

exerted, not for their advantage but for their destruction; so that with reason we believe St. Gregory, whose name thou hast usurped, prophesied of thee when he said, "The pride of the magistrate commonly waxes great if the number of those subject to him be great, and he thinks that he can do more than they all."

We, forsooth, have endured all this in our anxiety to save the honor of the apostolic see, but thou hast mistaken our humility for fear, and hast, accordingly, ventured to attack the royal power conferred upon us by God, and threatened to divest us of it. As if we had received our kingdom from thee! As if the kingdom and the empire were in thy hands, not in God's! For our Lord Jesus Christ did call us to the kingdom, although he has not called thee to the priesthood: that thou hast attained by the following steps.

By craft abhorrent to the profession of monk, thou hast acquired wealth; by wealth, influence; by influence, arms; by arms, a throne of peace. And from the throne of peace thou hast destroyed peace; thou hast turned subjects against their governors, for thou, who wert not called of God, hast taught that our bishops, truly so called, should be despised. Thou hast put laymen above their priests, allowing them to depose or condemn those whom they themselves had received as teachers from the hand of God through the laying on of bishops' hands.

Thou hast further assailed me also, who, although unworthy of anointing, have nevertheless been anointed to the kingdom, and who, according to the traditions of the holy fathers, am subject to the judgment of God alone, to be deposed upon no charge save that of deviation from the faith,—which God avert! For the holy fathers by their wisdom committed the judgment and deposition of even Julian the Apostate not to themselves but to God alone. Likewise the true pope, Peter, himself exclaims: "Fear God. Honor the king." But thou, who dost not fear God, art dishonoring me, his appointed one. Wherefore, St. Paul, since he spared not an angel of heaven if he should preach other than the gospel, has not excepted thee, who dost teach other

doctrine upon earth. For he says, "If any one, whether I, or an angel from heaven, shall preach the gospel other than that which has been preached to you, he shall be damned."

Thou, therefore, damned by this curse and by the judgment of all our bishops and ourselves, come down and relinquish the apostolic chair which thou hast usurped. Let another assume the seat of St. Peter, who will not practice violence under the cloak of religion, but will teach St. Peter's wholesome doctrine. I, Henry, king by the grace of God, together with all our bishops, say unto thee: "Come down, come down, to be damned throughout all eternity!"

V. GREGORY'S DEPOSITION OF HENRY IV. HENRY'S PENANCE AT CANOSSA

O St. Peter, chief of the apostles, incline to us, I beg, thy holy ear, and listen to thy servant, whom from infancy thou hast nurtured, and whom, until this day, thou hast shielded from the hand of the wicked that hated me, and do hate me, for my faithfulness to thee. Thou and my Lady, the Mother of God, and thy brother, St. Paul, are witnesses for me among all the saints that thy holy Roman church placed me in control against my will; that I had no thought of violence in ascending to thy chair, and that I should rather have ended my life as a pilgrim than by worldly means to have gained thy throne for the sake of earthly glory.

Therefore, through thy grace and through my own merit, I believe that it has been and is thy will that the Christian people especially committed to thee should obey me. To me, in particular, as thy representative and the recipient of thy favor, has God granted the power of binding and loosing in heaven and earth. In this confidence, therefore, for the honor and security of thy Church, in the name of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by thy power and authority, I withdraw from Henry the king, son of Henry the emperor, a rebel of incredible insolence against thy Church, his right to rule over the whole kingdom of the

113. First deposition and excommunication of Henry IV (February 22, 1076).

Germans and over Italy. And I absolve all Christians from the bonds of the oath which they have taken to him or which they shall in future take; and I forbid any one to serve him as king.

For it is fitting that he who strives to lessen the honor of thy Church should himself lose the honor which seems to belong to him. And since he has scorned to obey as a Christian, and has not returned to God whom he has deserted, but has had intercourse with the excommunicated; practiced manifold iniquities; spurned the counsels which, as thou art witness, I sent to him for his own salvation; separated himself from thy Church and endeavored to rend it asunder; I bind him, in thy stead, with the chain of the anathema. Relying upon thee, I bind him, that the people may know and prove that thou art Peter, and upon thy rock the Son of the living God hath built his Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

114. Gregory's account of Henry's penance at Canossa (1077).

Bishop Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to all the Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Counts, and other princes of the realm of the Germans, defenders of the Christian faith, greeting and apostolic benediction:

Inasmuch as for the love of justice ye have assumed common cause and danger with us in the stress of this Christian warfare, we have bethought us to relate to you, beloved, in sincere affection, how the king, humbled to penance, has obtained the pardon of absolution, and how the whole matter has progressed since his entry into Italy up to the present day.

As had been arranged with the legates whom you dispatched to us, we came into Lombardy about twenty days before the date on which one of the nobles was to meet us at the pass, and awaited his coming before we crossed over to the other side of the Alps.

When the time fixed upon had quite passed, we were told, as we could well believe, that at that season, on account of the numerous obstacles, an escort could not be sent to meet us. We were then involved in no little anxiety as

to what we would best do, since we had no means of crossing over to you.

Meanwhile, however, we learned positively that the king was approaching. Indeed, before he entered Italy he had sent us suppliant messages, offering to render satisfaction, in all respects, to God, St. Peter, and ourselves. He also renewed his promise that he would be perfectly obedient in the matter of amending his life if only he might win from us the favor of absolution and of the apostolic benediction.

When, after many delays and after much consultation, we had, through all the envoys who passed between us, severely reprimanded him for his offenses, he at length came of his own accord, accompanied by a few followers, with no hostility or arrogance in his bearing, to the town of Canossa, where we were tarrying. And there, laying aside all the trappings of royalty, he stood in wretchedness, barefooted and clad in woolen, for three days before the gate of the castle, and implored with profuse weeping the aid and consolation of the apostolic mercy, until he had moved all who saw or heard of it to such pity and depth of compassion that they interceded for him with many prayers and tears and wondered at the unaccustomed hardness of our heart; some even protested that we were displaying not the seriousness of the apostolic displeasure but the cruelty of tyrannical ferocity.

At last, overcome by his persistent remorse and by the earnest entreaties of those with us, we loosed the chain of anathema and received him into the favor of our fellowship and into the lap of the holy mother Church, accepting the pledges given below.¹ We also obtained a confirmation of the transaction from the abbot of Cluny, from our daughters Matilda² and the countess Adelaide, and from such princes, ecclesiastical and lay, as seemed to us proper.

¹ Henry took an oath that he would carry out the wishes of the pope; this may be found in Henderson, *Select Documents*, pp. 387-388.

² The countess of Tuscany, to whom the castle of Canossa belonged.

VI. THE POPE FULLY EXPLAINS THE NATURAL SUPREMACY
OF THE SPIRITUAL OVER THE CIVIL POWER

115. Letter
of Greg-
ory VII to
the bishop
of Metz
(March, 1081).

The following is one of the fullest and most instructive general justifications of the papal supremacy that has come down to us.

Bishop Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved brother in Christ, Hermann, Bishop of Metz, greeting and the apostolic benediction:

It is doubtless through God's grace that thou art ready, as we hear, to endure trials and dangers in the defense of the truth. . . . However, thy request to be supported and fortified by a letter from us directed against those persons who are constantly asserting, with perverse tongues, that the holy and apostolic see had no authority to excommunicate Henry—the scorner of Christian law, the destroyer of churches and of the empire, the patron and companion of heretics—nor to absolve any one from the oath of fidelity to him, hardly seems necessary to us when so many and such absolutely decisive warrants are to be found in the pages of Holy Scriptures. . . .

Diabolical
origin of
civil rule.

Shall not an office instituted by laymen—by those even who did not know God—be subject to that office which the providence of God Almighty has instituted for his own honor, and in compassion given to the world? For his Son, even as he is unquestioningly believed to be God and man, so is he considered the chief of priests, sitting on the right hand of the Father and always interceding for us. Yet he despised a secular kingdom, over which the men of this world swell with pride, and came of his own will to the priesthood of the cross. Whereas all know that kings and princes are descendants of men who were ignorant of God, and who, by arrogance, robbery, perfidy, murder,—in a word by almost every crime,—at the prompting of the prince of this world, the devil, strove with blind avarice and intolerable presumption to gain the mastery over their equals, that is, over mankind.

To whom, indeed, can we better compare them, when they seek to make the priests of God bend to their feet, than to him who is chief of all the sons of pride and who tempted the highest Pontiff himself, the chief of priests, the Son of the Most High, and promised to him all the kingdoms of the world, saying, "All these will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me"?

Who doubts that the priests of Christ should be regarded as the fathers and masters of kings and princes, and of all the faithful? Is it not evidently hopeless folly for a son to attempt to domineer over his father, a pupil over his master, or for any one, by iniquitous exactions, to claim power over him by whom he himself, as he acknowledges, can be bound and loosed both on earth and in heaven? Constantine, the great lord of all kings and princes throughout nearly the whole world, plainly understood this, as the blessed Gregory observes in a letter to the emperor Mauritius, for Constantine took his seat after all the bishops in the holy Council of Nicæa; he presumed to issue no decisions superior to theirs, but addressed them as gods, and declared that they should not be subject to his judgment, but that he was dependent upon their will.¹ . . .

Armed accordingly with such decrees and authority, many bishops have excommunicated, in some cases kings, in others emperors. If the names of such princes are asked for, it may be said that the blessed pope Innocent excommunicated the emperor Arcadius for consenting to the expulsion of St. John Chrysostom from his see. Likewise another Roman pontiff, Zacharias, deposed a king of the Franks, not so much for his iniquities, as for the reason that he was not fitted to exercise his great power. And he substituted Pippin, father of the emperor Charles the Great, in his place,—releasing all the Franks from the oath of fealty which they had sworn to him,—as, indeed, the holy Church frequently does, by its abundant authority, when it absolves

Cases of
churchmen
excommuni-
cating kings

¹ Gregory adds here some extracts from the letter of Pope Gelasius, which is given above, pp. 72-73.

servitors from the fetters of an oath sworn to such bishops as are deposed by apostolic sentence from their pontifical rank.

The blessed Ambrose — who, although a saint, was yet not bishop over the whole Church — excommunicated and excluded from the Church the emperor Theodosius the Great for a fault which was not looked upon as very grave by other priests. He shows, too, in his writings that gold does not so far excel lead in value as the priestly dignity transcends the royal power. He speaks in this fashion near the beginning of his pastoral letter: "The honor and sublimity of bishops, brethren, is beyond all comparison. To compare them to resplendent kings and diademed princes would be far more unworthy than to compare the base metal lead to gleaming gold. For one may see how kings and princes bow their necks before the knees of priests, and kiss their right hands so as to believe themselves protected by their prayers." . . .

Furthermore every Christian king, when he comes to die, seeks as a poor suppliant the aid of a priest, that he may escape hell's prison, may pass from the darkness into the light, and at the judgment of God may appear absolved from the bondage of his sins. Who, in his last hour, whether layman or priest, has ever implored the aid of an earthly king for the salvation of his soul? And what king or emperor is able, by reason of the office he holds, to rescue a Christian from the power of the devil through holy baptism, to number him among the sons of God, and to fortify him with the divine unction? Who of them can by his own words make the body and blood of our Lord, — the greatest act in the Christian religion? Or who of them possesses the power of binding and loosing in heaven and on earth? From all of these considerations it is clear how greatly the priestly office excels in power.

Who of them can ordain a single clerk in the holy Church, much less depose him for any fault? For in the ranks of the Church a greater power is needed to depose than to ordain. Bishops may ordain other bishops, but can by no

means depose them without the authority of the apostolic see. Who, therefore, of even moderate understanding, can hesitate to give priests the precedence over kings? Then, if kings are to be judged by priests for their sins, by whom should they be judged with better right than by the Roman pontiff?

In short, any good Christian whatsoever might far more properly be considered as a king than might a bad prince; for the former, seeking the glory of God, strenuously governs himself, whereas the latter, seeking the things which are his own and not the things of God, is an enemy to himself and a tyrannical oppressor of others. Faithful Christians constitute the body of the true king, Christ; evil rulers, that of the devil. The former rule themselves in the hope that they will eternally reign with the Supreme Emperor, but the sway of the latter ends in their destruction and eternal damnation with the prince of darkness, who is king over all the sons of pride.

It is certainly not strange that wicked bishops are of one mind with a bad king, whom they love and fear for the honors which they have wrongfully obtained from him. Such men, simoniacally ordaining whom they please, sell God even for a paltry sum. As even the elect are indissolubly united with their Head, so also the wicked constitute a pertinacious league with him who is the head of evil, with the special purpose of resisting the good. But surely we ought not so much to inveigh against them as to mourn for them with tears and lamentations, beseeching God Almighty to snatch them from the snares of Satan in which they are held captive, and after their peril to bring them at last to a knowledge of the truth.

We refer to those kings and emperors who, too much elated by worldly glory, rule not for God but for themselves. Now, since it belongs to our office to admonish and encourage every one as befits the special rank or dignity which he enjoys, we endeavor, by God's grace, to implant in emperors and kings and other princes the virtue of humility, that they may be able to allay the gusts of passion and the floods of

Bishops chosen by the emperor naturally support him

How kings should be kept in a humble frame of mind.

pride. For we know that mundane glory and worldly cares usually foster pride, especially in those who are in authority, and that, in consequence, they forget humility and seek ever their own glory, and dominion over their brethren. Wherefore it is well for kings and emperors, particularly when they grow haughty in spirit and delight in their own pomp, to discover a means by which they may be humbled and be brought to realize that the cause of their complacency is the very thing that they should most fear.

Kings and emperors rarely attain salvation

Let them, therefore, diligently consider how dangerous and how much to be dreaded are the royal and imperial offices. For in them very few are saved, and those who, through the mercy of God, do attain to salvation are not so glorified in the holy Church by the will of the Holy Spirit as are many of the poor. From the beginning of the world to this our own day, in the whole extent of recorded history, we do not find seven emperors or kings whose lives were as distinguished for piety and as beautified by the gift of miracles as were those of an innumerable multitude who despised the world; yet, notwithstanding this, we believe that many of them achieved salvation through the almighty God of mercy.

What emperor or king was ever honored by miracles as were St. Martin, St. Anthony, and St. Benedict, not to mention the apostles and the martyrs? What emperor or king raised the dead, cleansed lepers, or gave sight to the blind? Observe how the holy Church praises and reveres the emperor Constantine of blessed memory, Theodosius, Honorius, Charles, and Louis, lovers of justice, promoters of Christian religion, defenders of the churches; yet it does not ascribe even to them such resplendent and glorious miracles. Furthermore, how many emperors or kings have chapels or altars dedicated to them by order of the holy Church, or masses celebrated in their honor?

Terrible responsibility of the royal power.

Let kings and princes fear lest the more they exult in their sway over men in this life, the more they shall be subjected to eternal fires; for of them it is written, "The mighty shall suffer mightily in torment." They must needs

render account to God for as many as they had under their dominion, and if it be no slight task for any devout person in a private station to guard his single soul, how much labor devolves upon them who rule over many thousands of souls?

Moreover if the judgment of the holy Church severely punishes a sinner for the slaying of one man, what will become of them who, for the sake of worldly renown, send many thousands of souls to death? Such men, though after a great slaughter they may say with their lips, "We have sinned," nevertheless inwardly rejoice that they have extended their so-called fame. They would not undo what they have done, nor do they grieve that they have sent their brethren down to Tartarus. And so long as they do not repent with their whole heart, and refuse to let go what they have gained or kept through the shedding of human blood, their repentance fails in the sight of God to bring forth the true fruit of repentance.

They should, therefore, be in constant apprehension and should frequently recall to mind that, as we have already said, from the beginning of the world very few of the multitude of kings in the various realms of the earth are known to have been holy, whereas in one see alone, the Roman, — where bishops have succeeded one another in an unbroken line, — almost a hundred, since the time of St. Peter the apostle, are reckoned among the most holy. Why is this, except that kings and princes of the earth, seduced by vain glory, prefer, as has been said, the things that are their own to the things that are spiritual, whereas the bishops of the Church, despising vain glory, prefer to carnal things the things that are of God? The former punish promptly offenders against themselves and are indifferent to sinners against God. The latter pardon readily those who sin against themselves, but do not spare those who are remiss toward God. The former, too much bent on earthly achievements, think slightly of spiritual ones; the latter, sedulously meditating upon heavenly things, despise the things of earth.

VII. THE FORMAL SETTLEMENT OF THE QUESTION OF
INVESTITURE

In the year 1111, during the negotiations between Henry V and Pope Paschal II in regard to the adjustment of the long-standing controversy over investitures, the pope agreed for a moment that the bishops should give up all the governmental powers and privileges which they clearly owed to the emperor. The emperor would then no longer have his old excuse for meddling in the elections of the prelates. The opposition was too strong to permit so revolutionary a settlement to be carried out, but the document in which the plan is set forth gives as clear a statement as exists of the situation of the mediæval prelate.

116. A proposed plan to keep the clergy out of politics.

Bishop Paschal, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved son Henry and his successors forever:

It is forbidden by the provisions of divine law, and interdicted by the holy canons, that priests should busy themselves with secular concerns or should attend the public tribunals except to rescue the condemned or bear aid to those who are suffering wrong. Wherefore, also, the apostle Paul says, "If ye have judgments of things pertaining to this life, set them to judge who are least esteemed in the church." Nevertheless in portions of your kingdom bishops and abbots are so absorbed in secular affairs that they are obliged regularly to appear at court and to perform military service, pursuits rarely, if ever, carried on without plunder, sacrilege, or arson.

Ministers of the altar are become ministers of the king's court, inasmuch as they receive cities, duchies, margravates, mints, and other things which have to do with the king's service. Hence the custom has grown up, intolerable for the Church, that bishops should not receive consecration until they have first been invested by the hand of the king.

From this have sprung the prevalent vices of simoniacal heresy and ambition, at times so strong that episcopal sees were filled without any previous election. Occasionally investiture has even taken place while the bishop holding the office was still alive.

Alarmed by these and many other evils which had come about, owing chiefly to the method of investiture, our predecessors, the pontiffs Gregory VII and Urban II of blessed memory, in the councils of the bishops which they frequently held, condemned investitures by lay hands, and decreed that those who had obtained churches in this manner should be deposed and the donors also should be excluded from the communion, in accordance with that chapter of the Apostolic Canons which runs: "If any bishop do employ the powers of the world to obtain a church, he shall be deposed and isolated, as well as all who communicate with him." We also, following in the path of these examples, have confirmed their decision in an episcopal council.

So, most beloved son, King Henry, — now through our sanction, by the grace of God, emperor of the Romans, — we decree that those royal appurtenances are to be restored to thee and to thy kingdom which clearly belonged to that kingdom in the time of Charles, Louis, and of thy other predecessors. We forbid and prohibit, under penalty of anathema, any bishop or abbot, present or future, from intruding upon these same royal appurtenances; in which are included the cities, duchies, margravates, counties, mints, tolls, market rights, manors, rights of royal bailiffs, and rights of the judges of the courts of the hundreds, which manifestly belong to the king, together with what pertains to them, the military posts and camps of the kingdom. Nor shall they henceforth, unless by favor of the king, have aught to do with these royal appurtenances. Neither shall it be allowable for our successors, who shall follow us in the apostolic chair, to disturb thee or thy kingdom in this matter.

In addition we decree that the churches, with their offerings and hereditary possessions which plainly do not belong to the kingdom, shall remain free; as on the day of thy

coronation, before the whole church, thou didst promise they should be. It is right that the bishops, freed from secular cares, should take charge of their people and no longer be absent from their churches; for, as the apostle Paul says, let them watch, as men about to render an account for the souls of the people.

117. Concordat of Worms (September 23, 1122).
(a) The pope's agreement.

The final compromise between the emperor and pope in regard to investitures, called the "Concordat of Worms," reads as follows:

I, Bishop Calixtus, servant of the servants of God, do grant to thee, beloved son Henry, by the grace of God emperor august of the Romans, permission to hold the elections of the bishops and abbots of the German realm who belong to the kingdom, in thy presence, without simony or show of violence; with the understanding that, should any discord arise among those concerned, thou, by the counsel and judgment of the metropolitan and the suffragan bishops, shalt give support and aid to the party which appears to have the better case. Moreover the one elected may receive the regalia from thee through the scepter, subject to no exactions; and he shall perform his lawful duties to thee for them.

He who is consecrated in other parts of the empire [i.e. in Burgundy or Italy] shall, within six months and subject to no exactions, receive the regalia from thee through the scepter, and shall perform his lawful duties for them, saving all rights which are known to pertain to the Roman Church. In whatever cases thou shalt make complaint to me and ask my help, I, as my office requires, will furnish thee aid. I grant, moreover, to thee, and to all those who are or have been of thy party during this conflict, a true peace.

(b) Edict of Henry V.

In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, I, Henry, by the grace of God emperor august of the Romans, for the love of God and of the holy Roman Church and of our lord, Pope Calixtus, and for the cleansing of my soul, do surrender to God and to the holy apostles of God, Peter and Paul, and

to the holy Catholic Church, all investiture through the ring and the staff; and do agree that in all churches throughout my kingdom and empire there shall be canonical elections and free consecration.

All the property and regalia of St. Peter which have been seized upon from the beginning of this conflict until this day and which I now hold I restore to that same holy Roman Church; and will faithfully aid in the restoration of that which is not in my own hands. The goods also of all other churches and princes and of every one, whether lay or ecclesiastical, which have been lost in the struggle, I will restore, as far as I hold them, according to the counsel of the princes and the behests of justice. I will also faithfully promote the restoration of that which I do not hold.

And I grant a true peace to our master, Pope Calixtus, and to the holy Roman Church, and to all those who are or have been on its side. In matters where the holy Roman Church shall seek assistance, I will faithfully render it, and whensoever it shall appeal to me I will see that justice is done.

All this has been done by the consent and counsel of the princes, whose names are here added: Adalbert, archbishop of Mayence; F., archbishop of Cologne; H., bishop of Ratisbon; O., bishop of Bamberg; B., bishop of Speyer; H., of Augsburg; G., of Utrecht; Ou., of Constance; E., abbot of Fulda; Henry, duke; Frederick, duke; S., duke; Bertolf, duke; Margrave Teipold; Margrave Engelbert; Godfrey, count palatine; Otto, count palatine; Berengar, count.

I, Frederick, archbishop of Cologne and archchancellor, have ratified this.

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