridle their fragility, but do worse, committing that accursed sin against nature." (2).

The misrule of Church officers and misconduct of the hierarchy had passed the limits of endurance, (3). Full well the people realized that their spiritual natures were being

1. F. J. Foakes-Jackson: Intord. to Hist. of Christianity, Pg. 22.
2. Villani VIII. Chronicle Florentine VIII., 80. Muratori: Antiq. Ital. IX., pg. 1013 where are recorded the words of Ferretus of Vincenza,, cf- Petrarch: Letter of March 1372: Contra cujusd. anon. Galli Calumnias ad Ugutionem de Thienis Apologia, Opp. 1067-1085.
3. Catharine: Dialogue.

impoverished, (1). The people rose in righteous indignation against the intolerable situation. They longed for the genuine and thorough-going care of God-fearing pastors and bishops. The universal element in their nature that ~~cried~~ cried out unto God for satisfaction refused to believe that it could be accomplished on other grounds than the return of the Papacy to Rome, (2).

1. Catharine: Letter 267:91,-

"I hope in the goodness of God and in your Holiness that you will do what is not done, and in this way both temporal and spiritual things will be gained back. This is what God bade you do, (as you know that you were told), to bring about the reformation of the Church by punishing what was wrong and planting virtuous pastors, and by lifting up the banner of the most holy Cross in the place of St. Peter. I believe that negligence and not doing what can be done are perhaps, the cause of such great ruin and loss and irreverence towards the Holy Church and her ministers having come upon us, as now is. And I fear lest, unless the remedy is applied of doing what has not been done, our sins may inherit so much that we shall see worse disasters come;...Most holy Father, mitigate your anger against us with the light of reason and with truth."

2. Catharine: Letter 270, dated April 16, 1376.

"Have mercy upon so many souls and bodies that are perishing. O pastor and keeper of the cellar of the blood of the Lamb, let not trouble nor shame nor the abuse that you might think to receive, nor servile fear draw you back, nor the perverse counsellors of the devil who counsel you to nought else save wars and misery. Consider what great evils are resulting from this and how great is the good that will be the result of your return. It seems that the devil has taken the lordship of the world, not by himself, for he can do nothing; but in as much as have given him....Alas! we have fallen under the sentence of death, and we have made war upon God. O baboo mio, you are given us as spiritual leader; you must carry the cross of holy desire and plant it in its rightful place....God wills and demands of you that, according to your power, you should take the lordship from the hands of the demons. Set yourself to freeing Holy Church from the foul smell of her ministers; weed out these stinking flowers, and plant sweet smelling flowers therein, virtuous men who fear God; and return with your Curia to Rome to do justice and mercy, to strengthen the Catholic faith, to confirm peace, and thus to renovate Holy Church. God would have you to attend to souls and to spiritual things more than to temporal."

(2) Spiritual Aspiration and the Demand for
a Radical Change in the Avignon Papacy

The paths which men chose for themselves often fail to run parallel with the paths which God chooses for them, and to be pleasing to Him. This was the condition that pertained in the "Babylonish Captivity" of the Papacy. The entire Catholic Church raised a cry vibrant with eager urgency for a return of their spiritual leaders to the paths of righteousness.

The protest against the corruption and abuses of the Avignon Papacy, which we considered in a previous chapter, (1) were at the same time a demand for a radical change in the existing conditions. Not always, it is true, was the demand made in view of the spiritual aspirations of the people concerned; but more often than not it was the urge of the universal spiritual aspiration within the people that gave boldness to the protests. There were many distinct demands, however, for a radical change in the light of the insistent spiritual longing of the multitudes.

One of the most far-reaching of these demands was the work of Marsiglio of Padua already mentioned,--the 'Defensor Pacis'. (2). The manifesto of this book against the spiritual as well as the temporal assumptions of the Papacy, and against the whole hierarchial organization of the Church could not be ignored. With the strifes be-

1. Chpt. III., sec. 3, pg. 64 sqq.
2. The manuscript of the Defensor Pacis is in the Vatican. It illuminates the whole history of the hierarchy. In opposition to it John XXII. issued the bull 'Licet juxta, October 23, 1326. The sophistry is equal on both sides. The chief doctrines of the monarchists are: Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo; Reddite quae sunt Caesaris Caesari; Nemo militans Deo implicat se secularibus negotiis. The main argument for the pope rested on the words: Tibi dabo claves regni caelorum, et quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in caelis; et quodcumque solveris super terram, erit solutum et in caelis.

tween cities and states, between temporal princes and hierarchial dominance, at its very height we can easily imagine the fomentation that ensued the injection of Marsiglio's book into the thought and feeling of the time! Coming from so eminent a personage as this man who once had been rector of the University of Paris it seemed to hold out a glimmer of hope for the great race of men and women who aspired for spiritual things, and offered a valid reason for rejecting the claims to recognition which the Gallicized Papacy assumed, (1). Like the beliefs and activities of that group of men of whom he was a significant example, Marsiglio expressed in his words and writings the righteous indignation which he and a multitude of the people felt against the abuses of the hierarchy, (2). The fact is that cities and parties, established and newly created orders, unitedly and individually, waged an open conflict against the Pope to secure the purification of the Church and the leadership of worthy men.

The absence of the Popes, while weakening the power of the nobles, had given a fresh impulse of life to the Republic. Consequently, revolution followed revolution, (3). The stable portion of

1. Defensor Pacis, tom. I., sec. 16.
2. "Marsiglio investigated the papal jurisdiction and discovered that the pope did not possess any authority over bishops and priests, since bishops and priests were all equal. From the Gospels and the Fathers of the Church he drew the conclusion that no priest had any jurisdiction whatever. He denied the power of the keys; no priest could bind or loose; to God alone belonged the power; the priest was only God's key-bearer, that is to say, he only expressed a condition of guilt and forgiveness in the spiritual economy of society; but the penitent received absolution from God alone." Gregorovius: Rome in the Mid. Ages, vol. VI., pt. I, pg. 126.
3. Baluze: Vitae Pontiff. Avenion., tom. II., pp 290-291, 301, 309, 323. Muratori: Antiq. Ital, tom. III., pp 397, 401, 409. Giannone Historiic de Naples, tom. III., pg. 280.

the people felt deeply that the upheavals were the direct consequence of the weakened spiritual life of the people. Villani writes,

"The ancient people of Rome was to all the world a mirror of constancy and firmness, of upright and spiritual life, and of every moral virtue. But those who at present possess the city are, on the contrary, utterly fickle and inconstant, and without any shadow of spiritual life or moral virtues." (1).

The situation cried loudly for reform. And the people of Italy lost no opportunity to impress upon the Pope and his cardinals the malevolent effects they were feeling because of his absence from the time-honored seat of his authority. They were insistent that the interests of Holy Church demanded his return to Rome, and required a complete renovation of the moral life within the hierarchy.

Moreover England raised a particular issue against the Papacy because of its residence at Avignon, (2). To this country which had so long been the staunch defender of the Roman Pontiffs is attributable the distinction of being the first country which showed a spirit of national resistance to the Papal establishment on foreign soil, (3). The ineffectiveness of her ministry, and the degradation to which she had descended gave England sufficient reason for refusing either to submit to Papal dictates or to pay taxes, (4). The fact that the Avignon Papacy was the avowed partisan of the French king became a mingled motive with the English rulers for refusing submission and a just share in maintaining the court at the French city. The king had the support of Parliament, which demanded the

1. Villani: *Croniche Florentine*, IX:87.
2. Mosheim: *Eccles. Hist.* Vol. II., pg. 378.
3. Wood: *Autig, Oxoniens*, tom. I., pg. 181 sqq. tom. II., pg. 61 sqq.
4. Baulay: *Hist. Aca. Paris*, tom. IV. pg. 336. Wadding.

expulsion of Papal representatives from English soil, (1). These laws did not at once arrest the evils complained of; but they served as a menace to the Pope, and impressed on him the need of more sincere and effectual work in the sphere of his special interests,-the religious sphere, (2).

Turning now to the reactions of the spiritually minded Birgitta, we have preserved from her hand a letter written in February 1373 and despatched at the hand of the hermit-bishop to the Sovereign Pontiff in Avignon. How pulsating with holy indignation and daring presumption are these sentences from that letter:

"Why hatest thou Me so? Why is thy daring and thy presumption so great against Me? For thy mundane court is plundering My celestial court. Thou in thy pride dost take My sheep from Me; thou dost unlawfully sieze upon the goods of the Church, to give them to thy temporal friends. Thou dost rob My poor for the sake of thy rich. Too great is thy audacity and presumption. What have I done to thee, Gregory?....Why dost thou make reign in thy court such great pride, insatiable cupidity, and the lust that I hate, and likewise the most horrible simony? Moreover, thou dost rob Me of innumerable souls; for almost all who come to thy court dost thou cast into the hell of fire, in that thou dost not attend to the things that pertain to My court, albeit thou art the prelate and pastor of My sheep....And albeit I could with justice condemn thee for these things, yet do I still admonish thee, for the salvation of thy soul, that thou come to Rome, to thy seat, as quickly as thou canst. Come then, and do not

1. Baulay: Hist Acad. Paris, tom. IV., pg. 450.
2. From Avignon on January 6, 1376 the Pope wrote to all the States and people of Italy, "We had firmly intended to return with the Roman Curia to the Supreme City and our other towns in Italy, and to live and die among you, and to relieve you of the heavy burdens which, on account of the whirlwinds of warfare, you have borne, to our great displeasure and that of our predecessors, and to preserve you in peace, and to rule you with beneficent government, and to acceptably minister unto you in spiritual things, with the aid of the Most High." *Litterae exhortativae pro parte domini nutri papae*, etc. Biblioteca Vatican, Cod. Vat. Lat. 6330, f. 430.

delay. Come not with thy mundane pride and wonted pomp, but with humility and ardent charity; and, after thou art thus come, extirpate and root out all the vices from thy court.... Rise up manfully, put on thy strength, and begin to renovate My Church, which I acquired with My own blood; let it be brought back in spirit to its primitive holy state, for now it is a house of shame that is venerated rather than Holy Mother Church." (1).

A few years later, Catharine of Siena was sent as an ambassador on a special mission to the court at Avignon by the Republic of Florence, (2). But once in Avignon, Catharine felt that her mission was an higher one than she had received from Florence. She was in Avignon as the ambassador of Christ. It was only with difficulty that she obtained her first audiences with Gregory; (3), but when his first prejudices were overcome, the Pope heard her gladly,--the faithful Father Raimondo always acting as interpreter. Catharine set before the Pope, not alone her own desires and aspirations in spiritual things, but the outgoings of the hearts of the majority of the people. In one of her first interviews, she spoke her mind concerning the shameful vices of the Roman Curia, and the Pope after a feeble attempt to rebuke her, listened in silence and made no comment at the end, though Raimondo was amazed at the boldness and authority with which she had spoken. On another occasion, Gregory questioned her about his return to Rome.

"It is not meet," she answered, "that a wretched little woman should give advice to the Sovereign Pontiff." And the Pope: "I do not ask you for advice, but to tell me the will of God in this matter." And while she still made excuses, he charged her on her obedience, to say if she knew anything of the will of God in this affair. "Then she, humbly bowing her head, said: 'Who knoweth this better your Holiness, who vowed to God that you would do these things,--the renovation of Holy Church and return to Rome?'" (4). When she had said this, he was

1. Birgitta: Revelaciones IV:141, 142.
2. Gregorovius: Rome in the Mid. Ages, Vol. VI., pt. II, pg. 475.
3. Catharine: Letters 207:7.
4. Gregory during the conclave had made a vow, that if elected Pope, he would purge the Church and return to Rome.

overwhelmed with amazement, for, as he said, no living man save himself knew that he had made this vow." (1).

A strange thing was happening within the communion of the Catholic Church. Men were distinguishing between holy religion, the Church, and the men who held the power in the institution, (2). Never again would the time come when the priesthood could so completely dominate the very existence of society as it had done in the days gone by. The people had discovered a spiritual longing within themselves; and the degeneracy of the hierarchy as exemplified in the Avignon Papacy enforced them to realize that the needs of their souls could never be met from that source; a radical change was all essential. Even when the Sovereign Pontiff did return to Rome, we find that the spiritual longings of the people were articulate as they had never been before. Shortly after his return to Rome, for instance, Catharine addressed a letter to him which gives utterance to the aspirations of all Catholics who, at any epoch in the history of the Church, have prayed that their pastors might realize that Christ's kingdom is not of this world; who, in the interest of the salvation of the souls of their fellowmen, have besought their priests to lay down the Christless burden of temporal power; and who have received in return for their spiritual anguish only the Papal 'non possumus',-the declaration that he who sits on the throne of the Fisherman cannot renounce what the Church has once possessed, or claimed to possess, as her own. In this letter, she began by saying

1. Legenda II: IV. 7.
2. "Gregory XI. recognized that if he remained longer at Avignon the State of the Church and Italy would be lost to the popes, and he resolved to return to Rome, which might also renounce the Church if he delayed." Gregorovius: Rome in the Mid. Ages, Vol. II., pt. II., pg. 474.

that God demands peace and spiritual ministry from the Pope, and that he should not be so intent upon temporal lordship and possessions as not to see how great is the destruction of souls and the outrage to God that results from war and the corruption of sin. She continues:

"You could indeed say, Holy Father: 'I am bound in conscience to preserve and recover what belongs to Holy Church.' Alas, I confess that it is true; but it seems to me that one must still more guard what is more dear. The treasure of the Church is the blood of Christ, given in ransom for the soul; for the treasure of the blood is not paid in temporal substance, but for the salvation of the human race. So that, supposing that you are bound to conquer and preserve the treasure and the lordship of the cities that the Church has lost; much more are you bound to win back so many little sheep, who are a treasure in the Church. It is better to let the mire of temporal things go than the gold of spiritual things. Peace, peace, for the love of Christ crucified." (1).

And her argument continued, what is the loss of temporal power compared to the evil of seeing grace perish in men's souls, and the obedience die away that they owe the Pope? How can he reform the Church while he remains alien to the primal, spiritual, mission of the Church?

"You have need of the aid of Christ crucified; set, then your affection and your desire upon Him; not on man and human aid, but on Christ sweet Jesus, whose place you hold; for it seems that He wished the Church to return to her sweet primal state. O how blessed will your soul be and mine, when I see you begin this great good work and when what God is now permitting by force (2) shall be accomplished in your hands by love!" (3).

Catharine, like a symbol of her times, had no thought or desire of seeing Gregory return to Rome as a temporal sovereign. She dreamed of the Pope as a purely spiritual power, coming unarmed in poverty and humility, conquering all opposition by the might of love alone.

1. Catharine: Letter 209:2
2. i.e. the return of the Church to her primitive state of poverty and purity by the loss of her temporal possessions.
3. Catharine: Letter 209:4.

The spectacle of licentious and wanton ecclesiastical court, and of the Church fighting against civil powers with mercenary arms, was to her an utter horror and abomination,-a veritable war against God. The restoration of power and influence among the people unto the Papal hierarchy depended upon a radical change in the conduct and temper of the Avignon court.

(3) Spiritual Aspiration and the Assurance of Satisfaction if the Papacy would return to Rome.

The opprobrium of Christianity, and the weakness of our whole lives, is often times the product of dim expectations, clouded all over with earthly doubts and indifference, so that they become languid hopes which leave us scarce a trace of interest and cause us to become almost incredulous. The wavering, hesitating, half and half confidence with which a great many people grasp the objects of their hope, is a degradation to the hope and a disgrace to the hoper. There is nothing that is worthy of certitude but assurance; and he who knows that his hope is not vain will manifest an outward certainty to the inward unwavering confidence. But certainty is one thing, and assurance is another. There may be entire assurance without any certainty; and there may be what people call objective certainty with a very tremulous and unworthy subjective assurance.

During the years of the residence of the Popes in Avignon there was a growing assurance among men everywhere that the deepest cravings and desires of their hearts,-the insatiable and universal desire for true and pure spiritual leadership,-could only be effected for them by the return of the Papacy to Rome. And to that end there was an increasing endeavor to effect the outward certainty of the

"inward unwavering confidence." Every possible pressure was brought to bear upon the hierarchy that it was possible to bring upon it with an avowed purpose of effecting its return to Rome. And through every form of this pressure there was manifest the confident assurance that with the return the Papal institution would again minister to the needs of the people in every aspiration of their heart, and in keeping with their fairest ideals of purity and decorum. Said a friar minor to Giovanni:

"If "religious" (1) will once more establish themselves in Rome and begin to speak only of God, the spirit of holy fervour will return among us, and we shall set the world on fire." (2).

In Rome there was a longing for the presence of the Pope. It was a longing that found expression in many ways, but always coexistent with an assurance that if once again the Pope did return to Rome the destinies, not only of Rome, but of the entire world would be influenced for good, (3). The assurance and the pressure of the Italian people found a response in Urban V. who was a man of sincere and earnest piety, and who looked with disgust upon the pomp and luxury of the Avignonese court: (4) and who, himself, felt that a reform would be more easily worked if the court were transferred to another place. And when Urban felt the embarrassment of the Papal office in the repudiation by England of the Papal claim to the tribute of 1000 marks which John had agreed to pay in token of

1. See note, Pg. 26.
2. Lettre del B. Giovanni Colombini, 87.
3. Villani, IX: 85; Birgitta: Revelaciones, IV: 25; Petrarch in his last letter to Urban V., 1370. A.N. Nandini, Bibliotheca Leipoldina Laurentina, tom III. Call. 101-103.
4. Baluze: Vitae Pontiff. Avenion, tom. I., pg. 363; Muratori: Scriptores rerum Italicar., tom. III., pg. II., pg. 642.

submission to Papal suzerainty (1) he was moved by the assurance of the members of Holy Church that the proper course was for him to return to Rome. But a brief stay in Rome was sufficient to cause Urban to realize the primal difference between assurance and certainty, and to admit that the fears of his Cardinals were not unfounded, (2).

But even the disappointment that overtook Urban did not controvert the assurance of the people that if in good faith the Papacy should return to Rome, and with energy and discretion undertake the problems which confronted it, the eternal cravings of the people for spiritual ministries would be gratified, (3). Don Giovanni delle Celze

1. In 1208, John of England, refused to recognize as Archbishop of Canterbury Cardinal Stephen Langton, who had been appointed by Innocent. The pope, therefore, deposed him and handed his kingdom over to France. Alarmed at the strength of his enemies, John submitted abjectly, and received back his kingdom as a fief of the Roman see. The humiliated monarch covenanted, for himself and his successors, to pay an annual tribute of 1000 marks to the see of Rome.
2. On May 22, 1370, an embassy from the Romans visited Urban at Montefiascone to implore the Pope to reconsider his decision to return to Avignon. "The Holy Spirit led me to Rome," he answered; "it now leads me away ~~for~~ the honour of the Church." Urban bade the Romans farewell, promising them to still care for them as a father, urging them to remain at peace and not prevent his return or the coming of his successor. "Nevertheless," he said, "we bear witness that we and our brothers, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, and our families and officers, have remained for three years with you and in the places round about, in great quiet and consolation; and you, collectively and individually have treated us and our Curia with reverence and kindness." The only plausible excuse that Urban could have offered was that Italy being now pacified, his presence was needed in Avignon to make peace between France and England who had renewed hostilities. The more probable reason, however, was ill-health and the evil influence of the French cardinals. For the complete document from which the above quotations are taken, see Brief of June 26, 1370, in Raynaldus, Vol. VII., pg. 190. cf. Gregorovius: Rome in the Mid. Ages, Vol. VI., pt. II., pp. 445-451.
3. Petrarca: Rerum Semil., Lib. IX., ep. I; "Then turn not aside from the way in which thou hast started, for there is none straighter to salvation, and none more certain to provide for the spiritual needs of the people; the time is short, the journey long, but the hope of reward will make the labour light. Beware of looking back; for thou knowest that 'he who has set his hand to the plow and looketh back, cannot enter the kingdom of God.'"

a distinguished leader of thought in Florence, had no doubt in his own mind of the outcome of such a course. To a colleague he wrote:

"I have heard news of thee for this holy Easter, and I have heard that thou art compelled to take certain offices in the Commune. But thou hast no need to doubt, as long as thou directest thy intentions first to the honour of God, and then to the good state of thy city. Make this thy desire and endeavor for shortly the holy Father will return to dwell amongst us, and then we shall realize every desire of our heart. Verily! he will not now be long delayed. Fear not any punishment from the officers of the Church if thou dost discharge thy duties in all good faith, for with this holy intention thou canst pass through all the offices without mortal sin. Excommunications are made for those who sin mortally, and therefore hold for certain that no innocent man can be excommunicated." (1).

We can not doubt that Birgitta was deeply disappointed when Urban so speedily quit Rome and returned to Avignon, for she has expressed it in her writings, (2). Still she felt certain that the re-establishment of the Papacy in Rome would prove the solution of the intimate problems of the heart-life of the people. Writing to Bartolommeo she recounts the visit a vicar of the Pope had made upon her. She says:

"He came to me in the name of the Holy Father, bidding me offer up special prayers for him and for Holy Church; and for a sign he brought me the holy indulgence. Rejoice then and be glad, for the Holy Father, beseeching him, for the love of that most sweet blood, has been pleased to give us leave to expose our bodies to every torment. Pray to the Supreme, Eternal Truth that, if it is best, He may vouch safe this mercy to us and to you, so that we may all together give our lives for Him. I am confident that the Holy Father will return to us, and when he does return it will be with every good blessing." (3).

But Dante and Petrarch and Birgitta had all passed out of the world of anguish and tribulation before Gregory was induced to follow the example of Urban and return. The work that they had so persistently performed fell upon Catharine, (4). The burden of her

1. Letter in Tocco, I Fraticelli, pg. 348.
2. Birgitta: Revelaciones extravagantes.
3. Revelaciones, 127.
4. Gregorovius: Rome in the Mid. Ages, Vol. VI. pt. II, pg. 458.

petitions was that Pope was to take heart and fear nothing; if he would only return to Italy and raise the standard of the Cross, all would be well. The spiritual aspirations of the people would be gratified. But he must come like a meek lamb, "using the arms of the power of love alone, aiming only to have the care of spiritual things." (1)

So she writes to him:

"Answer the summons of God, who is calling you to come to hold and possess the place of the glorious pastor St. Peter, whose vicar you are. Lift up the banner of the holy Cross. Come, and you will reform the Church with good pastors. You will give her back the colour of most burning charity which she lost; for so much blood has been sucked from her by iniquitous devourers, that she has become pallid. But take heart and come, Father, and do not make the servant of God wait, who are afflicted with desire. And I, miserable, wretched woman, can wait no longer; living, I seem to die in pain at seeing God outraged." (2)

And a little later Catherine wrote to Raimondo and his companions:

"I am dying and cannot die, I am bursting and cannot burst, with the desire that I have for the renovation of the Holy Church, for the honour of God, and the salvation of every creature, and of seeing you, and the others robed with purity, burned and consumed in His most ardent charity. Tell Christ on earth to make me wait no longer. When he comes, I and all shall experience the sweet satisfaction of our souls. When I see him I shall sing with the sweet old man Simeon: Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word." (3).

And at another time we find her writing, her every feeling pulsating with the assurance that all will be set right when the Pope returns to Rome. She has been at trouble to explain the conduct of the people in forsaking Holy Church, and she says:

"When they perceived the stench of the life of their rulers, who you know are demons incarnate, they came into such exceeding fear that they have acted like Pilate, who slew Christ in order not to lose lordship; and so they have done, for they have persecuted you in order not to lose their state.

1. Catherine: Letter 198:2.
2. Catherine: Letter 206:5
3. Catherine: Letter 211:88.

I crave mercy, then, Father, from you for them. Do not look at the ignorance and pride of your sons; but, with love and kindness, giving what gentle punishment and benign rebuke that will please your Holiness, render peace to us, wretched children who have offended. I tell you, sweet Christ on earth, in the name of Christ in heaven, that, if you act thus, without storm or strife, they will lay their heads in your lap. Then you will rejoice, and we shall rejoice; for with love you will have put back the sheep that was lost into the fold of Holy Church. And then, my sweet babo, you will fulfill your holy desire and the will of God in carrying out the holy enterprise; to which I invite you in His name, to do it soon and without negligence. And they will join with great affection, for they are disposed to give their lives for Christ. Ah, God, sweet love! Uplift soon the banner of the most holy Cross, babo, and you will see the wolves become lambs. Peace, peace, peace; so that war may not postpone this sweet time...Come, come, come, and no more withstand the will of God which calls you; the starving sheep are waiting your coming to hold and possess the place of your ancestor and champion, the Apostle Peter; for, as vicar of Christ, you are bound to repose in your own place. Come, then, come, and delay no more; take heart and fear nought that could befall, for God will be with you." (1)

A prophecy of the assurance of the people for the future is indicated in a letter of Petrarch following the return to Rome of Urban in 1370.

"And lo! most blessed Father, as far as in thee lies, thou hast rendered the Christian people happy. No longer will they go wandering in search of their Lord or His vicar; but the one they will find in heaven and within their own hearts (for each soul is the seat of God), the other on earth and in his proper place, that place which the Lord chose, in which the first of His vicars dwelt when he lived, and still remains, though dead. Thou hast restored brightness to our world, and, rising like the sun, hast put to flight the coldness of long night and the powers of darkness. The neglect of five Pontiffs, equal to thee in rank but not in soul, and of more than sixty years, hast thou alone in a few days repaired." (2).

1. Catharine: Letter 196:4.
2. Petrarch: Rerum Senilium, Lib. IX. ep. 1.

CONCLUSION

Conclusion

Change as the world may in outward aspect by the rise and fall of empires, change as men may from generation to generation in knowledge, belief, and manners, human nature remains unalterable in its elements. Religion in the soul is one of these unalterable elements. The customary practices of religious devotion may be prostituted by untoward outward conditions, the psychological associations identified with the practices and worship of the church over long periods of time may be abolished, and yet the essential spiritual nature of man will remain unchanged. The soul still longs for spiritual nurture and cannot be satisfied with less than its proper spiritual heritage.

An illustration of this is found in the Christendom of the fourteenth century. The ability of an absentee hierarchy acceptably and adequately to minister to the religious nature and to the spiritual needs was in reality the ultimate issue at Avignon, therefore, it is in place in the conclusion of this thesis once more to ask 'What factors essential to true religion were at stake in the residence of the Papacy at Avignon?'

(1) The Church as an Institution.

The supremacy of the successors of St. Peter had been secured by two instrumentalities, the appellate power authorizing the Bishop of Rome to revise the sentences of other bishops, and the original jurisdiction by which they could expel from communion those who differed from them on points

of faith or discipline, or who resisted their pretensions to domination. In practical development, the church insensibly acquired an enormous power over its individual members, and an almost dominant influence even in political affairs. The Church as it had developed through the centuries was the creation of the Latin influence and in keeping with the Roman idea that there existed a proper subservience of human society to its preeminence. With the historic prestige of Rome as a foundation a mighty theocratic structure had been reared which overshadowed all secular institutions with a superiority as assured as that of heaven over earth.

The Avignon residence of the popes betokened the decay and ruin which threatened the hierarchial institution of the Middle Ages. A conscientious abstention from secular affairs had dominated the early Church. But with the increase of its power a career of worldly ambition had been opened to the Churchmen, and the spirit of the earlier times had been forgotten. With the widening of spiritual jurisdiction and the reconstruction of society, the Church found itself in possession of prerogatives so elastic that, as opportunity offered, it was easy to justify the appropriation of any desirable increase in power. The strength of its influence had been exhibited when the Empire of the Hohenstaufens had fallen into vassalage to the Church. But scarcely had this occurred when the popes forsook Italy in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Frenchmen as they were, they entered the service of France, and were robbed of their universal dominion.

The exile to Avignon was followed first by the schism, then by - General Councils, lastly by the Reformation. When the

gigantic struggle of the Middle Ages between the spiritual and secular powers was fought out, no mission of universal importance to the European world remained to the popes. The absolute dominion which they had acquired in the thirteenth century, they turned with suicidal policy against themselves and the Church. Even in their impotence at Avignon under the protection of France, the popes, who had acquired their great international position solely through opposition to the empire, again evoked the ancient war. But their challenge was answered by the reforming spirit of the West. Bold thinkers disputed not only the secular, but also the spiritual jurisdiction of the pope. Faith was severed from knowledge. It seemed as though the nations, matured by the indefatigable work of thought, would fall from the decayed framework of the Catholic Church.

In the changing circumstances the Church had ceased to be the center of interest and wonder. No longer was there any "awed and mesmeric rumour breathing through the streets" which stirred the indifferent heart into eager questionings. No longer did the Church reveal the same magnetic influence and constraint that once she had exerted with great effectiveness. No longer did she move with forceful persistence, energized by the strong, healthy pulse of a holy and hallowing purpose. The alluring wonder of the Church had been lost, and the loss, to which many had been insensible or indifferent, was indisputably evidenced by the Avignon residence of the Popes.

(2) The Right of Authoritative Leadership in the Church

A further factor essential to true religion was at stake in the Avignon residence of the Popes in the right of the leadership of the Church. As the Bishop of Rome, the Pope had secured the position of first importance in the Church. He had fallen heir to two fundamental ideas which had been influential from the ninth century. These ideas were a world federation of Christians as expressed in the Empire, and the sovereign authority of the Church embodied in the Papal States. These ideas represented great spiritual as well as political forces. Their influence continued to persist long after their significance was lost.

The Roman Church inherited, together with the City, the tradition of Roman dominion over the world. Ancient Rome largely shaped the organizational life of Medieval Christianity. In the transmission of the idea of the authority which the Empire once exerted to the Church which grew up upon its ruins, Rome made an incalculable contribution to the theory of Church leadership. Not at once did this conception of the inheritance by the Church of the rights of Rome to the obedience of mankind take form. It grew slowly, and against opposition. But at the end of the eleventh century, through the genius of Pope Gregory VII. the ideas hitherto disputed of the supreme authority of the Pope within the Church, and of the supremacy of the Church over the State, were established. The right of the Pope, as Bishop of Rome, to the place of leadership within the Church was universally accepted

and adopted as the basis of the definitely organized ecclesiastical system. It was the logical conclusion from a long series of historical premises; and resting upon a firm foundation of dogma, it was supported by the genuine belief, no less than by the worldly interests and ambitions, of those who profited by it.

The Avignon exile of the Papacy was a negation of the whole theory of leadership. The Pope was not living in Rome. The Avignon period marked an apparently universal tendency towards the abridgement of the Papal power. All the influence that elevated the Bishop of Rome to recognition as the successor of St. Peter were in jeopardy; all the authority in religion that was conceived to be vested in the vicar of Christ seated in the chair of St. Peter was at stake. Small wonder, then, that the men and women who were intimately concerned for the Church longed for, and prayed for, and worked for, the return of the Pontiff to the recognized chair of St. Peter.

(3) The Moral Integrity of the Christian Life

The moral integrity of the Christian life was also undermined during the extended sojourn of the Popes in Avignon. Unnamable vices made captives of the religious leaders, even of the most distinguished members of the hierarchy. The representative of Christ was away from Rome; he was living under conditions which permitted unrestrained license; he was failing to encourage and to secure high and worthy living among those with whose spiritual welfare he was charged. Much of the correspondence of the time has been preserved for us, and what deplorable degeneration is set forth!

Listen to the Holy Bridegroom Himself speaking to Saint Catherine in that conference of her sould with her Lord which she so marvellously imagined, and which is recorded in her "Dialogue":

"Alas! sweet daughter," are His words, "where is the obedience of 'religious' () who have been placed in holy religion like angels, and have become worse than devils? I have placed them there to announce My word in doctrine and in truth, and they dry out with the sound of words alone, and so produce no fruit in the heart of their hearers...Such as these do not truly sow My seed, because they take no pains to root out vices and plant virtues. For not having uprooted the thorns out of their own garden, they take no pains to do so out of their neighbour's...The principle of their life the Devil conceals under the cover of devotion, but the fruits of their devotions appear very soon. First are seen stinking flowers of dishonorable thoughts and the leaves of corrupt words, and then they fulfil their miserable desires, and thou knowest well what fruits follow, namely children...All these and many other public rogues and harlots come of worthless superiors, who have not kept their eye on their subjects, but have rather let them go loose, and themselves pushed them into sin and have made as if they did not see their miseries, or that their subject was wearied with his cell; and so through their double fault the subject dies. Thy tongue could not narrate what terrible sins and in what miserable ways they offend Me. They have become the arms of the Devil, and with their stench they poison everything within their monastery and without among seculars...To such a state have come the gardens of holy religious orders." (1).

The moral integrity of the Christian life was jeopardized because of the moral corruption of the leadership of the Church. The religious leaders were living "clothed like sheep, but in reality rapacious wolves," (2) and the "clerics and ministers of the holy Church" (3) were full of sins rising out of the three columns of Impurity, Pride, and Cupidity, of which the foundation was, and always is, self-love.

1. Catherine: Letter 192:3
2. Catherine: Letter 109:41

3. Birgitta: Revelations IV: 127

The revelations of the avarice and pride of the clerics were as startling as those of their impurity. God's houses of prayer had very literally and actually been turned into dens of thieves and usurpers through the avaracious bargainings of ecclesiastics. The protest which was raised against the moral abuses incident to the period of the Avignon Papacy was not the result of some idle dream or passing illusion; the protest that was raised throughout Christendom against the conduct of the ecclesiastical orders was but the audible voice of an essential factor in true religion.

Josephus said a wise thing when he remarked that, 'whereas other legislators had made religion a department of virtue, Moses made virtue a department of religion.' Wherever there is true worship of the one God, there all the life will be in virtuous conformity to His Divine will. Morality is the garb of religion; religion is the animating principle of morality. The 'pure and undefiled service' of God requires a moral life above reproach. And this fundamental element of religious life was wanting during most of the Avignon period of the Papacy.

(4) The Spiritual Aspirations of the People.

But more than the moral integrity of the Christian Church was involved in the Avignon residence of the Papacy; the deepest spiritual aspirations of the people were unsatisfied. The hearts of the people longed for the necessary thing they had not received. The indifferent attitude of the popes, in their foreign domicile, to the spiritual needs of the people served

only to impress the sense of that need more intently upon the people.

In the general dereliction of the clergy even the Sacraments and the means of grace had been devoted to base and unworthy ends. Speaking for the Holy Bridegroom of the depths of ignominy to which the Church had fallen, Saint Catherine gave utterance to an understanding of the blessings of which Christendom was being deprived. She made the Bridegroom to say,

"I had made her (the Church) free with the Blood of My Son. I speak of the general manumission when the whole human race was freed from the servitude and lordship of the Devil. Every rational creature received his grace, but over and above it, I set free My anointed ones from the servitude of the world, and appointed them to serve Me, the eternal God, alone, and to administer the Sacraments of the holy Church, and to lead My people in spiritual things." (1)

But the consecrated spiritual leaders and ministers of God's people were failing to fulfil their high mission. The reverence for the holy office which had developed through the centuries could not blind the people to the iniquities of individual priests who forsook the Table of the Cross. The desires of the heart were being neglected; the spirits of men were languishing for the source of strength. With the popes in Avignon, the spiritual needs of the people were not being satisfied.

The most important crises in any man's life are related to the growth or impoverishment of their spiritual nature. A soul grows, and a spirit enlarges, as its conception of God increases. It is the mission of the Church, and of the ministry of the Church, to foster and enrich the perception of God among men. The great work of clerical orders is to

propagate among men a gospel which is able to communicate divine life through its revelation of God. Yet it is possible for a completely organized church to fail in the fulfilment of its peculiar work. We must grant that there may be the form of a living body without the breath of life in it. Churches and ministry may be perfectly organized and at the same time perfectly dead. If the church fails to minister to the essential spiritual needs of man it becomes, instead of the organ of the Spirit, the sepulchre of the soul.

The ecclesiastical organization of the fourteenth century failed to perform its obligation to God and to man. Once the Church had stood high above the principalities and powers of this world, for conscientiously it was striving to meet the deep spiritual longings of men. Then the clergy had been regarded as the trustees of supernatural grace and endowed with mysterious gifts that could succor even the most hardened men in the crises of their lives. But the Church in the Avignon period no longer dwelt upon the high plane it once enjoyed. By its entanglements with the things of the world it had sacrificed the reverence and confidence of men, and no longer was it able to mediate a spiritual message from the living God, unto the cravings of the heart.

Four primary factors of the universal religious nature were thus at stake in the residence of the Papacy at Avignon:

The Church as an Institution
 The Right of Leadership in the Church
 The Moral Integrity of the Christian Life
 The Spiritual Life of the People

These four factors cannot be violated with impunity. To abridge any one, or all, of them is to that extent to deprive

that Church of its rightful place in the life and affections of men. It is both the right and the unescapable duty of the Church to be the home of the soul, the altar of devotion, the hearth of faith, the center of affection, and the inspiration of daily life. Located in Avignon, the Papacy was unable to prevent the invalidation of these four factors of the universal religious nature. Wherefore, it was because of the insistence of the people, and therefore as an expedient for the perpetuation of its own life and influence, that the Papacy returned to Rome in 1377.

Appendix

AVIGNON AND THE POLITICAL RELATIONS, (1).

That is an illuminating paragraph which contains these sentences:

"We are forced irresistibly to the conviction that all the purposes and efforts of humanity are subjected to the silent and often imperceptible, but invincible and ceaseless march of events. The existence of the Papal authority was demanded by the earlier phases of the world's progress; those immediately following were directly adverse to that authority. The impulse given by the ecclesiastical power was no longer necessary to the well-being of nations; it was consequently at once opposed. All had awakened to a sense of their own independence."(2)

The course of events in Europe had exalted the temporal as well as the spiritual power of the Papacy. But with the assertion of even larger claims than they had been granted, an open conflict was precipitated, first between the Papacy and the Empire, and then between the Papacy and France. Someone has said that the strength of the Papacy is in direct relation to the weakness of the contemporary political powers. The contest with the Empire ended with the fall of the Hohenstaufen before the ambition of Charles of Anjou. By the commencement of the fourteenth century, the Papacy, having ceased to fear the Empire as a rival, found a master in the King of France.

The policy of Charles of Anjou who had been given the crown of Sicily by Urban IV., was to make the French influence supreme in Italy; and, from thence, to found a great empire in the Mediterranean, using the Papacy as an instrument to carve out for himself the dominion of the civilized world. By the

1. See note, bottom of page 7, with reference to the discussion of the political situation of the period in this thesis.
2. Ranke: History of the Papacy, Vol. I, pg. 27.

time Martin IV. ascended to the Papacy, Charles' power in Italy was almost unlimited. But it was a personal power, and it was largely dissipated by the Sicilian Vespers of 1262. Yet the power of France continued to survive, even to increase, until its zenith was reached in Philip the Fair. Philip was an avowed anticlericalist, and when Boniface VIII. fixed September 8, 1303 as the day on which he should be deposed and his kingdom laid under an interdict, he was not silent. He forbade the clergy to obey the summons to Rome; he sent forth a letter assuming "to be the chief pontiff"; and he asserted that all who thought the king subject to anyone in temporal things were fools and madmen. In earnest he began to prosecute a policy intent upon nationalizing the Church by placing it under the crown. The popes had ruined the German Empire in their greed for power, and they found to their sorrow that thereby they had deprived themselves of a power, which, even if it had sometimes threatened, at least had protected them. And with the coronation of Clement V. at Lyons, the triumph of the French political power over the Papacy was complete, and the "Babylonish Captivity" had begun.

In England an entirely different situation existed. It was, however, a situation that ^{had} a direct bearing upon the Papacy. The Church among the English had been established through the missionary zeal of the Roman See. "Gregory, our father," wrote Bede, "sent us Baptism;" and the English never forgot their debt; rather they repaid it by enthusiastic loyalty. They had been called to a sense of national unity by the Church, and they were destined to be conspicuous for their devotion to the Church. "No nation looked up to Rome more, or was less troubled by heresy till the close of the thirteenth century." Not only did the Island show its fealty to the Popes by adopting Roman culture and upholding the claims of Peter against all opposition at home, and sending kings and princes to the holy places of the City; but it also poured forth a stream of missionaries to conquer the barbarians of northern Europe for the Mother Church.

Following in the wake of the Irish monks, English preachers of the Gospel were to be found in every country, and in every instance as advocates of all for which the Roman Church then stood.

Despite this historic allegiance, the promulgation by Boniface VIII. of the bull, 'Clericos laicos', provoked remonstrances among the powers of England, even as it brought vengeance on the Pope from France. Though Edward I. had been a crusader and had always been a devoted son of the Church, his policy foreshadowed that of his successors in limiting the power of the Church; the whole legislative program, as well as the general attitude, of Edward towards the Church shows how rapidly the royal influence had been increasing. This increase of sovereign power was aided by the subsequent misfortunes of the Popes and their residence in Avignon. The days of excommunications and interdicts, when sovereigns trembled, had passed away. The growing spirit of resistance was naturally quickened when the Papacy became the instrument of France, and one historian says,

"Two important statutes of Edward III. were the consequence--the statute of provisors, which devolved on the king the right to fill the Church offices that had been reserved to the pope, and the statute of praemunire, which forbade subjects to bring, by direct prosecution or appeal, before any foreign tribunal, a cause which fell under the king's jurisdiction. These measures were followed a few years later by a refusal to recognize the papal claims, which were based on the homage rendered to Innocent III. by King John, and to pay the tribute of one thousand marks which he had promised. The papacy was no sooner rid of one antagonist, Louis, than it was threatened in another quarter. The King of France was no longer able to protect his ecclesiastical ally even from the robber bands." (1).

While France had been making good her boast of supremacy above the papal claims, and while England had been developing a sense of national independence, Clement had assumed a bold and aggressive position in relation to Germany. He promoted the election of Henry VII. as emperor, but in 1310 had

1. History of the Christian Church, Fisher, pg 249.

reason to regret it, for in that year Henry made a brilliant advance through Italy. The pope was alarmed at the gesture, and charged Henry with an endeavor to alienate Italy from the Church. Henry denied his pretensions to temporal supremacy, whereupon the pope pronounced upon him the ban of the Church. While the contest was still being prosecuted with high feeling on both sides, death claimed Henry, ^{A.D.} 1313; and in the very next year Clement, himself, went to his reward. John XXII. succeeded Clement; Louis of Bavaria and Frederick of Austria contended for the emperorship. In 1322 Louis' claim was acknowledged, but that without the consent of the Pope. Immediately he was summoned by John to answer for his presumption in taking the title, and exercising the power of the king of the Romans, without the papal sanction. Louis refused to heed the summons, and John excommunicated him. A new conflict, bitter and determined on both sides, had been started which lasted throughout the pontificates of John XXII., Benedict XII., and through five years of the pontificate of Clement VI. It was only terminated with the death of the Emperor in 1347. (1) The financial burdens incident to the prosecution of this warfare, together with the burdens effected by the papal avarice, provoked extortions and usurpations unprecedented in the History of the Church.

A political situation of even deeper significance in its bearing upon the Papal institution was that of the Italian cities and states. Confusion and terror and tyranny were every where present. The condition had altered little since Dante had written his lament in the sixth canto of the 'Purgatorio'. She was still "hostelry of sorrow", and not yet again "lady of provinces".

"O wonderful poet," wrote Benvenuto da Imola toward the middle of the fourteenth century, "wouldst that thou couldst come to life again now! Where is peace, where is liberty, where is tranquility in Italy? Thou couldst readily see, O Dante, that in thy time certain particular evils oppressed her; but these, indeed, were small and few; for thou dost enumerate among the woes of Italy the lack of a monarch and the discord

1. See Mosheim, Institutes of Eccl. History, vol. II., pt. ii, pp 273-276, for an extended and satisfactory discussion of this situation.

of certain families; whereas worse things now oppress us, so that I can say of all Italy what thy Virgil said of one city: 'Crudelis ubique luctus, ubique pavor, et plurima mortis imago.'" (1)

We are told that the condition of Italy was as bad, if not worse, than it had been in the time of Hannibal or Pyrrhus, the Goths or the Lombards.

"The Italian cities either groaned beneath the heavy yoke of sanguinary tyrants, or, if they still ruled themselves as free republics, were torn by internal dissensions and harassed by fratricidal wars with their neighbours. And the anarchy of the country was intensified by the presence of the wandering companies of mercenary soldiers--Germans, Bretons, English, Hungarians--now in the pay of some despot, now in that of the republic, but always fighting for their hands, levying large ransoms from cities as the condition of not devastating their territory and exposing the countrypeople to the horrors of famine." (2).

There is no question, because the contemporary writers dwell upon the subject, that the terrors of the period were very great. Probably the greatest terror that overshadowed them was that which Gardner has pointed out,--the roving bands of merciless mercenaries. Concerning the terror they created the Florentine Chronicler wrote,

"There is no prince or baron in the jurisdiction of the Roman people who is not terrified thereat and does not hold them in great dread, and who for fear does not submit to them." (3).

In the upset of established conditions the formerly ambitious and powerful Colonna, Orsini, Savelli, and Anibaldi were excluded from the service of the ~~xx~~ states and cities. The exclusion of this aristocracy from government rendered the democracy unbridled. In the summer of 1362 the populace of Rome banished the nobles who still dwelt there, even the Cavalerotti, and created an audacious shoemaker, Lello Pocadota, demagogue. Nowhere was there a standing army, but mercenary bands from all nations entered this arena. (4). And as though it might be the consummation of inconsistency, the Holy Church was a partisan in various wars, such as the hostilities between Montferrat and Milan, between Siena and Perugia, and on her own account against the Visconti.

1 Virgil: Aeneid, tom. II., 368., 369/

2. Gardner: St. Catharine of Siena, pg 3.

3. Villani, Croniche Florentine, IX; 87.

4. Gregorovius: Rome in the Mid. Ages, Vol. VI., pt. ii, pg 414.

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