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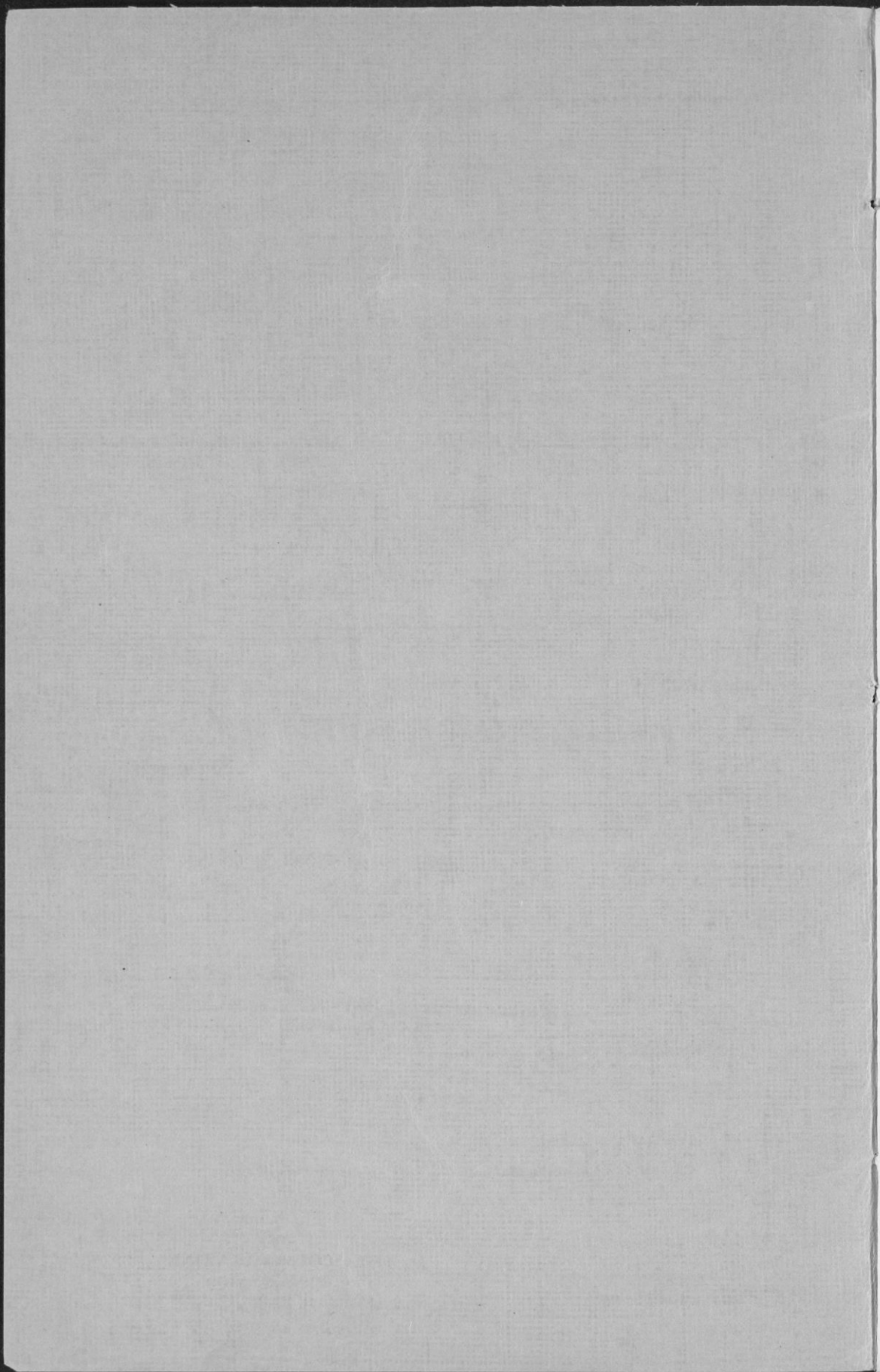
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Scotland's Pope : Benedict XIII. 1724-30

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of St. Andrews.*

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Second Paper: Periodic X-1

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The first part of the paper is devoted to a study of the periodic solutions of the system of equations

$$\dot{x} = -y, \quad \dot{y} = x + \epsilon f(x, y),$$

where ϵ is a small parameter. The second part is devoted to a study of the periodic solutions of the system of equations

$$\dot{x} = -y, \quad \dot{y} = x + \epsilon f(x, y) + \epsilon^2 g(x, y),$$

where ϵ is a small parameter.

It is well known that the system of equations

$$\dot{x} = -y, \quad \dot{y} = x$$

has a family of periodic solutions. The first part of the paper is devoted to a study of the periodic solutions of the system of equations

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Scotland's Pope : Benedict XIII.

By J. H. BAXTER,

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IN the latter half of the month of August, five hundred years ago, a short, simple and significant ceremony took place in the papal palace on the rocky peninsula of Peñíscola, that miniature Gibraltar lying midway between Tortosa and Castellón and jutting out into the Mediterranean Sea in the direction of Italy, as if symbolising the defiant watchfulness of the pontiffs to whom for a season it gave home and shelter.

Since 1378 the Church had been divided against itself, and, with alarm at first, then with something of contempt and scorn, Christendom had seen two rival claimants, and later three, dispute the possession of apostolic authority, excommunicating each other amid a warfare of pamphletting and mutual denunciation which subsided only when the Council of Constance terminated the unholy rivalry, deposed the three popes and elected its own indubitable and universally accepted Head of the Church, Martin V. But that dispossessed pontiff, to whom Scotland, isolated and alone, had tenaciously clung even after sentence of deposition had been passed against him, lingered on with a small and unimportant following for some six years more, and even then his cardinals, inspired with his firm conviction of the justice and soundness of their cause and refusing to bow to the authority of a Pope whom all the world except themselves acknowledged, provided a successor to him in the person of Gilles Sanchez Muñoz, who took the title of Clement VIII. But the election was a solemn farce, and the new Pope a mere simulacrum. Five years of powerless and ineffective rule convinced him and his electors of the folly of continuing their pretence of independence.

On August 23, 1429, the papal legate sent by Martin V reached Peñíscola, entered that solid and solemn Hall of Audience which still stands, with other remains of medieval grandeur, to impress and awe the traveller, and placed his arms and those of the authentic Pope upon its walls, and received the dignified submission and abdication of Clement VIII. The Great Schism had indeed ended ; the last flicker of opposition had expired ; the movement so long directed by Benedict XIII, kept alive through fearful strain and oppression by his indomitable courage, inspired by his

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unyielding spirit and his persistent conviction of being in the right, passed out imperceptibly, and yet the final scene was not without a certain pathos and noble pride.

Among all the medieval popes, there is probably none who gives the Scottish student of history a more intimate and personal concern and appeal than Benedict XIII. For almost all the others Scotland was a small, distant and unimportant province of their large patrimony of Christendom. For Benedict it represented during the space of nearly three years—from December 13, 1415, when Spain, his own country, made peace and agreement with the agents of the Council of Constance, until October 2, 1418, when the General Council of Scotland passed at Perth its decree of formal withdrawal from his obedience—almost the whole extent of his control. From Benedict, too, had come that first authoritative charter of Scottish education, the papal bulls which reached St. Andrews on Saturday, February 3, 1414, and gave to its three-year-old University confirmation, privilege and a universal status. Other Popes were within the following century to found other Universities in Scotland, but there is an appealing interest about this strong and solitary figure on Peñiscola which these later benefactors lack: they were secure in the undivided and unchallenged enjoyment of a recognised pontificate; he was a doubtful Pope and a fugitive from France, confined within the narrow limits of a small corner of Spain.

Long after he had reached the allotted span, he showed the energy and strength of a young man, refusing to bow to circumstance, waging a necessarily unsuccessful contest against a rival universally acknowledged, passing his life in the observance of simple piety and in the noble discharge of his high office, so that even his bitterest enemies were forced to admit that he added dignity to the papacy and was worthy of his high calling.

Between the beginnings of the Babylonish Captivity and the Reformation, two centuries during which the papacy suffered greatly, first by reason of its removal to Avignon and by the ensuing Schism, then no less because of its success in repressing the movement for the reformation of the Church in head and members, no Pope can be said to surpass Benedict XIII in piety, integrity of purpose or nobility and worth of character.

Posterity has done him much less than justice. Condemned by a Council in whose calling he had had no share and with whose objects he could feel no sympathy, he passed from the main stream of history into a quiet and forgotten backwater, and the obscurity which marked his last years of

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nominal rule spread to cover the whole of his life and memory even from those who owed him most. The fault lay partly in the delay with which historical students approached and investigated the movement in which Benedict was a protagonist. Even when Creighton wrote his novel and masterly "*History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome*," masses of material were unavailable which since, through the devoted labours of scholars such as Ehrle and Finke, have revealed much intimate and important detail.

Yet even now, the Scottish student of that critical space of forty years during which Scotland adhered to the Popes of Avignon finds but little help in the "*Calendar of Papal Registers*." One volume certainly is devoted to the Petitions which reached Benedict and his predecessor Clement VII from Scotland, but there the materials for the history of the Avignon Popes ceases, and the Calendars pass to the Roman Popes, with whom alone England is concerned. Now that the series is within sight of 1500, it is much to be hoped that those responsible for it will turn their attention to the other branch and give to Scottish medieval students that assistance without which they cannot, except at their own heavy expense, pursue the study of the relations of Scotland with its two Popes of the Great Schism.

Born in or about 1328, Pedro de Luna was descended from some of the noblest houses of Spain and his mother was intimately connected with the royal family. Of his early years comparatively little is known, but after receiving the usual long university training of his time he became professor of canon law at Montpellier; soon his personal character as well as his great intellectual qualifications marked him out for ecclesiastical preferment, and in 1375 he was raised to the cardinalate by Pope Gregory XI.

Three years later, that harassed and prematurely aged pontiff—he was only 47—died at Rome, and hardly was the breath out of his body, when the Roman guards forced their way into the chamber, and, finding that Gregory's end was indeed come, set at once about the preparing of the ground for the election of an Italian.

Under amazing conditions the cardinal electors met during Passion Week; the warrior-cardinal Robert of Geneva went with a cuirass under his tunic, and Peter de Luna himself, fearing the worst, made his last will and testament. When the sixteen cardinals at length took their seats in conclave, a mob of some 20,000 Romans filled the piazza, shouting "We want a Roman, or at least an Italian." By the evening of the 9th, the situation was a bit quieter, and four of the



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cardinals were able to escape from the city, but the remainder proceeded on the following day to the enthronment of the Bishop of Bari, who took the significant title of Urban VI, thus revealing his desire to be known as a Pope of the Eternal City.

But before long the haughty manners and the ungovernable temper of the new Pope produced a revulsion of feeling; his intemperate denunciation of the wealth of the cardinals, his avowed intention of securing a majority of Italians in the curia, and his absolute refusal to return to Avignon alienated the French and produced friction from the very beginning. In August, the malcontents met at Anagni, declared that the election of Urban had been due to force and was therefore uncanonical, and called on him to resign.

In September, they elected one of their own number, Robert of Geneva, who assumed the title of Clement VII. Thus was inaugurated that Great Schism, which for forty years made the Church a divided camp, laughed at by the "great lords of the earth," as Froissart says, compelled to serve their ends in order to secure their support and producing in Europe confusion and uncertainty about the chances of eternal salvation, while each Pope hurled maledictions on his adversary and, to keep up his independent court and his hired mercenaries, imposed increasingly heavy levies on the purses of his following. Even St. Catherine herself, writing to the brigands who composed the Company of St. George, exhorted them to persevere in their warfare against the Clementines; if they died, they would have the reward of eternal life; if they lived, they would enjoy with a good conscience the plunder they had gathered in their holy campaign.

In those crowded and confusing days between the election of Urban and the final settlement of Clement at Avignon, the part played by Peter de Luna was active and conspicuous. One of the electors, he had supported the French side, giving his vote to Urban eventually, and, when the decision was taken to secede from him, acting with a caution and moderation which were characteristic of his thoughtful mind. It is clear that only with extreme reluctance did he participate in the creation of a schism, but once his lot was thrown in with Clement, he showed no hesitation or doubt about the righteousness of that cause.

Almost immediately after the election of the Anti-Pope, Peter was sent to Spain with legatine powers and the mission of securing the adherence of the King of Aragon. Soon Portugal declared its support, and in 1381 the eloquence of the legate won over to the Clementine side the stout

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allegiance of Castille. The first necessity for the Avignon party was to find aid and backing; this obtained, it became the object of the French to urge the Avignon claims by force, and for ten years schemes were devised and alliances planned for the establishment of French domination to the south of Rome and to the north, so that the Urbanists might be caught as in a trap. It is this urgency, demanding that England in the rear might be occupied while France concentrated upon the Italian project, which accounts for the subsidies given by Charles VI to our Robert II, for the visit of John de Vienne, the French admiral, with his companies in 1385, for the continuance of warfare between this country and England between 1380 and 1390, and the victory of Chevy Chase.

But the schemings were in vain, and the ten years of intrigue revealed that the way out of the ecclesiastical *impasse* must be sought elsewhere.

Now begins the period of diplomacy, when the French sought to end the schism by compromise and cession rather than by force of arms.

It was just at this difficult moment that the pontificate of Benedict XIII opened; a less courageous man would have interpreted the situation to mean that peace and personal comfort lay in accepting the proposals of the French universities and the French court and in bowing to the inevitable. Benedict realised the tendencies of the time, but none the less he took up the reins of office with a stout heart.

His position was indeed awkward enough. Already he had acted as envoy to England, and before the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester he had pleaded the cause of Clement VII, only to meet with a brusque rejection. Then the University of Paris, which had been slow to adopt the side of the Pope of Avignon, took advantage of the death of Urban VI in 1389 to propose that both Popes, Clement and Urban's successor, Boniface IX, should resign office, or that a compromise should be effected, or that a General Council should meet to give a decision. This critical and unfriendly attitude of the University was well known to Benedict, who had already served as envoy to Paris and had personally taken part in many of the deliberations of the doctors and the courtiers. His acceptance of the tiara quite naturally increased the aloofness of the French: he was a Spaniard, while his predecessor, Clement VII, was both a Frenchman and a close relative of the French royal family.

While the expenses of the papal curia had not diminished, the territory from which its revenues were drawn had shrunk

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to a fragment of its former size ; England, Germany and Italy were on the side of the Roman Popes, and of the supporters of Benedict Scotland was poor, Spain was still partly in the hands of the Moorish Mohammedans, and France was neither willing nor able to bear alone the great burden of papal taxation.

As soon as the death of Clement VII was known at Paris, the King sent urgent letters to the cardinals imploring them to stay action and not to perpetuate the schism by proceeding to another election. But they arrived too late. Benedict XIII was already chosen by what was probably the most venerable body of churchmen then available in the two factions, for it was largely composed of cardinals whose nomination to that dignity had preceded the Schism. On 11th October, 1394, he was consecrated and enthroned. Only seven months later, a distinguished embassy, led by the Dukes of Orleans, Berry and Burgundy, and comprising seven royal counsellors and ten delegates of the University of Paris, descended the Rhone to Avignon and endeavoured to persuade Benedict of his duty to resign. While the Pope established his personal ascendancy over the leaders by that eloquence and gentle charm which seem ever to have been his, one or two unfortunate incidents produced tension and mutual suspicion : one of his papal penitentiaries, an Englishman as it happened, used language in defending his claims, which was taken to contain or to imply an insult to the King and the University. Before this misunderstanding was cleared up, a mysterious fire destroyed portion of the bridge over the Rhone to Villeneuve, and each party suspected the other of covert antagonism.

The discussions dragged themselves out uselessly. Benedict granted a few concessions to the French clergy, but on the question of resignation remained adamant : he was the chosen of the Holy Ghost, and resign he could not, without basely abandoning the task, however difficult, to which he had been called. The outcome was that on September 1, 1398, the royal heralds published with the sound of trumpets on the bridge-head at Villeneuve the withdrawal of the clergy and the kingdom of France from Benedict's obedience. Many of his own cardinals and officers forsook him and crossed over into French territory.

Almost immediately words passed into action. The captain of the royal company, with the cardinal of Villeneuve in his train, entered that town to urge the citizens to rise against Peter de Luna, calling himself Pope. On his side, Benedict had some nine hundred Catalans, sent for his

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protection by his relative the King of Aragon, and they set about preparing for the defence.

Holding the bridge-head, the papal contingent controlled the passage across to Villeneuve, and excellent discipline was maintained by the Pope and those of his cardinals who had stuck to him; each night they made a round of the outposts and exhorted their small force to courage and watchfulness. In spite of their zeal, only a few days were necessary to give the besiegers possession of the bridge-tower, on which they placed artillery to destroy the walls of the papal palace. A well-directed shot splintered one of the windows near which Benedict was standing, and inflicted on him a slight wound, but, since it was the day of St. Michael, to whom one of the most beautiful chapels within the precincts was dedicated, he refused to allow his troops to make retaliation.

Bit by bit the besiegers occupied the city, and from tower after tower stones were rained on the papal palace. Mine was exploded against counter-mine; the bronze doors of the cathedral were torn down to form a breastwork, but the besieged continued the struggle undaunted. On Saturday, October 26, long after the royal captain had promised the fall of the city, entry was made along a great sewer which led to the papal kitchens, and some sixty picked men, armed with crowbars, axes, hammers, ropes, and a royal pennon to hoist when the palace fell, made their stealthy way underground until they had almost reached their objective. Only at the last minute was the alarm given. Papal guards rushed into the kitchen, engaged the attackers and seized fifty-six of them, while a messenger, pale as death, ran to Benedict's bedroom, crying out that all was lost. Rising unperturbed, Benedict bade the man join his fellows in the fight, exclaiming as he hastily dressed: "They are ours!" The rest of the day was spent in rejoicing and praising God and the Blessed Virgin for their timely deliverance.

The siege was not raised, however, and an attempt by the King of Aragon to send a fleet up the Rhone to Benedict's assistance was foiled. The garrison was reduced to the last necessity; stores were running low, and had to be eked out by recourse to rats, cats and sparrows, these last, as delicacies, being reserved for the Pope's own table.

Finally, a truce was made in the early days of April, 1399. Long negotiations were begun, and only at the end of March, 1401, was an agreement reached, by which Benedict bound himself to resign office on the death, abdication or expulsion of his rival, Boniface IX.

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Benedict's stout resistance had not succeeded in driving the invader from the walls of his city, but it did succeed in procuring for him sympathy and a return of favour from many who had earlier been against him. The French King himself, in one of his few recurrences of sanity, seemed to be of mind to return to his obedience, and Provence came definitely over to his cause. But Avignon was too much at the mercy of his opponents.

Through intrigues with the Duke of Orleans, measures were concerted for the escape of the aged pontiff from the palace which had sheltered the French Popes for almost a century. On March 12, 1402, when night had fallen, he stole out, disguised and pressing to his breast the consecrated host, and at early dawn strode boldly out the *Porte de Limas* to a boat which bore him down the Rhone and up the Durance to the road which lead to Chateaurenard. There a speedy horse was waiting and by nine in the morning Benedict was safe in that friendly city.

One intimate and interesting detail of his personal appearance at that moment is preserved. During the siege, he had allowed his beard to grow, and by now he had the venerable look of the patriarch Abraham. The Count of Provence, under whose protection he now was, begged the beard as a relic, and Benedict gave himself gaily to the shears of the Count's barber; the Count wrapped the relic in fine linen and kept it reverently, as a memorial of the long siege and captivity endured by the Pope.

His escape at once brought Benedict renewed authority. Three of his renegade cardinals returned bearing terms of submission, and on March 28 a treaty of peace was signed; some who had abandoned him in his misfortunes now knelt at his feet in abasement and besought his pardon with tears, and in his triumph Benedict claimed to see the hand of providence justifying right against might and approving his determined stand against those who would have had him abdicate. Avignon itself made humble representation and sent its keys to Chateaurenard for his acceptance, hoisting once more the papal flag over the shattered gates and palaces, but those walls were never again to give shelter to pope or curia, although Benedict was careful enough to insist on the repair of its defences and the maintenance of a garrison.

So ended that century of borrowed glory for the battle-mented city of the south. Wisely chosen by the first Pope of the Captivity, it had seen the most eventful period of its history: it had been the abode of Rienzi and Petrarch and the goal of pilgrims from east and west and of many from Scotland, who had studied in its University and sought

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advancement at its papal court. It was part of the Empire, and its choice pleased the Germans and at first did not alienate the English; its ruling prince was a Capetian, a fact which would secure the interest and sympathy of France. Its position was central, easily reached from Spain, Italy and from the North; it was on a trade-route, and so was easy to provision; it lay near the Church territory of Comtat, to which retreat was possible in case of danger. But the hostility of the French had now proved its undoing and henceforward the home of Benedict was to be elsewhere.

In 1407 the assassination of the Duke of Orleans deprived Benedict of his strongest supporter. In the following year he issued a bull, accusing the French King of putting obstacles in the way of Christian unity, but his bull was torn up in Paris, and the King, with the strong encouragement of the University, once again proclaimed the withdrawal of France from his obedience and denounced both Benedict and his rival as perjured heretics. To this wordy polemic was soon added the violence of arms. Avignon was again besieged, its bridge-tower levelled to the ground and continuous fire maintained against its papal palace. A Catalan fleet tried in vain to push its way up against the swift current of the Rhone, and the besieged garrison dwindled until barely two hundred were left. The arrival of the King's Chamberlain secured for them better terms than had been promised by their infuriated opponents. When Benedict failed to relieve them within fifty days, the remnant of the Catalan defenders left the beleaguered city and crossed to Villeneuve, while a legate from the Roman Pope, John XXIII, took possession of all that the siege had left of the papal buildings.

By now, Benedict had retired to Spain. The revolutionary Council of Pisa, called at the instigation of the University of Paris and its chancellor, the famous Jean Gerson, had succeeded only in adding a third to the claimants of papal and apostolic authority.

Only Spain and Scotland continued loyal to Benedict, and, less enthusiastically, the kingdom of Scandinavia. It was not that this loyalty brought Scotland reputation or gain: France, her close and constant ally, tried repeatedly to attract the Scots to her ecclesiastical policy, but without result. When for the second and final count the French had intimated their withdrawal from Benedict's cause, a Scottish embassy happened to be in Paris and was present while Master Jean Courthuisse made eloquent and lengthy narration of the complaints of France against Benedict; but their report of this denunciation and abandonment produced no

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effect on the relations of Scotland with its Pope. When Pisa saw the Council assembled, letters were dispatched to the Duke of Albany, pointing out that he stood almost alone in Benedict's obedience, but these too had no result. Simultaneously, Benedict called a council of his own to meet at Perpignan on November 1, 1408, and though at first the records state that the distance and the dangers of the way kept Scotland unrepresented, a Scottish envoy did at length appear in the person of Master Simon de Mandeville, archdeacon of Glasgow.

When, conscious of the host of difficulties into which its election of a third Pope had plunged itself and Christendom, the University of Paris summoned the nations to the new Council to be held at Constance, numerous embassies from Paris, from the Emperor Sigismund and from Constance, came north to invite the co-operation of the country which in spite of all solicitation persisted in its loyalty to the old Pope of Peñíscola, but though individual Scots seem to have resorted to Constance and accepted its nominee, Pope Martin V, it was not until eleven months after his election that formal withdrawal from Benedict was made.

It is curious that the University which he had so generously erected and privileged should, even before the State had signified its decision, have declared its desire to conform to the general practice of recognising Martin; it was October when the decree of withdrawal was passed by the Scottish General Council, but on August 9 the Faculty of Arts of St. Andrews University resolved that obedience be withdrawn from Peter de Luna, called beforetime Benedict XIII, and with but few exceptions the masters of the Faculty signified their approval of that decision. Yet the Duke of Albany was difficult to move; whatever was his reason for so staunchly adhering to the old Pope, the Faculty was apparently ignorant in August whether he would accept its proposal or withstand it.

Even as late as 1440 a Scottish writer declares that Benedict was a true Pope, never to be regarded as schismatical or heretical, whatever the English may say, but the genuine and authentic Vicar of Christ on earth.

An absurd tradition, probably of recent growth, would have us believe that the coat of arms which has been defaced above a recess beside Bishop Kennedy's tomb in the Church of St. Salvator, St. Andrews, was that of Peter de Luna, anti-pope. This is impossible: St. Salvator's was begun long after Benedict had passed away, and his coat of arms is unlikely ever to have been there at all. The bulls which he granted have been carefully and jealously preserved

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and may still be seen by the curious ; and among the treasures of the University Library prominent place is given to a cast of his skull and to a single hair which is said to have come from his head. It is much more likely that the hair is one of those mentioned as coming from his beard, but at least it has, presumably, some tie with the Pope to whom St. Andrews, and through St. Andrews the whole of Scotland, owes so much.

After the withdrawal of Spain from him in December, 1415, the nonagenarian Pope endured with patience and fortitude all the difficulties of his isolation. The defection of Scotland must have been particularly sore, for to this country, to its captive king, James I, its inscrutable regent, Albany, and its clergy and churches, he ever showed himself sympathetic and considerate.

His end was hastened by a dastardly outrage instigated by the cardinal legate of Pope Martin V himself. Allured by the promise of 20,000 florins of blood-money, one of the clergy of the Cathedral of Saragossa mixed some arsenic with the sweets which Benedict was in the habit of eating after dinner. Fortunately, the intended victim took only a minute portion of the poison and recovered after ten days of suffering. The date of his death has been variously given, but it seems proved now that he survived until May 23, 1423.

Slight and spare of body, Peter de Luna was a man of undaunted spirit and energy. His training and experience as a professor of law provided him with the acumen necessary to meet and confute the arguments of those who contested the validity of his election and that of Clement VII, and his writings, collected and published for the first time by Cardinal Ehrle, are conspicuous in the polemical literature of the time for close reasoning, the constant appeal to canonical authority, and wide and varied learning. They show him to have been no mere academic pedant, but at once a scholar and a man of affairs, a convinced and determined upholder of the divine right of the autocratic papacy.

This is indeed the most that his opponents can allege against him : obstinate persistence in his own views, and intractability. One chronicler records that, when King Ferdinand importuned him to stay after the Council of Perpignan, and Benedict, unmoved by argument or plea, would embark and did embark, this was the action of a man who obstinately clung to his own opinions (*qui opinionioni propriae pertinaciter adhaereret*).

The prior of St. Andrews, James Haldenstone, who had received numerous favours at his hands, speaks of his *damnable obstinacionis*, and Aeneas Sylvius, later Pope Pius II, de-

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scribes his strength and his weakness, when he says: "Peter de Luna was a man of great intellectual ability and wide scholarship. He was chaste and upright, but obstinate and immovable and unwilling to follow any advice but his own." It is quite understandable that he should have been so, and should have had reason for being so. He was an old man, trained under a system which he saw universally challenged and whose basic principles he believed to be seriously endangered by a new and, to him, intolerable school of thought.

The theories of conciliar supremacy advanced by Gerson and made practical politics by the Councils of Pisa, Constance and Basel, were undoubtedly called forth simply to meet the very clamant need for establishing Church union. They were purely an *ad hoc* expedient, purely utilitarian in purpose, and they were tinged with more than a suspicion of those suggestions which the Church had, less than a century before, condemned in Occam and Marsiglio of Padua. In event, they were no less than the denial of the divine right of absolutism in the Church and the assertion of the divine right of constitutionalism and limited monarchy. Peter de Luna, naturally enough, was through and through an ultramontanist, to whom acceptance of the dogma of papal infallibility would have been easy. Holding extreme views of the papal prerogative, could he consistently have accepted any suggestion of conciliar control? Martin V and Eugenius IV were no less insistent upon their autocratic rights, but they had less courage to maintain them in season and out of season. Peter is the nobler man here, for he had the courage of his principles; he could not temporise or dissemble or trim.

Of his other qualities let his opponents speak. Theodore of Niem, one of the cardinals of the Roman obedience, describes him as "a scholarly man and ingenious, beloved by many for his learned and virtuous life, and praised by almost everybody." The writer of the life of his rival, Pope Boniface IX, says: "he was indeed a man of refinement, and but, for the schism, of exemplary life and great commendation and eminent scholarship." Another opponent calls him "a contentious man, a mighty persecutor of simoniacal depravity, dignified in manner, chaste in life." It is surely to Scotland's honour that she so long remained loyal to a Pope whose principles may be criticised, but whose character must always be respected.

