

tiara was worth having was that it burnt like fire." His motto was "Oculi mei semper ad Dominum." The description John⁴ gives of his intimacy with Adrian, who opened his innermost heart fully to his friend, is one of the most charming examples of the joys of true friendship that history records. Although Adrian possessed all these milder and more saintly virtues, he was by no means deficient, as we have tried to show, in true English courage and pluck, and the strength of will with which he defended the Church from her enemies is characterized by his detractors as obstinacy. He was a very great as well as a very good man, highly gifted both by nature and by grace, and he had the power not only of winning the love of such men as John of Salisbury and Cardinal Boso, but also of whole nations like those of Norway, Denmark and Sweden, who idolized him. John of Salisbury says that the news of Adrian's death "disturbed all Christian peoples and moved our England with a deeper grief and watered it with profuser tears."

Circumstances seem to have obscured the fame of Adrian IV., who though so great and good is by no means one of the well-known Popes. In this present slight sketch we have not been able to do more than try to rouse the interest of our readers sufficiently to induce them to study his history for themselves.

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THE BEGINNINGS OF THE TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNTY OF THE POPES.

Duchesne, English translation. Kegan Paul & Co., London, 1908.

NOWADAYS in England to draft a bill, get it through all its parliamentary stages and make it finally a law by royal assent is a long business, but in the end the law becomes a working reality. Not so was it of old when an imperial edict was called a law—*quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem*—yet was often in its result quite inefficient. Pathetically sometimes the Emperors had to appeal for compliance in their repeated enactments against fiscal abuses. Take another contrast: To-day a country is definitely independent or dependent; of old provinces nominally subject often asserted their power to do as they liked, in spite of the higher authority, which was like a weak master in a schoolroom over unruly boys who do as they are told not.

Observations of the above kind will serve to introduce what Mgr. Duchesne, on the principle that practice cannot exactly follow theory,

has said about the relation of the Popes as to the temporal domains towards the Byzantine Emperors in the sixth, the seventh and the eighth centuries. While in theory the Emperor regarded the Pope as a subject, "in reality the Pope was elected by the Romans at Rome, with imperial sanction as a matter of form. As a fact, he owed his prestige and position to the influence of St. Peter. The Papal influence was by no means confined to the Church. The Pope's experience, his moral authority, his sound financial position and his powers of administration were a valuable help in the conduct of temporal affairs. We see him concerning himself, apparently in no meddling spirit, with war operations, the arrangement of treaties, the appointment of officials, the management of the State exchequer, as well as with municipal enterprises such as the repairing of ramparts and aqueducts and schemes for the public food supply" (page 14). The writer further remarks that probably the moral power of the Popes would have become a strong factor in the political world "if the boundary line between the spiritual and the temporal sphere had been less jealously defined." In affairs as they actually occurred the distinction was not always kept as rigidly as it existed in the canons of councils; still its existence there was an important feature to be recognized, especially when, after the twelfth century, the inquiry became explicit into the relation of Papal to regal power. As to the multiplicity of the Pope's activities before civil States had fully developed their powers, a moderate acquaintance with the life of a Pontiff so well known to English readers as Gregory the Great will amply witness to the fact; beyond the cares officially his own he was overwhelmed with temporal administrations.

Thus we have brought before us a question well worth our study, the relation between *sacerdotium et imperium*—powers spiritual and powers temporal. The case is one of combined theory and practice, in which the latter often got ahead of the former; for though theory from the beginning was laid down in broad outlines, the detailed features were left to be evolved by the suggestions and the exigencies of events as they occurred. Even the Church of Christ, so perfect in its foundation and in the vital principle of its growth, needed time for the discovery of its varying adaptations to the world, in which it had to build up its ever extending structure. It was not at first, with a rigidity beyond alteration, settled how the Church was to work with the State towards the twofold end of human society, its welfare on earth and in heaven; of which double purpose only one part arrested the eye of St. Thomas of Canterbury when he told Henry II. that the aim of that monarch's sovereignty was *ut totum reducet ad pacem et unitatem ecclesia.*

FIRST PERIOD—UP TO CHARLEMAGNE.

1. Under the pagan Empire of Rome toleration was the small mercy which the Church at the outset sought from the State, with the addition of just an occasional act of protection such as was exemplified in St. Paul's appeal to Cæsar. At first the mighty world-power almost ignored the new faith, regarding it as a part of Judaism till the opposition of Jews to Christians was forced upon its notice by the manifest hostility of the former to the Nazarenes. Moreover, Rome saw that the Christian religion aspired to become a universal creed, everywhere dominant and exclusive, refusing the amalgamation which other foreign religions were ready to make with the cult of the Emperor, who personified the world-power as divine. Yet in regard to actual danger of encroachment, the contemptuous utterances about the religion of Christ showed how little it was expected by its enemies to fulfill its own boundless aspirations and to take rank side by side with the principate itself. A Roman lawyer of the time would have treated with incredulity a prediction that within about six centuries the statute book of his masters would contain the utterance: "The two greatest gifts vouchsafed by the divine clemency to men are the priesthood and the Empire, the one ministering in Divine things, the other ruling in human affairs, both proceeding from the same principle."¹ Long before this concord was reached the Apostles appreciated the advantages for religion derived from the *Pax et Delectis Romana* and from such justice as Rome laudably upheld, which, though not perfect, was relatively to the rule of other powers very good. St. Peter (I. Pet. ii., 13-18), after his Master's example, and St. Paul (Rom. xiii., 1-8) preached that to Cæsar should loyally be yielded the things of Cæsar. This was in the spirit of the Old Testament (Prov. viii., 15). Several interpreters of II. Thess. ii., 7 were of opinion that there the restraining power was that of the Roman Empire, which was keeping the world from falling to pieces, lapsing into chaos, a catastrophe which in the fifth century did begin to occur.

At the time saints witnessing the calamity thought that the end of the world had come and that the restoration of public order was hopeless. To a certain extent Christians had accepted for true the proud boast of *Roma æterna*,² which some fancied that they found sanctioned in the book of Daniel. Lactantius wrote: "This very state of things declares the ruin of the world but for the city of

¹ Justinian Novell. VI. Praefat. Cf. St. Fulgentius of Ruspa. De Veritate. In ecclesia nemo pontifice potior: In oculo Christianis nemo imperatore celsior.

² "His ego nec vetus rerum nec tempora pono: Imperium sine fine dedi."

Rome standing in its integrity. There, there is the State which still sustains the world, and we must pray God to maintain it," and delay the coming of Antichrist.³

Yet St. John the Apostle had lived long enough to speak unfavorably of the Empire when writing his Apocalypse after his experience of the persecutions by Nero and Domitian; he took up against Rome the cry that a Roman had raised against Carthage and the prophets against Babylon: "The city shall be destroyed." The Roman Babylon must perish as had done the Messopotamian. "Babylon the great has fallen; her sins have reached unto heaven, and God has remembered her iniquities" (Apoc. xviii.).

Meanwhile any mark of favor from the Empire was recorded with gratitude and with hope. Tertullian put on record that but for the opposition of the Senate Tiberius would have given Christ a place among the gods of the State. Alexander Severus ruled that a certain property had better be assigned for the benefit of the Church than made over to profane uses⁴—*melius esse ut quomodocumque Deus illic colatur*. Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, praised Gallianus, who, however, was a persecutor in his turn, for befriending the Church after the Decian persecution: "The holy and pious Emperor, surviving the seventh year, is now in the ninth, of which we are about to celebrate the festival."⁵ And Aurelian received from the Christians the testimony of his honor that he lent his support to the Church when it deposed from his bishopric the heretic, Paul of Samosata, and tried to wrest from his unwilling hands the episcopal property.⁶ The Emperor decided that the ecclesiastical buildings should go to those who were in union with the Bishops of Italy and of Rome. As the pagan line of Emperors was ending in the West, the acknowledgment was paid Maxentius that he stopped the persecution and restored to the Christians their confiscated property.⁷ In such small favors the Church made her recognitions to an empire whose more general policy was conveyed in the stern words, *Non licet esse urbis*.

A new era started with the conversion of Constantine, who though he delayed his baptism to the end gave tokens of sincere attachment to the civil prosperity which he believed to follow upon his adherence to Christ; for there is no harm in rejoicing at a temporal reward. In the Justinian legislation we find the same idea: *Praeceptuam imperatorice majestatis curam perspicimus verae religionis imaginem cujus si cultum tueri potuerimus iter prosperitatis*

³ De Div. Justit. VII., 25.

⁴ Lampidius, Alex. Sever., 49.

⁵ Euseb., H. E. VII., 23.

⁶ *Idem*, VII., 30.

⁷ *Idem*, VIII., 14.

*humanis aspicimus inceptis.*⁸ The argument from worldly success becomes bad when it stands alone, apart from conduct defensible on its own merits and more still when it is clearly impious. Such was the bad case of the Jews in their defiance of Jeremias: "As for the word which thou has spoken to us, we will not hearken to it; but we will certainly do whatever thing goeth forth from our mouth, to burn incense unto the Queen of Heaven, as we and our fathers have done before. For then we had plenty of food and fared well, and saw no evil." Upon this piece of profanity God's terrible curse came: "Behold I will watch over them for evil and not for good." (Jer. xxiv.)

A severe disappointment in regard to the Church met Constantine in the Donatist and the Arian heresy. Here the very mistress of peace fell into harsh discord within her own home of religion. The Emperor tried to have the disturbances quieted by synods, one following upon another in rapid succession. To his chagrin, the authority of the councils was not obeyed. And it was in these gatherings that there appeared foreshadowed another discord—that between the Church and the State. In theory Constantine declared correctly enough his own position as "Bishop in things external," without right to judge on doctrine.⁹ Rufinus reports his words thus: "God established you to be Bishops and gave you to be judges even over ourselves, whilst you cannot be judged by men."¹⁰ When, after a double condemnation, one at Rome and another at Arles, the Donatists still appealed to the Emperor, he finally yielded and himself listened to what they had to urge, though he assumed this office under protest: "They look for judgment to me who myself am looking to be judged by Christ. I tell the truth as it really stands when I say that the judgment of the priest is the judgment of our Lord Himself." Some theologians, however, go beyond strict limits when they teach that Constantine in his coöperation with the synods was using no power of his own, but was acting exclusively as Papal Delegate. There really was a joint employment of civil and ecclesiastical powers. In his own order, which was other than the Pope's order, the Emperor in early times, though not in the time of the Vatican Council, summoned, watched over and confirmed councils, embodying them in the Justinian legislation. Of his own coöperation Constantine speaks as a thing of "divine appointment."

Pope Celestine was not jealous in his acknowledgments when he wrote to Theodosius about the synod which the Emperor had ordered—*quam esse jussistis*¹¹—and the assembled fathers in session

⁸ Novel. Tit., III.

⁹ Euseb., Vita Constant., IV., 24.

¹⁰ Rufinus, H. E. I., 2, Migne, t. VIII., col. 488.

¹¹ Harduin, I., 146.

after session of a synod used such phrases as that they were gathered together "by the grace of God and the convocation of the Emperor," or "by the grace of God and the oracular voice of the Emperor."¹² These words are in the Acts of the Council, and to repudiate them would be worse than bad policy. We need not fear what so easily received an orthodox interpretation of the deference paid to Emperors when their aid was so opportune for the Church. The Roman Canonist Cavignis says: "*Data pace ecclesia ipsa aliquantum defert imperatoribus Christianis; sed semper independentiam affirmat quoties ipsi nomine proprio se ingerunt.*"¹³ When later ages are under discussion Mgr. Duchesne tells how the Carolingian and other Emperors used a sort of corrective attitude to some abuses, and sought to rescue Papal elections from the hands of a very unworthy clique, who put into office not fit candidates, but their own creatures. Extreme necessities of this kind called for action which normally was beyond the office of an Emperor in regard to the Church. But if at times it was the Popes who needed some control, at other times the Emperors distinctly exceeded their powers in employing an unwarrantable coercion. Justinian, who had done so much good for the Church, treated Pope Vigilius with a disgraceful tyranny. In short, imperial action toward the Papacy was in part official and profitable; in part extra official and still profitable; in part usurpatory and injurious.¹⁴

It is one thing to have rights and another to be able to use them. At times the Popes were unable to give effect to their jurisdiction without lay help. To assemble the Vatican Council it was enough to issue the summons and leave the Bishops to make their own way to Rome; but so independent a process was not always within the Church's command. Of the feeble times Mgr. Duchesne writes: "*La papauté telle que l'occident la connaît plus tard était encore à naître. La place qu'elle n'occupait pas encore l'était s'y installer sans hésitation. La religion de l'empereur non seulement en ce sens qu'elle était professée par lui mais encore en ce sens qu'elle était dirigée par lui. Tel n'est pas le droit mais il est le fait.*"¹⁵ About the period here described violence was used when Constantine had Pope Martin seized in Rome and carried off to the East, there to die in exile. The Empress Theodora had the like treatment inflicted on Pope Silverius and the Gothic Emperor Theodoric copied the bad example in regard to Pope John I. Abuse of authority by those in

¹² Harduin, I., 437.

¹³ Jus. Eccles. lib. IV., Cap. III., 6.

¹⁴ Of the Emperor, Gregory the Great wrote: "Conservende sacerdotali caritati inarguit Deus dominari sum non solum militibus sed etiam sacerdotibus concessit." Regest 50, 37; 5, 37.

¹⁵ L'Histoire de l'Eglise, Tom. II., p. 660.

possession of it is what Bishop Creighton has declared to be one of the most revolting features of human history; and in view of so many undoubted cases of imperial tyranny which offers matter for our reprobation, we may spare our denunciation when in abnormal cases the Emperors acted somewhat as a wife might act to control her husband or parishioners might act to control their parishes. They are not the superior powers, and yet in an emergency they assume the direction. After the Popes had praised civil princes for their energetic suppression of heresy it became harder to stop their meddling in spiritual affairs when it became a sheer impertinence.

There are words of authoritative writers which may seem expressly to put Bishops into the dominion of secular princes. The case was not really to the point where Isidore of Pelisum wrote *ecclesiam esse in regno*, for he was speaking after the manner of the writer of the letter to Dioquetus, who said the Church was in the world in its life-giving soul. But there is some point in quoting St. Optatus, who wrote *ecclesia in republica, non republica in ecclesia*. The explanation is that he was referring to the assistance which the Church got from Christian Emperors in contrast to what she suffered from barbarous nations. "In the Roman Empire the priesthood, and chastity, and the virgin state are held sacred, whereas these have no such reverence among the barbarous."¹⁶ St. Ambrose gave the counterpart to the statement of St. Optatus in the words: "*Imperator intra ecclesiam non super ecclesiam est.*"¹⁷

Next we reach the third stage of the history between Constantine and Charlemagne, and it is marked by circumstances which called forth from two Popes especially a declaration of Papal and of imperial rights so clearly formulated as to leave nothing to be desired in the way of essential distinction. Pope Gelasius (492-496), in his contention with the Greek Emperor Anastasius I., proclaimed that there were two distinct powers, one having care of earthly, the other of heavenly concerns, but that Emperors in their relation to Christian subjects with duties to perform to the Church were bound to accept her authoritative teachings, though they were not so subject in their own temporal government as such. This Papal letter, which, after having been adopted by a synod of Paris, found its way into the Capitularies of Charlemagne and became quite a classical document, was occasioned by a difficulty raised in the Henoticon of the Emperor Zeno (474), who wished to mediate between Antichene Nestorianism and Alexandrian Monophysitism. With this pacificatory purpose Zeno ventured to modify the decrees of Chalcedon passed in 451 against Eutyches Simplicius, who was

¹⁶ De Schlam, III., 3.

¹⁷ Sermo.

Pope in Zeno's time. As a later consequence of Zeno's document, his successor, Leo II., fell under the reproof of Pope Felix II., and another successor, Anastasius I., under that of Gelasius. This is the incident with which we are now concerned. In his remembrance Gelasius appealed to precedents in Jewish history where Nathan, in things spiritual, assumed control over King David, and in Christian history where a like authority was shown by St. Ambrose over Theodosius I., by Leo I. over Theodosius II., by Pope Hilary over the Western Emperor Authencius, by Popes Simplicius and Felix II. over the Emperors Basiliscus and Zeno. Thence Gelasius conferred the right of the Popes to teach the Emperors as they taught other members of the Church,¹⁸ yet so as to keep distinct the two jurisdictions—the ecclesiastical and the civil—and to do no injury to the latter in its own proper domain. These two powers united in Melchisedech had been divided in Christendom *ita est imperatore pro ce terma vita pontificibus indigerent et pontifices pro temporalum cursu rerum imperialibus dispositoribus utantur*. Later on this harmonious combination, which is so needful and so exclusive of the idea that each power may go its own way in utter disregard to the other, was called by St. Peter Damian *una dignitas in Christiano populo, mutuo quadam foedere copulata.*"¹⁹ A similar letter to that of Gelasius was written by his successor, Symmachus, in remonstrance to the same Anastasius.

A further ramification of our subject presents itself obtrusively in the large employment of clerics to discharge the offices which now is assigned to laymen. Civil government employed clerics very extensively. As long as the legal tribunals were still conducted by pagan administration St. Paul urged the Christians not to have recourse to their courts. He adopts even a tone of banter against the objection the Christians might have made among themselves qualified to arbitrate.²⁰ With the accession of Christian Emperors difficulty on the score of paganism in the civil processes began to cease. Constantine ordered his magistrates to execute the decisions of the Bishops in civil cases. So reports the historian Sozomon, though his account has been questioned. Over criminal cases, at

¹⁸ We must not lay undue stress on a sort of reversal in the position when emperors gave exhortations to Popes. The incident belongs to a later date, but may be cited to illustrate our present topic. Duchesne writes, page 110: "The letters of Charlemagne to Leo III. are full of moral exhortations. Leo is to be a good Pope, pious, faithful in his duties and strict in maintaining discipline, especially in repressing simony. In all those directions Charlemagne displays a certain consciousness of moral authority and of the advantage of having good ecclesiastical leaders in his kingdom."

¹⁹ Labbe Concil. IV., 1,298.

²⁰ I. Cor. v., 1-9; II. Cor. x., 6 Sqq.; II. Thess. v., 12-15; I. Tim. 1., 2; II. Tim. iv., 13.

least those of the worst kind, the State reserved its claims. There came a decree of Arcadius and Honorius limiting the episcopal decisions to ecclesiastical causes, but its efficiency seems not to have been great: "*Quoties de religione agitur episcopis convenit judicare; caeteros vero causas legibus oportet rudisi.*"²¹ Civil cases, with consent of both parties, might go before the Bishops if they were not criminal, and effect could be given by the style of the sentences, which could not be done to-day. So far the Bishops were more than arbitrators. Criminal cases were reserved,²² yet clerical offenders, except for the greater crimes of treason, murder, etc., were committed to their own Judges; but the punishment was sometimes restricted by varying laws till Justinian tried to bring more conformity into the enactment. He exempted Bishops from the jurisdiction of secular courts on all charges against them.²³ Ecclesiastical sentences in their penalties stopped short of bloodshed, but could go as far as banishment, confiscation and imprisonment, but the execution was left to the civil magistrates. Not till the rise of their temporal sovereignty did the Popes get a full jurisdiction over crime.

Being made protectors of the defenseless and having a judgment in all cases such as wills in which oaths were concerned, the Bishops had a heavy charge in looking after the rights of widows, orphans, prisoners, slaves and minors. The rules of society being enforced by oath, disobedience of their statutes was tried under the head of perjury, and so fell under episcopal cognizance.²⁴ This rule held later when the universities were formed. No wonder that Bishops groaned under their multiplied responsibilities, as we hear from St. Augustine, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Chrysostom, Synesius Ep. 57, and the cares also grew with another development—that of public penance—which in some cases was allowed to stand as a substitute for a civil penalty.

As to municipal offices, Duchesne denies that in the fourth and fifth centuries those strictly were undertaken by Bishops, being forbidden by the canon law. In later times there is frequent mention of the Bishops as *defensor civitatis*.²⁵ Again, there was secular business as a source of income to the clergy. The lower ranks were necessitated to use some such means of self-support, and becoming occupations were quite within their rights, after the example of St. Paul, who supported himself by tent making. When the desire of greater gain arose devices were adopted which were wrong.

²¹ Cod. Theodosios, Lib. XVI., Tit. XI., N. 1.

²² Cod. Justin., Lib. I., Tit. V., N. 7.

²³ Thomassin, Lib. III., C. 103.

²⁴ Thomassin, Tom. II., Lib. III., Ch. 87-94.

²⁵ See Cod. Justin De Auctoritate Episcoporum.

At first pagan requirements connected with the situation had shut out Christians from lucrative employment, but as these were removed by the converted Emperors, the professional life of painters, sculptors, schoolmasters, lawyers, soldiers were opened to the faithful, and clerks were on the lookout for the new emoluments. St. Cyprian²⁶ has bitter complaints to make under this head of avarice in the clergy who frequented fairs and practiced usury. The canons were specially severe on these money-lenders, but encouraged agriculture. St. Paulinus of Nola loved to engage in the humble work of the fields. The soldier's life was not suitable to clerics, and we have to wait till they become feudal lords before we find them notoriously following this line of secular life, but even lax Christians at first had been shut out from it to some extent by its pagan requirements. Tertullian,²⁷ Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Lactantius and Basil dwell on the unsuitableness, but St. Augustine asserted the duty of the Christian soldier not to desert his standard.

As illustrative of the pre-Carolingian period, the case of St. Gregory I. and of the Church which he founded in England will afford a good example interesting to English readers. The close of the sixth century shows us Gregory I. a faithful helper of the Greek Emperor Maurice in the government of the western part of his domain. He was a Pope overburdened with a multiplicity of mundane cares, undertaken in no mundane spirit, during very troublous times. In his sense of oppressedness he exclaimed: "*Ecce jam pone nulla est saeculi actio quam non sacerdotes administrant.*"²⁸ To the Eastern Emperor he was habitually deferential, one of the most extraordinary instances occurring in regard to his post as distributor of the imperial decrees throughout his patriarchate. Maurice had sent him an order for publication that certain persons engaged in the service of the State should not abandon it to enter the religious life. Gregory despatched to its several quarters the ordinance, but told the Emperor that while he was complying he did so under protest. "Yielding to the mandate, I have circulated the letter; but inasmuch as it is not in accordance with God's will, I have called the attention of your Majesty to this fact. Thus I have observed a double duty—that of obedience to the Emperor and that of not having been silent on the divine claims."²⁹ He elsewhere gave it as his principle: "What the Emperor does we follow, if the canons allow; otherwise we bear it as far as it entails no sin."³⁰

²⁶ De Lapsu, 6.

²⁷ Apul 42. The mental character of work is easily removed if the workers are honorable, as we see in nurses, doctors, settlement helpers.

²⁸ Hom. XVII in Evangel.

²⁹ Lib. III, Ep. 61.

³⁰ Ep. II, 22.

His acquiescence in the case of exclusion from religious life was not such as might be gathered from the letter above quoted. The letter shows that he proposed to the Emperor his plan not to take public servants into religion except with great caution, and he expressed his confidence that such consideration for the interests of the State would satisfy its ruler.³¹ More difficulty has been raised about an apparent disregard for Maurice in Gregory's loyal acceptance of his violent deposer, Phocas. Throughout it was to the Emperor that he looked for protection: "*Ab imperatore est suscipienda Christiana religionis defensor.*"³² Even when some Emperors were not all that could be desired.³³

A word in conclusion to this period may be added about Gregory's foundation, the English Church. Not much is known of ecclesiastical courts here prior to the Norman Conquest; but before that date at least we find the beginnings of those feudal dangers to the Church which were to put ecclesiastical benefices under the control of lay lords and their families, and to make temporal lords of those who held spiritual offices. Hence came prelates engrossed in secular interests and secular administration. Some Bishops, if they did not actually fight, yet accompanied their elders to battle. Bishop Stubbs states their first recorded appearance in arms 835. As to judicial functions, Lingard says that strictly these did not belong to the Bishops in civil cases, to which Stubbs adds that "the Anglo-Saxon sovereigns, acting in closest union with their Bishops, made laws which clothed the spiritual enactments with coercive authority and sometimes seemed to ignore the lines which separated the two legislatures."³⁴ England also by not accepting the Roman law kept its civil jurisdiction more national and less allied to the canon law. The penitential codes were often substituted for civil penalties, and England had some of the earliest of the known Penitential Books. Under the names of Theodore and Egbert Mosler Roland gives as an instance of the retribution that seven years penances stood in the place of the severer punishment of the State for homicide.³⁵ Nevertheless public penance was not introduced into England after the fashion of the East, where it was so elaborately organized, only to fall into speedy desuetude. It is the Penitential of Theodore that makes the observation, "*Reconciliatio penitentium in hac pronuncia*

³¹ Lib. VIII., Ep. 5; Lib. VII., Ep. 11.

³² Lib. IX., Ep. 3.

³³ In Gregory's pontificate the Lombards had not captured Rome, and one of his cares was to see to the defense of the walls and to select suitable governors, according to Justinian's commission. The Pope's anxiety extended also to his own patrimonies in Italy, Dalmatia, Gaul and Africa.

³⁴ Lectures on Medieval and Modern History.

³⁵ Gieth, Lecture XIII., Die Somtenren-Rolands, p. 248.

publica statuta non est." England was like other nations in entrusting to clerics high offices of the State. A prominent instance was St. Dunstan, who was a sort of Prime Minister to King Edgar. King Oswald made great use of his Bishop, St. Aidan. To the Archbishop of Canterbury, says Lingard,³⁶ "it belonged to summon the national councils." The Anglo-Saxon nobles being warriors, ignorant, prudent rulers, sought in educated prelates of the Church that intelligence which Plato and Aristotle agree in requiring for all true statesmanship, and Christian publicists add that the leavening of civil administration with theological principles was a great improvement to political science, especially after the barbarian conquerors had done much to lower the classical standard of Greece and Rome. The Anglo-Saxon tribes largely kept their old customs with such purification of them as Christianity required. It was a cry continued after the Norman Conquest: "We do not want the laws of England to be changed." Bishops as Ministers might at least change for the better the application of barbarous laws.

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RELATIVE ANGLO-SAXON AND GAELIC CIVILIZATION.

WHEN the cynical Roman governor asked the Apostle Paul, "What is truth?" he put a less difficult query than he thought. Had he asked him instead, "What is civilization?" perhaps Paul might have found it no easy task to give an instantaneous definition of the term to the representative of the power that recognized no civilization outside the boundaries of its own great empire. So when the Rev. Sydney Smith dogmatically declared (*Edinburgh Review*, 1807) that the Irish in the time of Queen Elizabeth "unquestionably were the most barbarous people in Europe," he wrote the verdict as a member of a packed jury. He belonged to the nation that had schooled the people in barbarism and then cynically taunted them with having been apt pupils. He himself controverts the verdict. Out of his own mouth he shows in the very same pages that the English in Ireland in that reign were more barbarous than the Irish. Writing about conditions within and beyond the Pale, and on the borders, he tells of the constant warfare that prevailed, mostly over trifles—commonly, as he says, for cows. To his mind, it seems, that it was not the question of property right that made a quarrel right or wrong, but the amount involved—not a

³⁶ Anglo-Saxon Church, Vol. I., Chap. II.