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Antoniai
HORÆ APOCALYPPTICÆ;
OR,
A COMMENTARY ON THE APOCALYPSE,
CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL;
INCLUDING ALSO AN EXAMINATION OF
THE CHIEF PROPHECIES OF DANIEL.
ILLUSTRATED BY AN APOCALYPIC CHART, AND ENGRAVINGS
FROM MEDALS AND OTHER EXTANT MONUMENTS
OF ANTIQUITY.

BY THE REV. E. B. ELLIOTT, A. M.
LATE VICAR OF TUXFORD, AND FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

THIRD EDITION,
REVISED, CORRECTED, AND IMPROVED;
WITH AN APPENDIX,
CONTAINING, BEHINDS OTHER MATTER,
A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF APOCALYPIC INTERPRETATION,
AND INDIXES.

VOL. II.

SEELEY, BURNSIDE, AND SEELEY;
FLEET STREET, LONDON.
MDCCCLVII.
"Blessed is he that readeth and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein: for the time is at hand." Apoc. 1. 3.

"The word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn." 2 Peter 1. 19.
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PART III.

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THE REFORMATION,
AS OCCURING
UNDER THE LATTER HALF OF THE SIXTH TRUMPET:
INCLUDING
THE ANTECEDENT HISTORY, AND THE
DEATH, RESURRECTION, AND ASCENSION
OF CHRIST'S TWO
WITNESSES.

A.D. 1453—1774.

CHAPTER I.

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW FROM AFTER THE FALL OF CON-
STANTINOPLE OF THE PREVIOUS FOUR HUNDRED
YEARS' HISTORY OF WESTERN CHRISTENDOM; AND
SKETCH OF ITS RELIGIOUS STATE IN THE ERA BE-
TWEEN THAT EVENT AND THE REFORMATION.

"And the rest of the men, which were not killed by
these plagues, yet repented not of the work of their
hands, that they should not worship demons,¹ and
idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and
wood, which can neither see, nor hear, nor walk. Nei-
ther repented they of their murders, nor of their sor-

¹ Sayura.
eries, nor of their fornications, nor of their thefts."—Apoc. ix. 20, 21.

What! would the voice of judgment from heaven be still unheeded? Would that astounding event, the political destruction of the Eastern third of Roman Christendom, by armies bearing onward with them from the Euphrates, the false religion from the pit of the abyss, fail altogether to induce repentance and reformation in the remnant that was left? So indeed it was here declared in the Apocalyptic vision; and, at the same time, a catalogue of the sins of that remnant set in black array before the Evangelist. The representation however was one that would not strike upon his mind with effect so startling, as if no previous intimation had been given of their apostacy from their God and Saviour. Very early, we have seen, (it was after the vision of the 6th Seal, which depicted the overthrow of Paganism,) there had been foreshown to him by a significant figuration on the Apocalyptic temple-scene, the then general abandonment of the Mediator Christ Jesus by the men of Roman Christendom: just as if other intercessors and mediators had been substituted in his place; (for man must have some;)—the first grand step to idolatry. And yet again, in the voice from the four horns of the golden altar, it had been foreshown to him that, up to the time of the loosing of the Euphratean woe, there would have been no return to the Saviour whom they had abandoned, in any of the four quarters of the Roman world,—in its Western division as little as in its Eastern,—no self-application and saving use of His offered means of reconciliation. All this, we may suppose, might in a measure have prepared the Evangelist for what he now heard. And yet, even so, it must have seemed to him an astounding as well as awful announcement. "The rest of the men,"—a phrase including possibly the Christians of the Greek church, who though slain in their corporate political capacity, as the third part of men, still survived as individuals under the yoke of their Turkman conquerors, but doubtless chiefly and specially re-
ferring to the men of western Christendom,—"The rest of the men, which were not killed by these plagues, yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship demons, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and wood, which can neither see, nor hear, nor walk: neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornications, nor of their thefts."

It is to the men of western Christendom that I shall in the present chapter confine myself, in the explanation of this passage. They constitute that division of the apostacy to which alone almost all that remains of the Apocalypse refers. Compared with the history and fate of her sister in the East, the case of the Western Church, as here represented, resembled that of apostatizing Judah, after the fall of Israel, and indeed before it. In the antitype, as in the type, the treacherous Judah exhibited a guilt yet more unpardonable than that even of the backsliding Israel.¹

The announcement is twofold. 1st, It intimates the corruptions that had been in western Christendom during the progress previously of the second woe, up to the fall of the Greek empire; for its asserted non-repentance in respect of them after that catastrophe implies the previous prevalence of the evils unrepented of:—2. It declares the continuance of the same corruptions afterwards. —Under each of these divisions it is my duty to show, by historic facts, the truth of the prophecy. And,

Ist, The prevalence of these corruptions that had been in Western Christendom throughout the four centuries preceding the fall of Constantinople.

Now considering that the period is a long one through which we are called to trace them, and one of course of many changes, it seems to me that it may be well to preface our review on this head by a brief general view

¹ Jer. iii. 11.
of the cotemporaneous history of western Europe. We shall be thus prepared for entering more intelligently into the particular and religious description of it, here distinctively set before us. I the rather give this larger and more general view of it, because the period itself, the "hour, day, month, and year," from A.D. 1057 to 1453, in the course of which the Turkish woe gathered, advanced, receded,—then gathered and advanced again,—until at length it fulfilled its destined work of destroying the eastern or Greek empire, was one in many ways worthy of observation in the history of Christendom.

First, it is to be observed that, during this period of four centuries, the kingdoms that formed the constituency of what might now begin to be called the great western confederation of Europe, had been steadily, though slowly and interruptedly, recombining their political elements, consolidating their strength, and ere the xvth century closed in, (up to which epoch I shall just for the present include in my review,) re-adjusting their territorial forms and limits, to some near resemblance of those of the original Gothic kingdoms that emerged out of the ruins of the Roman empire of the west:—a form which in the main, I may add, they have retained ever since.—In a series of wars against their Mahomedan conquerors, the Christian remnant in Spain had in the earlier half of the period reconquered the greater part of the peninsula; confining the Moors for a length of time within the straitened limits of the kingdom of Granada: and then at length in the year 1492, under Ferdinand and Isabella, uniting their before divided strength, had conquered and expelled them altogether.

In the course of the same period the central Frank or French dynasty and kingdom had gradually, one by one, again subordinated to itself the principalities broken off from it in its southern, western, northern, and eastern territory.—In similar manner England, after the Norman's conquest of it under William, (Thogrul Beg's cotemporary,) had become united in government throughout its whole length and breadth, and had attached also to its
dominions Wales and Ireland.—Thus alike aggrandized, there had begun between France and England that rivalry of above three centuries, which is one of the most marked features of their history in these middle ages; and in the prolonged wars of which, especially under the English Edwards and Henrys, they had, both the one and the other, developed rather than exhausted their national resources.—The great elective Germanic empire, so famous under its Henry the Fowler and its Otho of the xth and xith centuries, after a partial diminution of strength and glory through its wars with the Romish bishops and Italian and Swiss republics, in the xiith, xiiith, and xivth centuries, had now at last, under the house of Austria,¹ assumed again an aspect of majesty and strength. It stretched to the east and to the north at this time, so as to include on the one hand the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, and on the other Saxony and Pomerania, even to the Baltic, in its vast circuit. The added strength of the hereditary kingdom of Austria more than compensated to it for what it had lost by the emancipation of Switzerland; and moreover a nominal sovereignty still remained to it, and not a little of real influence, over the Lombard principalities in Northern Italy.—Finally, as regards Italy itself.—Italy, the original seat of empire, and which still continued in a most singular manner to be the centre and spring of the European politics, very various in the same chronological interval had been the political phases passing over it. In its northern districts, for the first two centuries and more, the Lombard cities had fulfilled their brilliant course of republican life, and republican factions: and both Pisa, and Genoa, and Venice, had successively or cotemporaneously, triumphed in the Mediterranean, and made their flags eminent in commerce and in war; then one and all, excepting Venice, subsided into small and not independent principalities. To the south, i.e. in Naples, after the meteor-like rise and gradual fall of the chivalric Norman power in the

¹ Maximilian was elected emperor, A.D. 1493.
xith and xiiiith centuries, the right of sovereignty (still feudatorily however to the Pope, so as under the Norman princes) had come to be alternately claimed and exercised by the royal branches of France and Spain;—the fruitful germ of not far distant wars. Once more, through central Italy, from sea to sea, the temporal sovereignty—not of the kings, the republic, or the emperors, but of the bishops of Rome, had been about the middle of this period firmly established: so that this division in central Italy was now fully recognized in the European polity as the Ecclesiastical State, or, as it was in part singularly called, the Patrimony of St. Peter.—Amidst all which changes in Italian history, in the course of these four centuries, two results could not but strike the considerate mind that reflected on them; first, the perpetual abortiveness of every scheme to bind the whole country together in one great secular monarchy, like the other European kingdoms; secondly, the sustained ascendency over the other Italian powers of that of the Roman See.

Thus, I say, had the states of the great European confederations of the west, in a political progression seldom interrupted, been gradually advancing in power; and assuming somewhat of the same form and relative importance that they have borne since. And during their various processes of change and fortune they had, one and all, been advancing also from a state of barbarism to comparative civilisation.—Chivalry, during its reign of two centuries, and with the Crusades from A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1300, as its most eminent field of display, had exercised an ameliorating influence of no little power on outward manners. Internal trade, and yet more maritime commerce,—the latter increasing until it might almost be said to have flourished, both to the north, in the German Sea and Baltic, and southward in the Mediterranean, specially with those countries of the east with which the Crusades had early and intimately connected the western merchants,—this commerce, I say, had not only augmented the general opulence of the community, but prepared and led to civil liberty: so that
many free towns and cities had come to be established for the benefit of trade; alike in Italy, on the Baltic coast, along the rivers of Germany, in England also, and Spain, and in a measure in France. And both in England and France, Spain and Germany, feudal servitude, that relic of the Gothic and Frankic conquests, had gradually disappeared before it.

Meantime also the intellectual energies had been awakened from their long comparative slumber. Universities had in the xiith and xiiith centuries risen up in every country, and in every country been thronged with students; at Oxford and Cambridge, Paris and Montpellier, Bologna and Padua, Salamanca and Prague. And although for some long time,—notwithstanding the full course proposed of study in the arts, medicine, jurisprudence, theology,—in consequence of the scholastic philosophy prevailing, it was only the intellectual exercise that profited, and but little real light of science accrued to the associated students; yet at length in the xivth century (a century illustrious as the era of Dante and Petrarch,) a fairer literature, and larger range of study and of thought, opened before them. Yet more in the earlier half of the xvth, after the invention of printing (an invention bearing date A.D. 1440,) and when the scholars of Greece, with their books and their learning, were fleeing westward, in numbers more and more, for refuge from the impending ruin of their empire under the Turkish woe,—with the stores of ancient classic literature thus fully at length set before them, the western literati all eagerly pursued the study of it. Their ardor was that which is natural to the human mind on some new and vast discovery.

Yet once more, throughout the greater part of the period we speak of, religious zeal (if such it may be.

1 "As in the dawn of morning we distinguish from a summit of the Alps, first the inferior mountains, then the lakes, towns, hills, and plains,—so in the xith century we first gain sight of the great reigning dynasties of Europe; soon after of particular illustrious families; and at length of the associations of burgesses, which gradually elevate themselves from the enslaved multitude." Müller's Univ. Hist. ii. 192. (Engl. Transl.)
called) had been a feature in the character of these nations of the West, strongly marked and powerfully acting. The wars of the Crusades stand prominent on the military page of history, a singular and most remarkable memorial of it. And as memorials of it of a very different kind, but in their way scarcely less remarkable, there rose up those magnificent ecclesiastical structures of the middle ages, that still excite the admiration of the beholder, in England, France, Italy, and Germany. Certainly with those who raised them, religious zeal could not have been lukewarm.

But if it be asked,—and it is to this point that the apocalyptic prophecy, like the rest of the books of inspiration, specially and ever directs the attention,—if it be asked what the character of their religion now was, and whether advances had been made, during the progress of these four centuries, towards the recovery of those truths and of that moral purity of the religion of Jesus, which at their opening, as we have seen, had been so greatly lost,—the answer is altogether unsatisfactory. Notwithstanding the advance in the various kingdoms of the West towards political power, civil liberty, wealth, civilization,—notwithstanding the development of intellectual energy, the acquirements in literature, and widespread religious, or rather superstitious zeal, there is the indubitable testimony of the most authentic records of those middle ages to the fact, that the religion prevalent was the grossest superstition; and that it was accompanied by a grievous corruption of morals, as well as darkness of religious truth. Nor do I see how the whole could be better characterized than by that brief descriptive clause in the prediction before us, which speaks of the men that were not slain by the second woe, as worshipping demons, and idols of gold and silver and brass and stone and wood; and of their fornications also, and sorceries, and thefts, and murders.—Let us now, in respect of each of these points, examine and verify by historic fact.
And first as to the character of the religious worship prevalent through this long middle age, up to the time of the fall of Constantinople. It is described, in the opening clause of the verses before us, as that of "daemons, and of idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and wood."—In which statement it is the word daemon that first demands notice. And used as the term was in St. John’s time, in the current literature of the Roman world, to signify those fictions of men’s fancy, the heathen gods, and adopted as that use of it had been in the Holy Scriptures,—at the same time that the more frequent New Testament application of it to the spirits that possessed daemoniace suggested the fearful fact of living malignant spirits acting, though unsuspected, in the heathen system.—I say, since such was the double use of the term in the apostle’s time, what could he reasonably infer from the declaration here made but this;—that there would have prevailed through the times referred to, and been established in the professing but apostatized Church of Western Christendom, a system of daemonolatry, the counterpart (albeit under the Christian name) of that of heathen Greece or Rome:—a fact for which (as already observed) the early Apocalyptic notice of the abandonment of Christ’s mediatorship and propitiation would have prepared him. More particularly that it would be one in which imaginary beings would be the objects worshipped, and for the most part the spirits of dead men deified; that they would be characterized in their worshippers’ fancy by about as much, or as little, of moral virtue as the gods of the heathen heaven before them; that they would be supposed to fulfil to their suppliants, just like the latter, the offices of mediators and guardian-spirits; that thus, false as it was and antichristian, the system would as truly be an emanation from hell as its precursor, and one in which malignant hellish spirits would as truly be the suggesters, actors, and deceivers.—Such, I say, would, as it seems to me, appear to be the intent of the predictive clause under discussion, construed according to
the recognized scriptural meanings of the word *daemon.*

And of the *fulfilment* of the prophetic declaration, thus far, what well-informed Protestant is ignorant? The Decrees of the 7th General Council (a Council already some time since noticed by us, as authorizing and establishing the worship of the saints and their images, were fully in force throughout the period I speak of: and by necessity more and more superseded all spiritual worship of the one God, through the one Mediator Jesus Christ. The parallel between the deified dead men of heathenism and these deified dead men of apostate Christendom, especially as believed in and worshipped through this middle age, held in respect of *character,* (flagitious character,) and *offices,* as well as of *origin.*—Nor must I omit to notice the similarity of *worship,* as in neither case confined to the abstractions of mental contemplation, but offered through the medium (as the prophecy further added, and as was sure to follow,) of visible *images,* or

1 In the prophetic controversies of late years the true meaning of the word *Baumana,* both here and in 1 Tim. iv. 1, and the propriety of its application to the *canonized saints* of the Greek and Roman calendars, has been sometimes called into question; especially by Mr. Maitland. The importance of the point in itself, and the strength of the assertions made against the propriety of this application of it, render necessary a more extended notice of the subject than could be properly given in a Note. I have therefore placed it in the Appendix at the end of this Volume: commending it however to the Reader’s attentive perusal.

2 Vol. i. p. 443.

3 It seems to me deserving of remark that the very same term for *worshipping* them, viz. εὐθυρρημένως, is here used, that was the one adopted in the 7th General Council, to designate the worship of the saints specifically enjoined by it, in contradistinction to *εὐθυρρημένως.*

4 In regard of their similar *vindictiveness,* *warrlike propensities,* and *thirst of blood,* the Albegenian and Waldensian crusades, the Inquisition, &c. &c. already alluded to, furnish abundantly sufficient evidence. For more on this point see Southey’s *Vindict. Ecl. Angl.* p. 459, &c.; and in regard of their similar *sensibilities to impurity,* *Note* p. 13 infrà. See too my Paper on *Baumana* in the Appendix.—I must beg especial attention to this point. *Saints* they were called: but *saints* they were not.

5 Mr. Maitland, the able and learned advocate of the “Dark Ages,” (a period defined by him to extend in vulgar acceptation from A.D. 500 to 1200,) admits this, at p. 75 of his Work bearing that Title, with reference to the *latter half* at least of the period I have here under review. For in a notice of certain customary offerings to the *patron-saints* of churches and monasteries in the 9th and 10th centuries, he thus specifies and reproves evils afterwards following: “The superstition of the age supposed the glorified saint to know what was going on in the world; and to feel a deep interest, and possess a considerable power, in the church militant on earth. I believe they who thought so were altogether mistaken; and I lament, abhor, and am amazed at, the superstitions, *blasphemies,* and *idolatries,* which have grown (i. e. subsequently) out of that opinion.”
on the similar variety, in respect of material and value, in the idols of either system, and the consequent adaptation of the Christian, as of the Pagan idolatry, to the circumstances of every rank in society. "Idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and wood." 1 The fact in this point, as in every other, answered precisely to the prophecy. And thus houses as well as churches,—the

He adds: "As to the notion itself, I do not know that it was wicked; and I almost envy those whose credulous simplicity so realized the communion of saints, (saints!) and anticipated the period when the whole family in heaven and earth shall be gathered together in one." A passage which I dare not pass over without expressing my deep regret that Mr. M. should have written it; and solemnly cautioning the reader against being led by it to any idea of the innocency of such superstitious views about departed saints, as were held in the earlier half of the dark ages. It was a view which, by the substitution of those saints, virtually displaced Christ from his office of man's mediator, intercessor, and propitiator; just as allusively intimated in that wonderful figuration of the incense-offering, depicted with reference to the exact epoch (the end of the 4th century) when this superstition began: (see Vol. i. p. 309, &c.) and displaced him too from his office as the Christian's ever-present, ever-watchful guardian and guide. A sin surely with no common measure of guilt and ingratitude attaching to it! From which time the system of saint-invocation never intermitted; became soon the system of saint-worship, επανασώρια, as here stated; and then next, worship of their images.—In Mr. M.'s own list (p. 75) of sacred offerings in these ages the form is, "Deo, et sanctissimo martyri Bonifacio;"—"Creatori omnium, et gloriosissimo martyri Juliano;"—"Creator Deo, necnon Sancto Martino Domino meo gloriosissimo, quem toto affectu diligo;" &c.—Thus, though Christ was acknowledged to be God, (nor indeed, as we shall see, could the system of the Papal Antichrist have been perfect without it,) yet Christ the God-man, the Mediator, was virtually superseded and denied, just as much as by the earlier Gnostics,—until at length the Papal antichristian apostacy, having come to its acme about A.D. 1200, found out an excellent place within itself for the God-man Christ, through its doctrine of transubstantiation: of which there will appear in Chap. iii. p. 58 infra a striking illustration.

See in corroboration the Chronicle of Brakelond, a monk of St. Edmund's Bury in the twelfth century, just published by the Cambridge Camden Society: the translator of which, Mr. Tuckin, thus writes: "Through the whole of the Chronicle our Saviour's name is never once mentioned. God and St. Edmund is a phrase of common occurrence. Indeed nothing short of a narrative of this description could fully develop the depravation of the Christian religion by means of saint-worship."—Is not our Church's Homily more correct, as well as more authoritative, than Mr. Maitland, in making the idolatry of Christendom to have extended back full 800 years before the Reformation, and characterizing it as damnable?

1 Fleury, speaking of Serenus of Marseilles, observes that all the ancient images were wooden, "image de bois."—In the other materials mentioned there is a curious evidence of the Latins being particularly intended in this prophetic notice. The Greek Church allows of pictures, as unsubstantial; but anathematizes bowing before statues, as idolatry. ἑγαλή λαυρία ἐνα, says Ricas, chap. 1. 17, ἀκολουθεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν εὐαγγέλων. I quote from Waddington on the Greek Church, p. 59.

In the year 1215 deified bread was added to the other material objects of worship, by Innocent III; who then, in the 4th Council of Lateran, authoritatively enjoined the doctrine of transubstantiation.—However, as this was not a saint, but supposed however erroneously to be Christ, its worship was not demonolatry.
street-corners and the highways,—the cabins of the poor and the palaces of the rich,—had severally their images of suitable material: and before them, through the times spoken of, high and low, rich and poor, laics and ecclesiastics, did all, in contempt of God’s command, just as their pagan forefathers,¹ alike bow down and worship.

If, in connection with this its superstition and idolatry, the morals meanwhile of western Europe be enquired of, the answer is given in another emphatic word that we find in the predictive statement before us; which tells of “their fornications.”—He who is at all acquainted with the history of the middle ages, must be aware of the wide-spread licentiousness then prevailing, most of all with the clergy. Historians and poets, ballads and acts of councils,² alike testify to the fact. Nor let it be unobserved, as being perhaps meant to be intimated by the juxta-position and intimate association of the words in the prophetic clause, that this licentiousness was not only the accompaniment, but the effect, of the daemon-worshipping superstition prevalent. It was in many

¹ A Romanist generally disclaims the charge of idolatry with indignation.—He should remember that the arguments he uses in support of his disclaimer, are just such as would be used by a Cicero, a Varro, or a Julian, in explanation and defence of their idolatrous worship; viz. as themselves looking through the idols to God.

² It is unfortunate for the Romanist and Greek apostates, that authorities the most dissentient on other points should unite in taking this view of their worship. The ancient Pagans (if I remember rightly a passage in Julian) charged the apostatizing Christians, even in the 4th century, with idolatry, viz. of the Cross. The Mahommedan Saracens and Turks charged them with it subsequently. In Christendom, Protestantism do the same; including even learned Infaides, e.g. Gibbon. Finally the Jews add their consenting testimony; both the more ancient Jews, as Maimonides; and the moderns also. Mr. Nicolayson, I am told, wrote a few years since an account of a Jew converted to Christianity at Jerusalem, who was afraid to avow himself a Christian, for fear of his being considered and killed by his brethren as an idolater. (See Jewish Report for 1835, p. 40.)—Since then we may be thankful that the Protestant Church of England has begun to be known at Jerusalem; and through it the fact, so long unknown to eastern Jews, that to be a Christian and a worshipper of idols is not identical.

² “If you wish to see the horrors of those ages,” (the middle ages) says Chateaubriand, Disc. Hist. Tom. iii. 420, “read the Councils.”—Mr. Maitland allows this in a measure (Dark Ages, p. 33;) and I must say, that having looked into the Councils with this object myself, the evidence of the immoral character of the priesthood seems to me irresistible. With reference to the 10th and 11th centuries, I have spoken in an earlier Chapter. (See Vol. i. p. 447.) With reference to the five following, see, for an illustration, p. 14, Note ¹.
ways,—I might indeed almost say in every way,—that immorality and vice were fostered by it. The notions entertained of the character of some even of the most eminent of the saints worshipped, just as of those of the heathen deities in ancient times, acted as an incentive, rather than preventive, to sins of impurity.\(^1\) The system of indulgences (one formed on the notion of their saints' supererogatory merits,) according to which sins of this class might at a very cheap rate be atoned for and pardoned, confirmed men in the light notions prevailing of their guilt and evil.\(^2\) The very pilgrimages to one and another of their saints' shrines, that were enjoined so frequently in the middle ages, as one kind of penance for sin and means to its remission, being enjoined to multitudes of both sexes at the same time and to the same place, were notoriously the occasion of immorality

\(^1\) On this point let me give Mr. Hallam's testimony; (Middle Ages, iii. 347.)

"That the exclusive worship of saints, under the guidance of an artful though illiterate priesthood, degraded the understanding, and begot a stupid credulity and fanaticism is sufficiently evident. But it was also so managed as to loosen the bonds of religion, and pervert the standard of morality. If these inhabitants of heaven had been represented as stern avengers, accepting no slight atonement for heavy offences, and prompt to interpose their control over natural events for the detection and punishment of guilt, the creed . . . might have proved a salutary check on a rude people, and would have had the only palliative that can be offered for a religious imposture,—its political expediency. In the legends of these times on the contrary, "—and then Mr. Hallam gives specimens of the current legends concerning the saints, abundantly confirmatory of his statement; adding, that the general character of religious notions prevailing, are best known from these popular compositions.—Besides these, let the reader, who has the opportunity, consult also the stories in the Golden Legend;—a work of which, we read, such was the popularity in the 15th century, that Panza enumerates upwards of seven editions in the Latin, (the language most used by priests,) eight in Italian, fourteen in Dutch, five in German, three in French. So Ames Typogr. Antiq. i. 190.

One is reminded by these legends of Ovid's celebrated lines, on the incentive to vice in the immortal character of the Pagan deities; Trist. ii. 297.

Quis locus est templis augustior f hanc quoque vitet,
In culpam si quae est ingeniosa suam.
Cum steterit Jovis sede, Jovis succurreret in sede
Quam multas matres fecerit ille Deus.
Proxima adoranti Junonia templum subbit
Pellicibus multis hanc doluisse deam: &c.

\(^2\) In the Pontificate of John XXII, about 1320 A.D. there was invented the celebrated Tax of Indulgences, of which more than forty editions are extant. 
Incost was to cost, if not detected, five groschen; if known or flagrant, six. A certain price was affixed similarly to adultery, infanticide, &c. See Merle D'Aubigné's Reformation; Vol. i. p. 41. The same is noticed by Robertson, and in Mendham's Index. Expurg.—"Instead of causing men to dread sin, these Indulgences encouraged them to wallow therein as hogs." So Wicliff; Le Bas, p. 329.
on the largest scale. The compulsory celibacy of the clergy, a rule enforced under the strongest penalties throughout the Romish church, from the time of Gregory VII, downward, as also that of the monks and nuns, involved, as it was sure to do, the depravation, both among and around them, alike of the outward morals and of the heart: not to add the fact of the regular episcopal licensing of fornication among the priesthood, already noted with reference to an earlier age; and which continued through these four centuries, indeed, it will appear, still later. And the practice of auricular confession,—a practice recommended and fostered, as we have seen, by the Popes from early times, but which was for the first time authoritatively enjoined as an integral and necessary part of the Romish religion, in the 4th Lateran Council, A.D. 1215,—that “damnable system of the confessional,” as it has been called in its late exposure,—I say this practice of auricular confession, besides its other appalling evils, made the tainting of the female mind an integral part of Romish priestcraft, and gave consecration to the communings of impurity.

If it be asked, again, how a system of religion could

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1 Hallam, Middle Ages, iii. 357. “This licensed vagrancy,” he says, “was naturally productive of dissoluteness.” So too Milla on the Crusades: chap. i.—Compare Vol. i. p. 310. Note 5.

2 For the state of the nunneries in Rome in A.D. 1347, see Life and Times of Rienzi, p. 27.—In the next century, the 15th, for an account of their state generally through western Christendom, no more unimpeachable authorities could be cited than Gerson, the French orator, so celebrated at the Council of Constance, and Clemangis, a French theologian, also contemporaneous, and of great eminence. The former called them, “Prostitula meretricum.” The latter thus speaks of them: “Quid aliud sunt hoc tempore puellarum monasteria, nisi quaedam non dicam Dei sanctuaria, sed Veneris exequandis prostituta: ut idem sit hodie puellam velare, quod et publice ad scortandum exponere.” I quote from Hallam, iii. 358. Let me add that Clemangis was Doctor of the Sorbonne; and a writer so eminent for candour and integrity, as for learning. See Mosheim, xv. 2. 2. 24. Compare a similar statement given respecting the ninth century, in my vol. i. p. 447.

3 Vol. i. p. 447 Note 4.

4 See the Council of Paris, Canon 15, held A.D. 1212; the 4th Lateran, Canon 14, held 1215; Clemangis’ statement presented to the Council of Constance, held 1414; (and which is given in Waddington, p. 550;) also the Canon of the Council of Basle, held 1432, which was transcribed and repeated by that of Sena, held A.D. 1485.

5 See p. 27 Note 4 infra.

6 Vol. i. p. 385.

7 Especially by the Rev. R. MacGhee.

8 Denz is by no means singular in his abominations.—I have seen somewhat of the same in a Sacerdotium Missale, printed in Italy.
be admitted and believed in, so monstrous and so opposed, not to the spirit of the Bible only, but even to the moral sense of the natural conscience, we may remind the reader, first, that the religion of the Bible was then almost unknown: next, that the complacency of the natural corruption in a religion in many ways so suited to it, was sure with the larger number to dull the moral sense, and still the misgivings of conscience.—But, besides this, he who would understand the general credence yielded to it, must never forget the lying sorceries with which, as here also preintimated, the priests in those dark ages supported it. Just as in every country where heathen idolatry has been established, the priesthood have, alike in ancient and in modern times, had their magical deceits, wherewith to work on the credulity of a superstitious people, so it was in those middle ages with the priests of the Romish church;¹ even as also since, indeed, in proportion as the ignorance prevailing might allow of the practice. Who that is acquainted with its history, knows not of the impostures through which miracles were, through all this long period, assumed to have been wrought, whether by the priests themselves directly, or yet more by the relics or images of saints, the priest’s puppets:²—images “which could neither see, nor hear, nor walk;” but which were yet asserted, and believed, to be possessed of human senses,³ and to exercise the power of making the lame to walk, restoring sight to the blind, and hearing to the deaf?⁴ Who knows not of the pre-

¹ The sorceries of the heathen priests in Egypt and Babylon are figured as Papal Rome’s counter-parts in the Apocalypse.

² On the tricks and sorceries of Romish pseudo-christian priests, see Southey’s Book of the Church, pp. 173, 277.—Witschf mercilessly exposed them, as also Hess after him. As an example from the latter, in character somewhat singular, I may instance his Treatise “against the impostures of covetous priests . . . who put their own blood into the host, to make fools believe that it is the blood of Christ.” L’Enfant, Hist. of Council of Constance, p. 27. (Engl. transl. 1730.)

³ “Nostri fabulatores,” says Laurentius Valla, “passim inducunt idola loquentia; quod ipse Gentiles, et idolorum cultores, non dicunt.” Similar was the case of the crucifix at Boxley, mentioned in Bishop Burnet’s account of the suppression of monasteries under Henry VIII; which was famous for moving its head, hands, and feet, rolling its eyes, &c.

⁴ As an example of the saints’ thus miracle-working, take the following. In A.D. 1305, King Edward I. was prevailed on by his clergy to write to Pope
tended but lying visions related by priests of what was passing in purgatory;¹ and of the asserted effect of the masses, prayers, and indulgences, purchased for their relief, on the souls suffering in it? "It must not be supposed," says Mr. Hallam, "that these absurdities were produced by ignorance. In most cases they were the work of deliberate imposture." They were the pœ-magician,² the sorceries, whereby to stupify and to charm, specified both here and elsewhere in the Apocalypse, as one of the deadly unrepented sins of Papal Rome:—that great city which is spiritually called Egypt and Babylon;³ and which was indeed, though under a Christian name, the very representative in this respect, as well as others, of heathen Egypt, and heathen Babylon before it.

But wherefore did the priesthood and the monks, the bishops and the popes, thus with one consent deceive? Another of the characteristic words in the clause we are considering, points out the master-motive; "They repented not of their thefts."—No doubt ambition and pride operated with most in the ecclesiastical higher stations, indeed with more than the high ones in the priesthood;⁴ and again, with many a dark blind superstition: but the love of money, that root of all evil, operated with all. Hence the value fraudulently assigned to relics: of which (just as in the time of Gregory I, and even before it,) the demand and the supply were incessant through the dark ages in Western Christendom.⁵ Hence the ex-

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¹ See my brief sketch of the progress and establishment of the doctrine of purgatory, Vol. i. p. 389, &c.
² Compare Apoc. xvi. 23.
³ See Apoc. xi. 8.⁴ See the early progress of this noted, Vol. i. p. 384 supra.
⁵ I have referred long since (Vol. i. p. 309) to Augustine's early denunciation.
allegation of this and that saint's miracle-working merit, in order to draw deluded votaries to make their pecuniary offerings at the shrine; and the canonization of new saints, and dedication of new images, when the interest of the old was worn out. — Hence the invention and sale of indulgences, first by the bishops, alike to clergy and people; afterwards, in the 12th century, by the popes as a papal monopoly: through which indulgences, in virtue of a sufficient money-payment, not the temporal penance only, due to sin, but even the eternal punishment was now declared to be remitted. — Hence the prescription of pilgrimages, as an act of penance, to

of this practice. It was only a specimen of what increased continually afterwards, even to the period under review. So, for example, Mosheim xii. 2. 3. 3 in his ecclesiastical sketch of the 12th century, observes: "The abbots and monks carried about the country the carcasses and relics of saints, in solemn procession; and permitted the multitude to behold, touch, and embrace the sacred remains, at fixed prices." Every cathedral or monastery had its tutelar saint, and every saint his legend; fabricated in order to enrich the churches under his protection; by exaggerating his virtues and his miracles, and consequently his power of serving those who paid liberally for his patronage." Hallam iii. 346.

Wiclif (partially quoted p. 13, Note *) declared that Indulgences were mere forgeries, whereby the Priesthood "rob men of their money; a subtle merchandize of Antichrist's clerks, whereby they magnify their own fictitious power, and instead of causing men to dread sin, encourage men to wallow therein as bogs."

See Merle D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation, Vol. i. p. 59, &c., for a sketch of the progressive history of Indulgences. It began, he says, under John the Faster, Archbishop of Constantinople. The priests said, "O penitents, you are unable to perform the penances we have imposed upon you. Well, then, we the priests of God will take on ourselves this heavy burden. Who can better fast than we? Who better kneel and recite Psalms?" But the labourer is worthy of his hire. The priestly substitute must be paid. — So of temporal ecclesiastical penances for sins. Then followed the extension of the doctrine to the punishments from God against sin. After a while, the Pope, the High Priest of Christendom, perceived the advantage derivable from it. Alexander De Hale, in the 13th century, invented the doctrine necessary to secure the advantage to the papacy. Supererogatory works had been done by Christ and the saints; a supererogatory merit attached to them: of all which the guardianship and distribution was confided to the Vicar of Christ. Thomas Aquinas confirmed the doctrine, and applied it to the state of the dead in purgatory. A Bull of Clement VII made it an article of faith. — Then came under John XXII the famous Tav of Indulgences, already alluded to p. 13; and just before it, in 1300, the Jubilee Bull of Boniface VIII, (of which more presently,) with its promises of plenary indulgence. — So that well might Leo the Xth utter afterwards the well-known speech, that Mr. Birks has cited in his Book on Daniel, p. 233; "How profitable this fable of Jesus Christ has been to us!"

See also on this subject Muratori Antiq. M. E. Tom. v. Dissert. 68. — Copies of Indulgences are common. One of the 16th century is given by Waddington, p. 690, and will be illustrated in my chapter iii. following. In a later part of my work a fac-simile will appear of one of the 17th century; the original of which is in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.
shrines of smaller note, or greater, and to be performed on a larger scale or less, individually or in multitudes;¹—above all, of pilgrimage to Rome, on the gigantic scale of the Jubilee. The which latter institution, first invented and promulgated by Pope Boniface VIII, in the year 1300, as in lieu of crusades to Jerusalem,² was responded to eagerly by all western Europe; the enactment being that each 100th year, and afterwards each 50th and each 33rd, in virtue of a pilgrimage to Rome, and visitation of its churches, every sin was to be cancelled to the pilgrim, and his salvation ensured.³—Hence the

¹ e.g. the pilgrimages in Italy to our Lady of Loreto, in Spain to St. James of Compostella. That to the shrine of Thomas à Becket will readily occur to the reader as an English illustration. Through his reputation Canterbury became the little Rome of England. A Jubilee was celebrated each 50th year in his honour, with plenary indulgence to such as visited his tomb; of whom 100,000 have been registered at a time. Two large volumes were filled, says Gervase of Canterbury, with accounts of the miracles wrought at his tomb. And the following lists of the value of offerings made on two successive years to his shrine, the Virgin Mary’s and Christ’s, in the cathedral church there, will well illustrate both what is here stated of the gains to the priesthood from these pilgrimages, and of the effectiveness of the new mononastery to efface regard and remembrance of Christ. The lists are taken from Dr. Middleton’s Letters from Rome, p. 128.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIRST YEAR</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
<th>NEXT YEAR</th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christ’s altar</td>
<td>3 2 6</td>
<td>Christ’s altar</td>
<td>0 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virgin Mary’s</td>
<td>63 5 6</td>
<td>Virgin Mary’s</td>
<td>4 1 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Becket’s</td>
<td>832 12 9</td>
<td>Becket’s</td>
<td>954 6 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

² Ferrario (ii. 433) says that Boniface borrowed his idea from the centenary secular festivals of ancient heathen Rome: also that the Jubilee pilgrims “chiamano Romei, in quanto vanno à Roma.”

³ The venality of Rome is early celebrated. So in the 10th century by Arnulf, bishop of Orleans; who calls Rome, “a venal city, which weighs all its decrees by the quantity of money.” This was at a time preceding the 400 years under review.—And from after the commencement of the Jubilees, in consequence of priestly appeals to the people of Christendom, and of their superstitious veneration of the spot, “the Vatican and the capitol were,” as Gibbon says, (xiv. 262), “nourished by incessant and increasing swarms of pilgrims and suppliants.” The Jubilee was indeed a happy contrivance, to ensure a vast periodical increase of a supply already habituated to flow to it.

Of the Jubilee of 1300, Muratori relates the result as follows: “Papa innumerabile pecuniain laesium recept; quia die et nocte duo clerici stabant ad altare Sancti Pauli, tenentes in eorum manibus rustulos, rustellantes pecuniain infinitiam.” Hallam ii. 332.

Of the Jubilee next following, that of 1350, Matt. Villani says; “The concourse was such, that between Christmas and Easter there were 1,200,000 foreigners at Rome: the places of those who returned home being supplied by new comers. Between Ascension and Whitsunday there were 800,000 more: and notwithstanding the heat of the summer, there was scarce a day during the season but 200,000 foreigners were seen at Rome.” Life of Rienzi, p. 167.

(It was in his Bull appointing this Jubilee of 1350, that Clement VI, in reference to pilgrims who might die on their journey to Rome, used the blasphemous language; “We absolutely command the angels, that they place his soul in para-
assurance to the dying man of forgiveness and salvation, in case of testamentary bequests to the church or monastery. Hence, after his death, the tales to surviving relatives of the efficacy of masses for the dead, and of indulgences bought by survivors, to free the soul from purgatory. To which might be added, within the church itself, the long-established system of the sale and purchase of ecclesiastical dignities from Rome; and the episcopal licences of fornication, regularly granted to the priesthood century after century, as we have seen, at a money-price. But indeed on this subject, having once begun, where shall we end?

There is yet another heavy charge against Western Christendom, during "the hour, and day, and month, and year," in the predictive verse before us,—the charge

disc, entirely exempt from purgatory." Nihilominus prorsus mandamus Angelis Paradisi raudem animam illius, d Purgatorio penitus absolvat am, in Paradisi Gloriae introductam. Waddington, 689.)

In that of 1450 an eye-witness, says Ranke, (Hist. of Popes i. 37,) describes them as coming like swarms of bees, or flights of migratory birds,—indeed the concourse was such that many were crushed to death. Waddington, p. 625.

1 In Wycliff's time there were in England 53,215 foeda militum: of which the religious had 28,000; i. e. more than half. Le Bas' Wycliff, p. 131, from Turner's History of England, ii. 413,—Blackstone says, that but for the intervention of the Legislature and the Statute of Mortmain, the church would have appropriated in this manner the whole land in England: iv. 107.

2 So gainful was the death of members of wealthy families in this manner to the priests, that Huss, in his reproaches of their avarice (about 1400 A.D.) framed the Latin line in proverbial form against them:

De morbo medicus gaudeat; de morte sacerdos.

See L'Enfant, Hist. of Council of Constance, p. 36; &c.

In this denunciation of the avarice of the Priesthood, Wycliff, as is well known, was Huss's energetic predecessor. He particularly accuses the clergy of inventing purgatorial poisons horrible and shameful, in order to make men pay a vaster ransom. Le Bas, p. 327, &c. So also, about 1350, Juan Ruiz in Spain. See Macrie's Reform. in Spain, p. 58.

3 For example Matthew Paris mentions that in the twelfth century, in the reign of Henry I, a sum equal perhaps to £10,000 was paid to Rome by the Archbishop of York for his pall. (In order, by the way, that no Archbishop might use the pall of his predecessor, it was ordained in the Decretals that each deceased Archbishop should be buried in his pall. See Foxe i. 335 Note.)—Again, A.D. 1376 the "good Parliament," under Edward III, remonstrated against Papal exactions; saying, "that the taxes paid to the Pope of Rome for ecclesiastical dignities do amount to fivefold as much as the taxes of all profits that appertain to the King by the year of his whole realm." Ann. 50, Edward III, 44, 94.

4 See Note 4 p. 14 supra.

5 Said ±enau Silvius himself, the same that was afterwards Pope Pius II; "Nihil est quod abaque argento Romana Curia dedat. Nam et ipsum manum imposiciones, et Spiritus Sancti dona venduntur; nec peccator um venia nisi nummatis impeditur." Æn. Sylv. Op. p. 149.
of murders. Need I explain to the reader, how exactly this answers also to the facts of the ecclesiastical history of Western Europe during the latter half of these four centuries? He will be aware, no doubt, how from early in the 12th century a few, congregationally or individually, began to teach more openly, what had never indeed been altogether untested, a purer doctrine:—a doctrine derived not from priestly legends, or from the schools, not from the decrees of Popes or Councils, or from any books of human literature, but from a book, now all but forgotten, if not unknown, not by the laity only, but by most too both of monks and of the clergy,—the Book of the Holy Scriptures. The moral excellence and innocency of these Waldenses is, for the most part, confessed even by their enemies. And with written authority for their doctrines so unquestionable, with the internal evidence of its own excellence confirming, and the innocency of their lives recommending it,—it might surely have been hoped, that not the general attention only, but the general favour, would have been conciliated towards it and them; the partial opening and almost re-discovery to the French laity of the Book of God hailed with joy; and a foundation laid, in its knowledge and study, for a real and general amelioration of morals. Instead of this, what read we? The Book itself was quickly denounced by Pope and priesthood, and partially suppressed. And against them the cry of

1 P. Waldo translated the Scriptures out of Latin into the Romance. This, I believe, was the first nearly complete translation yet made into the vernacular French: (smaller portions had been translated before:) and introduced his attempt at reformation.—In England, where the old Anglo-Saxon translations had for centuries been obsolete, and an incomplete anonymous one of 1290 (see Horne’s Introduc. ii 241, and Le Bas’ Wicliff, 218—231,) almost unknown, Wicliff, about a century later, made his into English.—The enormous price of Bibles, however, in those times, was almost a prohibition to general diffusion. In England in 1274 the price of a Bible, with a commentary, fairly written was £30; the equivalent to 13 years labour of a labouring man, as the daily wages were then 1s. And still in 1429 Wicliff’s New Testament sold for £2. 16s. 8d., worth £30 now perhaps. So Le Bas p. 421, and Townley, in his Biblical Anecdotes.

Mr. Maitland in his “Dark Ages,” p. 202, observes on the necessary expensive¬ness of a copy of the whole Bible, before the discovery of printing: as, at the rate at which law-stationers pay their writers, a fair copy would probably cost £60 or £70 for the writing only, and occupy the writer perhaps ten months.

4 “Tertia causa (propagationis Waldensium) est Veteris ac Novi Testamenti
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heretics was raised; and their extermination forthwith, and long after, urged as one of the most meritorious of religious duties. First, in the 3rd Lateran Council A.D. 1179, anathema was declared against certain dissentients and heretics of cognate character; then against the Waldenses themselves, in papal Bulls of the years 1183, 1207, 1208. Again, in a decree of the 4th Lateran Council, held A.D. 1215, a Crusade, as it was called, was proclaimed against them; and " plenary absolution promised, to such as should perish in the

* ea vulgarum linguae ab ipsa facta translatio.* So Richilinus Dissert. de Valdensibus: adding that Innocent III charged on the Bishop and Chapter at Metz to inquire who had made the translation, and with what object. This was in 1199. And the result is stated in Alberic's Chronicle, on the year 1200, as the burning by the priests of the translated books: "In Urbe Metensi, pululante secta Valdensium, directi sunt quidam Abbes ad predicandum: qui quosdam libros de Latino in Romanum versos combusterunt." This was referred to by the Pope just deceased, in one of his Anti-biblical Bulls.

Mr. Maitland states, at p. 221 of his "Dark Ages," as the result of his researches into the literature of that extended period (from 800 to about 1200) that "he knows of nothing which should lead him to suppose that any human craft or power was exercised to prevent the reading, multiplication, or diffusion of the word of God." But it must be observed that Mr. M.'s researches refer to monastic bodies, or the clerical order, and to the Latin Bible almost entirely: in regard of which and whom Mr. M.'s statement may be substantially correct. It was in regard of translations for the laity, and when, as the result of reading them, the laity came to see something different in religion from the doctrines of the priests and popacy, that the trial of principle arose. And what then? Says Sismondi, in his Albigenian Crusade, p. 226, Forasmuch as the heretics supported their doctrine by the authority of Holy Scripture, the first indication of heresy at that time (soon after 1200 A.D.) was considered to be the citation of either the epistles or gospels.—In 1229 the Council of Thoulouse prohibited the laity from possessing the Scriptures. So again, about 1270, James I, King of Aragon, passed a law, that whoever possessed any of the Books of the Old or New Testament in the Romance or vulgar tongue, and did not bring them to the Bishop to be burned, should be considered suspected of heresy. (Townley)—About 1400 the Decree of Pope Alexander V, which condemned all translations into the vulgar tongues, caused the suppression to be more decided and universal through western Christendom. In England, for example, Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, decreed in convocation, that neither Wicliff's translation, nor any other in the English tongue, should be read till approved by the Bishop; and several persons were burned, as appears from bishops' registers, for refusing compliance, and reading Wicliff's translation. (See Gray's Key; also Townshend's Preliminary Essay to Foxe, p. 255, &c.) Soon after, in 1413, a law was passed by Henry V, decreeing that all Lollards, or those who possessed or read Wicliff's books (especially his New Testament) should forfeit lands, cattle, goods, body, life, and be condemned for heretics to God, enemies to the crown, and arrant traitors to the land. (Townley; and also Le Bas' Wicliff, 241.)—Once more, at the Council of Constance in 1415 Gerson complained of "many laymen among the heretics having a version of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, to the great prejudice of the Catholic faith:" adding; "It has been proposed to reprove this scandal in the Committee of Reform." (Waddington, p. 692.)
holy war, of all sins committed from the day of their birth to that of their death." "And never," says Sismondi,¹ "had the cross been taken up with more unanimous consent;" and never, we may add, was the merciless spirit of murder exhibited more awfully in all its horrors.—It was accompanied and followed by the Inquisition: an institution assignable to Dominic, or rather Gregory IX,² as its earthly author, but evidently and originally the invention of hell: that horrid tribunal which carried on its inquest after heresy unseen, but with the power of the secular arm, the Princes of the West, supporting it,³ into all the individualities and privacies of domestic life.—The same spirit was manifested on the attempts at a revival of religion in England, from 1360 to 1380, by Wicliff; and in Bohemia, some thirty or forty years after, on its revival by Huss and Jerome.⁴

—Thus, during the latter half of the four centuries that we speak of, whether under the name of Petrobrussians, Catharists, Waldenses, Albigenses, Wicliffites, Lollards, Hussites, Bohemians, not dissentient heretics only, but disciples of Christ the most genuine, if dissentient from the Romish Church, were marked out as sheep for the slaughter. Popes and councils, priests and people, the secular powers and the spiritual, all united in the war-cry: and racks and gibbets, fire and sword, were deemed the fit weapons to use against them. Murder was one in the black catalogue of the sins, during this period, of Papal Christendom.

Such were the prominent characteristics of what was then called religion in Western Europe: and so did idolatry mark it, together with sorceries, fornications, thefts, murders, as its concomitants,—just as described in this

¹ History of the Crusade, p. 25. The Waldenses, it must be remembered, were mixed up with the Albigenses as sufferers in it.
² See Mosheim’s correction of Limborch, xiii. 2. 5. 4. Its foundation was laid in the Decree of Pope Lucius A.D. 1183. Dominic acted individually as an Inquisitor against the Albigenses. But the Court of the Inquisition, (chiefly still of Dominican monks) was not regularly formed till 1233, after Dominic's death.
³ Especially, on its first institution, by Frederic II, and the French King Louis IX. Mosch. xiii. 2. 5. 6.
⁴ See the horrid account in Waddington, p. 601.
brief but most significant predictive clause,—through the "hour, day, month, and year," up to the fall of the Greek empire. The devotees to chivalry and romance, indeed, would paint these middle ages as the ages of faith:¹ and the lovers alike of mysticism and of ritualism as periods of the illumination and perfection of the Church.² But the religion contemplated by the majority of such describers, is obviously the imaginative and the external: not that which the Bible alone recognizes of

¹ I refer to the voluminous Work lately published under that title.
² See Görres' Christliche Mystik.—Referring to the pseudo-Dionysius' theory of three successive periods in the spiritual progress of the soul, the period of purification, of illumination, and of perfection or consummation, he observes that a similar progression may be traced in the history of Christendom. 1. The ages from the Goths to Charlemagne: in which fire and sword uprooted and burnt up the weeds from the European soil, so fitting it for the seeds of higher civilization. 2. From the latter part of the 11th to the beginning of the 13th century; a period distinguished by great reforms in the church, state, and school: the church being emancipated from secular power, reforming the monastic orders, and enforcing the old practice of the celibacy on the Clergy; the European nations advancing in order, liberty and civilization: and in the schools, universities being established, the Aristotelian philosophy adopted, and the dawn appearing of poetry and art. The best symbol, says Görres, and representative of this age of moral and intellectual regeneration, is St. Bernard. 3. From the beginning to the close of the 13th century; in which age there was an astonishing development of energy in church and state: each being a hierarchy of corporations of a mystical nature in themselves and in their mutual relations, the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre the one all-mastering idea of Christendom, and the influence of Christian mysticism manifested alike in architecture, painting, philosophy, and poetry. In no age had mysticism so thoroughly impregnated all the institutions of life and productions of genius.

Such are the views of Görres, as abstracted by a Romanist admirer in the Dublin Review, Jan. 1859. And truly, after reading it, and with the historical facts that we have considered before us, the sketch may well make us admire the pictorial power of German, or rather Roman, mysticism and romance! Görres' method of confirming one of his points, by constituting St. Bernard the representative of the age he lived in, is ingenious and concise. But we might as well characterise the philosophy and religion of England about the close of the 9th century by making Alfred its symbol.—With regard to the middle of the 12th century, Bernard's own picture of the then state of the church generally (e. g. Germ. xii. 6, 7, in Cantic.) is a sufficient refutation of Görres: with regard to the close of the 13th that of the General Council of Vienne, held A.D. 1313. See Waddington, pp. 332—334, and 480.—Mr. Maitland, we have observed, (see p. 10 Note ⁸ supra,) gives up the defence of the middle age after A.D. 1200.

⁸ "Hodie pestilentia morum, fonda satis et lenta nimis, exhalet. (This was after saying that the last days and perilous times spoken of by St. Paul, 2 Tim. iii. 1, were evidently at hand.) Factus est sacerdos ut populus, et licentia populus sicut sacerdos fat. Mundo se monachi studiosè conformant; et qui in mundo sunt errorem suum nostrorum nimis verù tuctur exemplo. Mutuis ad vitia secrètis informant aut fovent exemplis, pastores et populi, saeculares et religiosi." So too in his Epistle 238 to Pope Eugenius, with special reference to the prevailing covetousness.
heart-cleansing practical godliness. And the generalising inductive process by which some, from a series of carefully-selected extracts out of the voluminous scholastic and mystic writers, with more or less of moral beauty in them, and more or less of religious truth, would infer such a religion as the spirit of the age, carries its own refutation with it. On this point appeal must be made to the facts of history. And these are as directly against them, as they accord in every iota with the wonderful predictive statement now before us.

II. Nor, as the prophecy further intimated, did the terror of the fall of Constantinople induce either reform-ation or repentance. Of these not a sign is discoverable in the acts or history either of the ruling powers or body corporate of Western Christendom. Rather there is to be perceived, in respect of each sin here reprobated, fresh authorization and fresh addition.

Thus as regards the established daemonolatry.—It was in 1460 that the Dominican Alain de la Roche, in hyper-duleia of the Virgin Mary, revived in the christian world the use of the Rosary first invented by Dominic:—the mechanical devotion of which, with its 15 bead-told decades of Aves and Pater-Nosters intermingling,

1 What if we were to make a carefully-chosen selection of extracts from the best Greek and Roman moralists of the Pagan schools, from Cicero down to Plutarch and M. Aurelius, and infer from them the moral excellence of the Greeks and Romans during the two centuries embraced by them? Such is the method pursued in the Ages of Faith,—On the general character of the doctrine of the scholastic doctors of the middle ages it will be worth the while for the investigator of truth to consult Brucker, or Ensfeld, Book vii. Of the mystics, while many were wild enthusiasts, it is readily allowed that there were some, perhaps not a few, sincere but secret worshippers of God. (See Waddington, p. 700.) Such the Apocalyptic prophecy expressly recognizes. See especially Apoc. xii. 6, 14. and my comment on the verses.

2 It may be useful to the reader at this point, to compare what is here said of the sins of Papal Christendom, with what is said afterwards of those of Babylon, and of the final reprobates; and to mark anticipatively their similitude. Apoc. xviii. 23; "The light of a candle shall no more shine in thee, ... for by thy sorceries were all the nations deceived. And in her was found the blood of the prophets and saints, and of all that were slaughtered on the earth."—xxi. 8; "The unbelievers, and abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone."—xxii. 15; "Without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie."
embraced alike by high and low, laics and ecclesiastics, became soon the rage in Christendom; and, consecrated by Papal sanction still continues. It was in 1476 that Pope Sixtus the IVth, in support of the same favourite branch of diabololatry, gave sanction to an annual festival in honour of the Virgin's immaculate conception; condemning and excommunicating its impugners:—a dogma this not only palpably false, absurd, and unscriptural, but which had hitherto, since first it was agitated, some 300 years before, by the Franciscans, been left even by Popes and Councils, undetermined.

Further the system of canonisation was still continued, and, by mere Papal fiat, new deumaria added to the old. For example, in 1460 the enthusiast Catharine of Sienna was canonized by Pope Pius II; in 1482 Bonaventura, the blasphemer, by Sixtus IV; and in 1494, by Alexander VI, the more respectable name of Archbishop Anselm. Alexander's Bull, in language more heathen than Christian, avows it to be the Pope's duty thus to

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1 See Southey Vindic. Eccl. Angl. 483, &c.—In Bellarmino's Doctrina Christiana Breve, a manual authorized by Papal approbation, these 15 mysteries are explained. In answer to the question, "Why repeat the Ave after the Lord's Prayer?" the answer is given, "That by the intercession of the Virgin Mary I may more easily obtain from God what I ask." But there are ten Aves to one Pater-Noster.—And what of Christ's intercession? 2 See on this Pope and period, Foxe iii. 780.

2 Harduin ix. 1495.—The controversy about the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary had originated about 1140 A.D.; and festivals, though not by authority, begun to be celebrated in its honor. Bernard strenuously opposed the dogma; justly considering that it invested her with an immunity which belonged to Christ alone. See Moshe. xv. 2. 4. 2; and xii. 2. 3. 19.

3 Waddington, p. 641.

4 In the Hereford Discussion between the Rev. J. Venn and the Rev. James Waterworth, it was admitted by the latter (an able and learned Romish priest) that Bonaventura's Psalter to the Virgin Mary, turning the addresses to God into addresses to the Virgin, was blasphemy. But 1st he impugned its genuineness. How vainly, Mr. Venn has shrewdly shown: for it appears in the Pope's own authorized edition of Bonaventura's Works, published at Rome. 2dly, said Mr. W., this Edition was not published till 1588, above 100 years after its canonization; and the canonizing Pope might not know of the Psalter. But Rome, since its publication, has not only not disavowed its own saint, (this would indeed be to shake the whole Roman heaven with its saints into dissolution) but actually, notwithstanding Mr. W.'s denial of the fact, still publicly uses the Psalter; as will appear by a notice in my third volume under the fifth Vial.—Would not Mr. W. have done more wisely in adopting the casuist Veron's canon about relicas; (see p. 15 Note 4;) and saying that it is not an article of faith to believe the saints invoked to be really those that the names indicate? 5 Harduin ix. 1552.—See other examples in Butler.
choose out, and to hold up the illustrious dead, as their merits claim, for adoration and worship.\(^1\)

Again, with the increasing daemonolatry, both sorceries and thefts increased also. Rosaries were for sale; and blasphemous visions and lying miracles were, with the most solemn asseverations, urged by Alain and his fraternity in promotion of the sale.\(^3\) **Indulgences** invited the devout to the celebration of the immaculate conception; the rites of which were to bring gains, as usual, to the priests that celebrated them, and rob the poor worshipper. Each act of canonisation was a recognition of the new saint’s miracle-working, whereby to draw devotees and offerings to the local shrine. Nor did Rome accord the canonization without first itself receiving payment.\(^2\) In similar consideration for himself and his capital, (Pope II) (Pope from 1464 to 1471,) reduced the jubilee cycle for pilgrimages to Rome to a period of twenty-five years; thereby accelerating the return of that absurd but most lucrative ceremony.\(^4\) For those who could not go on pilgrimages to the saints’ shrines, relics were farmed, and indulgences also, all through this half-century; and the country overrun by the hawkers that farmed them.\(^5\) With the latter, as the 16th century

\(^1\) Ib. “Romanus Pontifex viros claros, et qui in presenti vitæ dum fuerunt vitiæ sanctimonii floruerunt, et eorum exigitibus clarissima meritis aliorum sanctorurn numero aggregari merentur,—inter sanctorum predictos debet collocare, et ut sanctorum ab omnibus Christi fidelibus coll., venerari, et adorari mandare.”

\(^2\) Southey Vind. 484, &c. The Jesuit Eckard confesses to his incredulity of Alain’s visions; somewhat as Gerson, at the Council of Constance, in respect of the miracles and legends then current. L’Enfant i. 470, 609.

\(^3\) See the Ordo Canonizationis in Harduin ix. 1548; a curious document, sent to Canterbury apparently from Rome, on occasion of the petition for Anselm’s canonization. Notice occurs in the Ordo of the Arms of him “cujus speciosi at canonizatio” being suspended, among other decorations, in the canonical erection for the Pope. Harduin observes that a statement of the speciosi preceded the Ordo in his MSS. But this, he says, “quod ad rem non faciant,” he omits! One is reminded by it of what Battista Mantuano says of Rome, in his Poem De Calamitatibus Temporum,—a poem written about the time referred to;

\[\ldots\ldots\text{ venalia nobis}\]
\[\text{Templa, sacerdotes, altaria, sacra, corone,}\]
\[\text{Ignis, thura, preces; coelum est venale, Deusque.}\]

Roscoe’s Leo X. (3rd Ed.) Vol. i. p. 98. It is a prolongation of Æneas Sylvius’ previous testimony, given by me p. 19, Note 4.

\(^4\) Mosheim xv. 2. 2. 17.

\(^5\) Merle D’Aubigne’s Luther, p. 23.
opened, the name of Tetzel is infamously associated; (of whom more a little later:) and, connected as this was with the legends invented and preached to promote the sale, it may be considered as the crowning example at this epoch of the union of thefts and sorceries in the Papal system.¹

Meanwhile impurity had advanced also; chiefly among the priesthood. The Popes led the way. So Innocent VIII, elected in 1484 to be the Holy Father of Christendom: whose character is told in the well-known allusive epigram.² So Alexander VI, his successor: who at the close of the 15th century stood before the world a monster, notorious to all, of impurity, as of every other vice.³ Rome throughout copied his example. “Most of the ecclesiastics,” says the historian Infessura, “had their mistresses; and all the convents of the capital were houses of ill fame.” And as at Rome, so in the provinces. In many places the priests paid the bishop a tax for the woman with whom he lived, and for every child he had by her: (so established and unblushing was the custom, now of above six centuries’ duration:) and Erasmus tells of a German bishop publicly declaring, at a grand entertainment, that 11,000 priests had come to him for that purpose.⁴

¹ As to indulgences, an idea of the immense sale of them at the opening of the 16th century, may be formed by a boast in 1507 of the famous, or rather infamous Tetzel, that in two days he had got 2000 florins by their sale in the town of Fribourg. So, as Luther expressed it afterwards, did the Pope “poll and rob Christ’s people.” (Foxe, v. 685. 688.) “They repented not of their robberies;” aepunturos. But in alluding to Luther’s time I a little anticipate.

² “Octo novos pueros genuit, totidemque puellas:
Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma putrem.”—Merle, iii. 359.

³ His original name was Rodrigo Borgia. See Merle D’Aubigné’s sketch of his character, l. 49. He lived first with one Roman lady, then, while a cardinal and archbishop, with her daughter Vanozza. He obtained the popedom A.D. 1492, by bribing each of the cardinals at a stipulated price. He then celebrated the marriage of his daughter Lucretia, another of his mistresses being present at it, and the festivities enlivened by farces and indecent songs.—The dissolute entertainments given by him, and by his equally infamous son Cesare, and daughter Lucretia, are such as may not be described or thought of. He died in 1503. According to general report it was by poison prepared by himself for a rich cardinal. But Roscoe, in his Life of Leo X., shows that this report is doubtful.

⁴ “Uno anno ad se delata undecim millia sacerdotum palam concubinariorum.” Erasmi Op. Tom. ix. p. 401; quoted by Merle, ubi supra, from whom also I have borrowed the extract from Infessura. In the 11th Session of the 5th Lateran Council this custom is noted and reprobated. “Quia vero in qui-
Could the \textit{confessional} but add to the mischief?\textsuperscript{1} The leprosy affected Christendom.

Finally there was a notable persistence in the \textit{murders} of Christ’s saints. Of \textit{insulated} cases I will notice only that of the Dominican Savanarola; an enthusiast, but one of the wisest and worthiest of the age;\textsuperscript{2} who, on preaching at Florence against the vices of Rome, and predicting, what his soul longed for, an approaching theocracy under the Lord Jesus, in place of the then corrupt government, was in 1498 seized by the Papal emissaries, and burnt at the stake.—More early in the half-century, and on a scale of magnitude such as to force the world’s attention to them, \textit{anti-heretical crusades} had been proclaimed and carried on. The \textit{Bohemians} and \textit{Waldenses} were the victims. Against the \textit{former}, Paul the 2nd urged the crusade. Elected Pope himself in the year 1464, because as a Venetian he seemed the fittest of the Cardinals to direct the energies of Christendom against its dreaded foe the Turks, he actually diverted the Hungarian King from warring \textit{against them} to warring against these Bohemian Hussites; and promised him the crown of Bohemia as his guar’don. Fiercely, but in this case vainly, the war raged seven years. Then the old policy was resorted to, to conquer by dividing. The \textit{Caliztines}, the less decided and spiritual of the dissentients, were incited against the \textit{Taborites}, the more spiritual: which latter had already, indeed, since the year 1457, formed a distinct church, under the name of the \textit{United Brethren}. And the civil persecution thus arising proved to this little remnant more bitter and more murderous, than all they had suffered in common with the rest from external war.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{1} Compare Pius IV’s Constitution, A.D. 1560, “contra sacerdotes in confesionalibus sacramentalibus poscentes ad turpia sollicitantes.”

\textsuperscript{2} Mosch. xvi. 2. 24.—See on this interesting character Dean Waddington’s account, taken mainly from Siamandi and Roscoe, p. 714, &c.

\textsuperscript{3} Bost’s \textit{Freres Moraves}, Tom. i. Liv. iii. p. 62, &c. (2nd Ed. Paris.)
CH. I.] CONTINUED CORRUPTIONS OF CHRISTENDOM. 29

In the war against the Waldenses of Piedmont, in the years 1477 and 1488, by Popes Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII, the same spirit presided. Having commented on the heresies of the Vaudois, Pope Innocent commanded all archbishops, bishops, and vicars to obey his inquisitor, and engage the people to take up arms, with a view to so holy and necessary an extermination; granting indulgences to all that would make the crusade against them, and authority to apply to their own use whatever property they might seize. It was then that 18,000 regular troops burst upon the vallies. And had not a feeling of compunction visited the sovereign, Philip of Savoy, the work of destruction would probably have been complete.1—Then too was accomplished the actual extirpation of the Christians of Val Louise in the High Dauphiny. "Having retired," says the historian, "into the caverns of the highest mountains, the French king's lieutenant commanded a great quantity of wood to be laid at the entrance of those caverns, to burn or smoke them out. And some were slain in attempting to escape. Some threw themselves headlong on the rocks below: some were smothered. There were afterwards found within the caverns 400 infants stifled in the arms of their dead mothers. It is believed that 3000 persons perished in all on that occasion in the valley."2—May not the blood well curdle at a recital of such atrocities?

Once more, it was in 1478 that that reform, as it was called, of the Inquisition took place, the Pope and King of Spain combining in the arrangement, whereby it was rendered an instrument of persecution and murder far more perfect than before. In the first year alone 2000 were burnt as victims. These furnished to it its prelibation of blood. Each year others followed. It is Llorente's computation from official documents, that from this its reorganization to the commencement of the

1 Acland, p. 12, 13.
2 Perrin ii. ch. 3: given by Gilly in his Life of Neff, p. 90.—How suitable Milton's beautiful Sonnet, composed after a similar tragedy in 1665:

"Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold: &c."
Reformation in 1517, there were 13,000 persons burnt by it for heresy, besides 8700 burnt in effigy, and 169,000 condemned to penances. What it was prepared to do, with the torture and the stake, on the outbreak of the Reformation, who knows not?

Thus have we historic proof in respect of the latter half of the 15th century, following the fall of Constantinople, as well as in respect of the four centuries that preceded it, of the fulfilment of every particular in the prophetic statement before us. "The rest of the men, who were not killed by these plagues, yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship demons, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and wood: neither repented they of their sorceries, nor of their fornications, nor of their thefts, nor of their murders."

And so the 15th century closed in. Wretched,—I may say hopelessly wretched,—seemed the state of the Church at that epoch: hopeless to the reflective and philanthropic statesman or ecclesiastic; hopeless almost to the real Christian. And more especially for this reason: because it was not the mere fact of the present existence of moral and religious corruption that met the eye in the gloomy prospect,—grievous though this was, and such as to force confession from every quarter: but there was the fearful superadded fact, also, that remedies such as human wisdom could suggest, had,

1 McCrie’s Reformation in Spain, pp. 86—89.
2 "Nulla in moribus disciplina; nulla in sacris litteris eruditio; nulla in rebus divinis reverentia; nulla propemodum jam erat religio." Such is Bellarmine’s judgment of the epoch. Tom. vi. col. 296. (Colon. 1617.)
3 Much the same statement of the corruptions of the times is to be found in most of the Orations before the fifth Lateran Council.
4 Let me add the following from a cotemporary Roman poet of some eminence:

quo tempore morens
Precipites labi cepere, et recta reliqui
Officia, et metis longe post terga relictis
Roma potens sceleti tobas effudit habens.

Sylvia Philomusi Novocomensis, in the Appendix to Roscoe’s Leo X; No. LXIX.
during the long period of the accumulation of these corruptions, been tried one after another, and failed; yea, the Christian might think within himself, and the efforts also of really christian reformists, his brethren before him. Indeed the fact of the trial and failure of these various remedies seems to me so important to the right appreciation of the hopelessness of things at the epoch before the Reformation, that I cannot feel it right to conclude this historical chapter without a brief notice of them. I speak particularly of those remedies which, before the face of Christendom, human policy had suggested and tried for the amelioration of the corruptions of the Church; in so far as they affected, that which alone human policy concerns itself with, the well-being of the social system.

It is to be remembered then that at the commencement of the four and a half centuries we have been reviewing, the prestige had already begun to pass away from the minds of the more intelligent, under which Charlemagne and his successors in the kingdoms of the West, had considered it their policy to accord political power, and privileges almost indefinitely great, alike to the priesthood and hierarchy of their respective states, and to the Bishops of Rome; as if the best and only means of softening and civilizing the minds of the semi-barbarous population under their sway.1 Proud, ambitious, idle, covetous, it had come to be understood that the great object with both the priesthood in general, and with the hierarchy heading them, was not the religious improvement of the community, but their own aggrandizement. Moreover the morals of these ecclesiastics were seen to be as cor-

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1 Mosheim viii. 2. 2. 4, quotes as follows from William of Malmesbury’s Work De Rebus Angl. Lib. v. “Carolus Magnus, pro contundendâ gentium illarum ferocì, omnes pene terras ecclesiis contulerat: concilio assiduò perpendens nolle sacri ordinis homines tam facile quæm laicos fidelitatem Domini rejicere: præterea, si laici rebellarent, illas posse excommunicationis auctoritate, et potentiae severitate, compescere.”—Milner observes, on the 13th century: “It has been said that a power such as of the Pope was necessary at that time to tame the ferocious spirit of men, and preserve some order in society. It may be allowed that it was a cement, but it was the cement of iniquity.” This is strong language; but I believe it presents the only true, and only philosophical view of the subject.
rupt, for the most part, or even more so, than of those whom they should have reformed. And thus the cry had now risen up against them, and it waxed louder and louder through the 12th century, as constituting almost the chief cause, instead of the chief cure, of the prevalent immorality and irreligion.¹

It was when this impression was rife and strong, (being early in the 13th century,) and when the ecclesiastical power, and even Papacy itself, might seem to have been jeopardized by it, that there arose the two mendicant orders of monks, the Dominicans and Franciscans; acknowledging, as if to meet the emergency of the case, the general corruption of the clergy, asserting that their wealth had caused their corruption, and issuing forth from Rome themselves bound by a vow of poverty, as the heaven-sent reformers of Christendom. The revival of preaching by them, a portion of the ministerial office almost abandoned at this time by the established clergy, was well suited to increase the hope and expectation of good from their mission. It was possible, men thought, that what the Franciscans declared might be true; and that they were the fulfilment of the prefigurative vision of the Apocalyptic angel, that flew abroad having the everlasting Gospel to preach to every nation under heaven.² For near two centuries did the popular enthusiasm, in every country of the West, set in towards these mendicant Friars, as well as the Papal favor. The parochial clergy complained in vain of the neglect now continually shown to their order, and the desertion of their ministrations. The confidence of the public rested on the mendicant Friars, as alone exhibiting to the world an image of pri-

¹ “A legend of that age,” says Mr. Southey, speaking of the middle of the 12th century, “marks the opinion which was entertained of the general depravity of the clergy. It was related in history,” (that is by William of Malmesbury,) “and not as a fable but a fact, that Satan and the company of infernal spirits sent their thanks in writing, by a lost soul from hell, to the whole ecclesiastical body, for denying themselves no one gratification, and for sending more of their flock thither through their negligence, than had ever arrived at any former time.” See on this Foxe iii. 190—193.
² Let the reader, in passing, compare this statement with Mr. Maitland’s view of the 12th century.
mitive simplicity and self-denial, alone acting out moreover the part of evangelists, and consequently as alone the true ministers of Jesus Christ. — At length however it was seen, and Wycliff most of all men helped forward the conviction, that covetousness might lurk even under the guise of poverty, ambition under that of humility. The lying fables and ridiculous superstitions, that formed the subject matter of their preaching, were unmasked; their intellectual emptiness and frivolity, their hatred of learning, their quarrelsomeness, proselytism of the ignorant youth, and, against those whom they deemed heretics, their bigot cruelty. The result of their influence and preaching was seen to be anything rather than the reformation of the community. In England the reaction was such that their very name became offensive, and warrants were issued for their arrest. — But to rid themselves of this more recent evil proved to the men of Christendom as difficult as deliverance from the old. The Pope, the supreme Head of Christendom, was found to be their patron; as indeed of almost all the corruptions under which it laboured. And against the Pope who could contend?

1 Le Bas, Wycliff, p. 105: "For a considerable time the new institution did its office to admiration. The effect was like the transfusion of fresh life-blood into a decaying system. The veins and arteries of the monster seemed to swell with renovated life, &c." — So too in earlier times Conrad, Abbot of Wilsperg, in narrating the institution of these two orders of mendicants, prefaces the narration with a statement of the youth of the Church being renewed like the eagle's. "Eo tempore, mundo jam senescente, exorta sunt due religiones in ecclesia; cujus, ut aquile, renovatur juventus." The passage is given by Mr. Maitland, in his Book on the Waldenses, p. 398. Conrad speaks of the mendicant Friars as raised up specially in opposition to the Waldenses and Poor Men of Lyons. — An interesting account of them is given by Southey, in his Book of the Church, p. 196. See also Mosheim xiii. 2. 2. 21.

2 See Matthew of Paris' invective against their accumulation of wealth and splendid buildings, referred to by Le Bas in his Life of Wycliff: also that of Grosteste, who on their first establishment at Oxford, A.D. 1221, had originally patronized them; that of Fitzralph; and that of Wycliff himself. Ibid. p. 66, 106—108, &c.

3 Fitzralph, in a sermon preached when he was Archbishop of Armagh, states that on this account, and from the parents' fears of their sons being inveigled by the mendicant friars, the number of students in Oxford had diminished from 30,000 to 6,000. Le Bas, p. 111.

4 The warrants out against them were entitled, "De religiosis vagabondis arrestandis per totum regnum." Ib. p. 110, from Turner's England, ii. 413.

4 e.g. in the case of Grosteste's controversy with them, and the appeal to Rome.

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Then were the eyes of all that wished for an amelioration of things directed to a **General Council** as the panacea;¹ a Council not such as former ones, mere mouthpieces of the Popes, but free and independent. The cry for it waxed louder and louder during the celebrated 40 or rather 50 years’ schism, from 1377 to 1429: when rival Popes were anathematizing each other from Rome, from Avignon, or from Sicily; and the scandal of such a disunion in the visible Church was palpable and offensive. So the memorable Council of **Constance** was assembled A.D. 1414: and, with a view to the necessary power for remedying the evils in the church and Christendom, the great principle was asserted, that Popes themselves were inferior in authority, and subject to, a General Council. But as to any real moral or religious reformation from it, the expectations so highly, so universally raised, ended, like those before, in disappointment.² In the matter of Huss and Jerome, (to which I have had occasion already to allude,) the Council exhibited itself as the ready copartner with Popes and clergy, in acts of falsehood, treachery, and oppression the most infamous. The reformation of the Church attempted by it proved to be insufficient, and only external. And even in respect of this, the new Pope, almost as soon as elected, found means of thwarting its intentions, and showing its impotency. Yet more in the subsequent General Councils of Ferrara and Florence, held about the middle of the 15th century, the very principle of the subordination of Popes to Councils, from which so much had been hoped, was formally renounced. The Council of Basle indeed reasserted it, but was at last worsted in the struggle by the Popes. **Æneas Sylvius,** its most celebrated advocate, having been made Pope, issued his own solemn Bull in retractation of it.³ The secular

¹ So in Cramp’s Text-Book of Popery. Though “experience was little in their favour,” yet “men regarded a Council as their dernier resort, the panacea for all their woes, the forlorn hope of the church.” p. 5.

² See Wadd. 548 &c, and Moah. xv. 2. 2. 10, on the insufficiency of Councils.

³ Harduin ix. 1449. His Papal title was Pius II.—The dates of the Councils referred to were as follows: of Basle from 1431 to 1443; of Ferrara from 1438 to 1439; of Florence from 1439 to 1442.
powers, wearied with the ineffectual struggle, showed themselves less and less careful for the most part to re-assert it. As the 15th century drew towards a close, the old clerical dogma had manifestly risen into re-ascendancy, that the Pope, as in God's place on earth, could not err, and by earthly powers might not be controlled. There remained yet one remedy, and from which the more intellectual spirits of the 15th century hoped highly; —I mean the light of literature, which had now at length broken on the long intellectual night preceding; and which the cotemporaneous invention of printing, and flight of the Greek literati, with their literary treasures into the kingdoms of Western Europe, had combined, as was before said, to accelerate. Nor indeed was its effect on the established religion and the church small or unimportant. From Dante in its earliest and dim twilight, to Erasmus, two centuries after, at the day-dawn, the effect was more and more to expose, in the light of common sense and intellectual truth, alike the corrupt morals of the clergy, and the absurdity and falsehood of much of the long-received system of superstition. And it was not merely the laity that felt the influence. By the higher and more educated of the ecclesiastics it was felt also; especially in Italy, that cradle of the new-born classic literature of Europe. But in what spirit? And to what practical result? Was it so as to induce a purer faith, and an abandonment of the superstitions and corruptions thus exposed to view? Far from it. The faith of the gospel of Jesus, classic literature professed not to teach, nor indeed itself knew. This lay hid in the Bible; a book still little known, and where known by the mere classic enthusiast, despised. 1 Literature without the Bible could make infidels; it could not make Christians. And thus it did with them. As to the superstitions established, false as they were now felt to be, the selfish interests involved in their retention with the clergy, and

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1 Cardinal Bembo, finding Sadolet occupied in translating the Epistle to the Romans, said, "Leave such childish things. They become not a man of sense." Merle i. 58.—Compare Leo Juda's observations on Apoc. x. 1, in corroboratio.
with the laity the penalties of heresy, forbade their abandonment. Nor did the new philosophy make objection. It professed not the martyr's spirit; nor had it any more the wish than the power to arouse the conscience, or turn the heart to repentance. Thus the superstitions of the Romish apostacy were in outward rite and form persisted in as before: while the current conversational language, and even the writings of high ecclesiastics evidenced their unbelief in them; and the fashion arose to give them, as much as possible, a classic and a heathen turn. Instead of reforming the church, the effect on the great mass of the priesthood, ministering in it, of this boasted march of literature and intellect, was only to add to their other corruptions a more unblushing profaneness and hypocrisy.—Above all, this was the case at Rome. The character that has been given of the last Pope of the 15th century, was in a measure applicable also to the literary cardinals and hierarchy of Rome gathered round him. It was an atheist priesthood; and its hypocrisy deliberate, systematic, avowed, and unblushing, before the face of God and man.

Such was the approved futility and failure of each human scheme and effort at amelioration of the corruptions of the church;—amelioration of them, I mean, in so far as they shocked the public mind, and palpably

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1 So Erasmus. See his letter to Cardinal Campeggio; Milner, p. 679.
2 "Le Cardinal Bembo au lieu de St. Esprit écrivoit, Le souffle du Zéphyr Colette; au lieu de remettre les pechés, ficher les mains et les dieux souverains; au lieu de Christ Ils de Dieu, Minerve sortie du front de Jupiter." Merle i. 58.—So also Michelet, Memoires de Luther, i. 17: "S'ils nommaient le Pape c'était le grand Positif; un saint canonisé était, dant leur langage, relatus inter Deos; et s'ils parlaient de la grace, ils disaient, Deorum immortalium beneficium." (Ed. Bruxelles 1837.)
3 "Il y avait à cette époque une perversité raisonnée et scientifique, une magnifique ostentation de sceleratesse; disons tout d'un mot, le prêtre athée, se croyant roi du monde." Michelet, i. 13.
4 It is related by Luther, that on his visit to Rome, in 1510, and when dining with some of its prelates, they related jokingly how, when saying mass at the altar, instead of the sacramental words which were to transform the elements into the body and blood of Christ (according to the doctrine of transubstantiation) they pronounced over them, "Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remain! Wine thou art, and wine thou shalt remain!" "And then," they continued, "we elevate the pyx, and all the people worship." Merle i. 192. The anecdote is most characteristic.
affected the public weal. As the 16th century opened, there were still many proficients in literature, indeed, that looked for a change, though a change they knew not what, as the result of the literary and intellectual development in progress. Nor had the hopes from an independent Council been altogether abandoned. In fact a council with this pretension had gathered just at this time at Pisa; disavowed by the Pope and the rest of Christendom, but with a few cardinals and the French king supporting it. Its feebleness was however manifest. The hopes that centered round it were but the shadows of what, a century before, had attended and watched around the gathering at Constance.—On the whole, the evils of the church seemed to be beyond the reach of human remedial policy or power. And with many of the more reflective, doubtless, the suspicion had arisen that the disease must needs be deeper seated, as well as the remedy more powerful and searching, than any yet suggested.—In effect such was the very case. It was apostacy from their God and Saviour that constituted the essence of the disease that had so long afflicted Christendom. And remedy there could be none, but the republication of his own gospel of grace, and with the power of his own Spirit accompanying it.

Nor let it be forgotten, finally, though this is not the place to dwell on it, that some there had been, and were, that understood this truth of the case, both as regarded the disease and the remedy; some the off-scouring perhaps of men, but the beloved of God:—the same that had been prefigured in vision as the mystic 144,000, "called, and chosen, and faithful," which would as a body remain indestructible before Him: 1 most of them being indeed only God's secret ones: but some, bolder and more discerning, his witnesses, in an apostate world; and with a view imprest on and testified by them, respecting the existing corruptions, precisely similar to that which is here exprest by their representative St. John. Of these last many and earnest had been the efforts (as I

have already just hinted, and must in my chapter on the Witnesses notice yet again) to make the gospel of the grace of the Lord Jesus known among men. And many too and earnest had been their prayers; and high doubtless at times their hopes, through these dark ages, that He, whom to know was light and life, would at length signally interfere for his own cause and church. But time went on, and he appeared not; the first watch of the night,—the second watch,—the third watch. Their strength was spent. Their hopes waxed fainter. Persecuted, proscribed, wasted, scattered, their enemies seemed to have all but prevailed against them; and not against them only, but against the cause that was dearer than themselves, the cause of truth, the cause of Jesus. When the Bohemian remnant in 1489 sent into each part of Christendom, to see if there were any beside themselves to testify for Jesus, they found none. It seemed almost as if he had forgotten them, and the promise had become a dead letter, that the gates of hell should not prevail against them. But could it be so? Oh no! Just at this crisis of extremity, the truth of the promise was to be made signally manifest. The very next vision in the Apocalyptic drama,—that of the descent of the covenant-Angel, and of the raising and ascension of his two witnesses from their apparent state of death, (for the vision is plainly continuous up to this latter figuration, and the whole included under the latter half of the sixth Trumpet,)—I say the very next Apocalyptic vision represented to St. John that same glorious intervention of the Lord Jesus, which had been so long looked and prayed for. The next scene in the drama of European history is that of the Reformation.

1 Compare Foxe II. 778.
2 Comenius Hist. Eccl. Bohem. apud Fleming's Apocalyptic Key, p. 41, 42. Also Boet's Histoire des Freres Moraves. i. p. 87.
3 It is at verse 18 of chap. ix. that the slaying of the third of men by the Turkish or 6th Trumpet woe is mentioned. It is not till ch. xi. 14, immediately after the ascension of the witnesses, and fall of the tenth part of the city, that the same 6th Trumpet woe is said to have ended.
CHAPTER II.

INTERVENTION OF THE COVENANT-ANGEL FULFILLED IN THE REFORMATION.

APOC. X. 1—4.

"And I saw another mighty angel coming down from heaven, clothed with a cloud: and the rainbow was upon his head; and his face was as the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire; and he had in his hand a little book opened. And he set his right foot upon the sea, and his left upon the land; and cried with a loud voice as a lion roareth." Apoc. x. 1—4.

Oh what a glorious vision to rejoice the heart of the Evangelist! What a contrast to all that had been figured to his view since first the seven Trumpet-angels prepared themselves to sound! Indeed we may say, with what a superiority of glory in it, to that of any figuration of the future fortunes of the Church, from the commencement of the Revelation until now: and, as it proved, with nothing comparable to it afterwards, until the vision that foreshowed the glories of the consummation.

I said, what a vision to rejoice the heart of the Evangelist! And first, was there not comfort for him in the very character and person of the angel intervening? For whom might he suppose this angel? The vision represented him as a mighty angel, that had a rainbow, or rather the rainbow,—the rainbow of the covenant, 2

1 ἀλλα. This word is omitted in many copies.

2 Bishop Middleton observes on the word: "The authorities which direct us to read ἰός are very numerous; and the best modern editors have admitted the article into the text;" intimating, however, that he can see no reasons for it. "The names of the great objects of nature," he says, "the sun, the moon, the air, &c. usually have the article; but these are permanent and monadic. The word ἰός seems to have no other claim to it than have σμός, ἀλειφίς, &c. and the names of other transient phenomena."—The difficulty is solved by regarding it as the iris of the covenant. It is thus both monadic, and also prementioned.