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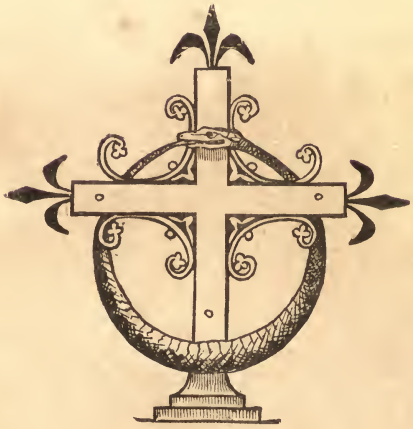

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THE

LIVES OF THE POPES

FROM THE TIME OF OUR

SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST

TO THE

ACCESSION OF GREGORY VII.

WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN LATIN

BY

B. PLATINA
NATIVE OF CREMONA

AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

EDITED BY THE REV. W. BENHAM, B.D. ; F.S.A.
RECTOR OF ST EDMUND'S, LOMBARD STREET

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BIOGRAPHICAL PREFACE.

THE author of the following work was born in 1421 at a little village between Mantua and Cremona, called Piadena (Latin Platina). His family name was Sacchi, but he changed it to Platina, after his birthplace. There is a difference of opinion with regard to his Christian name; some writers saying that it was Baptista, others that it was Bartholomew. Vossius has dealt with the question at some length in his work "*De Historicis Latinis*," and, on substantial reasons, has decided for Bartholomew. In his early youth he was trained as a soldier, and later studied science for some years. At last he went to Rome, recommended by Cardinal Vessarion to Pope Pius II., and through the influence of his patron he obtained successively several posts; in 1464, the important one of Abbreviator, the duties of which consisted of drawing up Papal bulls or briefs. When he had been installed but a few months, Pius II. died, and Paul II., his successor, changed all the officials. He had an idea, probably correct, that the Court of Abbreviators was the promoter of much corruption, so he determined to restrict the powers they possessed, and fixed their number at seventy, all of them being tried men, safe to carry out his commands. The indignation of those that had been deprived of their office was great, and they chose Platina, as being the most distinguished of their number, to plead their cause. He argued that the office was theirs for life, when once appointed, and that it was not in the power of the Pope to dismiss them at will, and he moreover threatened that if he would give them no redress, they would submit the question to the decision of the Rota. To

which Paul II. answered, "Do you talk of bringing us before judges, as if you did not know that the law is settled in our breast? If you talk in that way, all shall be dismissed. I care not; I am Pope, and can, at my good pleasure, rescind or confirm the acts of others." Platina, not to be daunted, told the Pope by letter that he and his colleagues would apply to the Princes of Europe, against his treatment of them. The only answer vouchsafed to him was an announcement that the Pope had ordered his imprisonment, on a charge of treason. He was kept in chains for four months, at the end of which time he was released through the intercession of Cardinal Gonzoga. After their dissolution the Abbreviators used often to meet at the Roman Academy, for the airing of their grievances, and they thought to take vengeance on the Pope, by holding up the priesthood to ridicule. At first the Pope took no notice, but during the Carnival of 1468, rumours reached him that they were conspiring with the Emperor to create a new schism, and he caused Platina and several others to be seized. Pomponius Laetus, the founder of the Academy, and in reality a simple-minded scholar, was soon released, but Platina was kept in prison for more than a year. This mode of life did not suit one who had been accustomed to comparative ease and luxury, and very soon he was ready to submit unconditionally, so long as the Pope would give him his liberty. In the letters which he wrote at that time, such sentences as this occur, "I undertake, that if I hear anything, even from the birds as they fly past, which is directed against your name and safety, I will at once inform your Holiness, by letter or messenger. I entirely approve your proceedings for restraining and reproving the license of the scholars; it is the duty of the chief shepherd to preserve his flock from all danger and disease." He wrote also to several of the cardinals, to urge them to use all the influence they possessed with the Pope, and promised that from that time forth, his pen should be entirely devoted to the promotion of the Church's welfare. He was released, but Paul never called on

him to fulfil his promise, and till the accession of Sixtus IV., Paul's successor, he lived in obscurity. Sixtus IV. appointed him superintendent of the Vatican Library, and he died holding that office in 1481. At the time of his appointment the library contained about 2500 volumes. His salary was one hundred and twenty ducats a year, and the three sub-librarians each received twelve ducats. Their position appears to have been most humble, merely that of servants; among the records it is told how one of them, named Salvatus, was in such a state of destitution that he was presented with new clothes. At the same time they were all learned men, and have left several works of merit behind them. Most of the works were secured by chains, especially in the room used by the general public. There were two other rooms, one for the reception of private papers and archives, and one used only by the Pope and cardinals. Bibliography was still in its infancy, and it is interesting to trace the gradual improvements made in the drawing up of the catalogue. From the first the names were arranged in alphabetical order, but the first letter of the Christian name was always given the precedence. Platina died of the plague. He is said to have written his own epitaph as follows:—"*Quisquis es, si pius, Platinam et suos ne vexes; anguste jacent et soli volunt esse.*" Of his writings, by far the most important is his "History of the Papacy," which he wrote at the request of Sixtus, and published at Venice in 1479. He drew freely from the writings of his predecessors, and with them makes many statements which cannot be proved. As he draws near to his own time the historical value of his book becomes greater, the source of the last portion, from Eugene IV. to Paul II., being his own personal experience. In his biography of the latter he pays off many old scores of vengeance. Paul II., however, had been dead some years, and the only harm caused by his biased judgment was that subsequent generations have formed erroneous ideas of Paul's real character. For the most part he criticises the state

of the Papacy as it was in his own time with great severity, yet he sometimes plays the part of a flatterer. He displays a genuine love of truth, though in the case of Paul II. he gives vent to personal hatred. His history of Mantua, beginning with the foundation of the town, and continued till the year 1464, is a book of great rarity. His other works treat chiefly of philosophy.

The translation here offered to the reader was first published in 1685 by Sir Paul Rycaut, who states that he does not know by whom the translation was made, but it was delivered to him by the bookseller. He was so convinced of its value and usefulness that he has not only published it, but has continued it up to his own time. The rest of Platina's work, comprising the history of the Papacy during the period of its highest power and pretensions, will form a second volume of this present series.

Platina's work is unquestionably very valuable. It will be seen that in his earliest lives he treads on uncertain ground, and a good many of his statements will not bear the light of close investigation. But it must be remembered that historical criticism was hardly born into the world when he wrote, and he depended, as did many chroniclers besides, on traditional stories rather than on documentary evidence. Whereas he gives us the dates of St Peter's occupation of the see, and of the accession of his immediate successors, we know that later writers of his own communion dismiss such details into the limbo of guesses or confused tradition. But when we emerge into the light of authentic history, Platina shows every disposition to be candid and accurate, and as he passes on he is often remarkably vivid and interesting in his presentation of details.

In the following edition his text has been left unaltered with two exceptions. One passage only has been omitted, as containing matter coarser than meets our present ideas of good taste. It does not bear on the history at all. And manifest clerical errors and misprints have been corrected. In other

respects, where I am satisfied that Platina's statements are incorrect, or where they are open to question, I have left them alone, and simply challenged them in foot-notes which are printed within square brackets ; and I have endeavoured in the introduction to give a general idea of the period of which he treats. The dates adopted are taken from the Roman Catholic writer, Dr Milner, as now accepted by the Roman Church.

W. BENHAM.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

THE early history of the Roman Church is obscure. We are not told in the Bible by whom it was founded; when St Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans he had not himself visited the city. The tradition that St Peter was martyred there is a very old one, and is so well authenticated that, except for controversial reasons, it would probably never have been questioned.[1] But the dates confidently given by some Roman Catholic historians are certainly not proved by any historical evidence, while there is much which goes directly in disproof. And for many years there is a darkness upon the history of the Roman Church. St Jerome says that the greater part of the Latins regard Clement as second after Peter, though many put Linus and Anacletus between them. It will thus be understood, that not only the life of St Peter as given by Platina, but those of his successors during the first century, are traditionary and of little value. The Roman Church, like the greater part of early Christendom, was a Greek colony, and the Epistle of St Paul to it was certainly written in Greek. The first Latin Christian writer, Tertullian, was not a Roman, but an African. The Roman bishops in early time were so obscure, that during the whole period of the heathen persecutions there was no great mind among them, and afterwards for a long period not a single doctor; the first is Leo the Great. Cardinal Newman uses this fact as an argument in favour of the infallibility. (See his "Apologia," pp. 407-409). The first emergence of the Roman bishops from the

[1] See Smith's "Bible Dictionary," *s.v.* "Peter," p. 805.

obscurity is seen in the Paschal Controversy, A.D. 157 Anicetus and Polycarp are clearly discernible figures, and from that time onwards we are standing on firmer ground. A work of Hippolytus in the beginning of the third century is the principal source of our knowledge of the Roman bishops up to his time. But they were still men of little weight until the Empire became Christian. As the Empire declined in strength under the blows which were struck upon it by the fierce nations from the north, the Popes became more important. As paganism died and Christianity established itself, they were as monarchs over their domain, and Monasticism still further strengthened their position. Rome was in the year 411 sacked by the Goths, and emerged from that catastrophe a Christian city. Before the century ended Pope Leo the Great was the most important man in Italy. The Western Empire was tottering to its fall, the East too was feeble; never was the ancient city in greater strait; it needed one who could consolidate Western Christendom, and unite it against the heretical Goths and Lombards who were gathering against it. In 452 the fierce Attila, "the scourge of God," having desolated North Italy, was preparing to descend on Rome. The coward Emperor fled. Then Pope Leo went forth to Attila's camp, and by his eloquence turned the barbarian back.

And now the claims to the successorship of St Peter make themselves heard. From earliest times the ecclesiastical divisions had followed the civil divisions of the Empire, and thus the bishops of capital cities were known as *metropolitans*, and presiding at synods of the bishops and clergy of their own province, came to be looked upon in Church affairs as the representatives of the provinces generally. When Constantine divided the Empire into *dioceses*, each consisting of several provinces, the bishop of the chief city in each diocese received the title of *primate*, and the most eminent of the primates were called *patriarchs*. Such were the bishops of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, Constantinople. The

patriarchate of Rome included the vigorous western world, that which was rising while the elder ones were declining in influence, and this at the outset gave a vast importance to the Roman see. The State acknowledgment of Christianity gave the bishops of Rome fresh influence year by year, since their opinions and assistance were asked for by other bishops, and the emperors needed their help and support in the difficulties that beset them. This growing influence was recognised and resented by the Easterns, and at the Council of Sardica, held in 345 to endeavour to end the Arian controversy, there was an open rupture. On the alleged ground that the Western bishops had usurped undue authority, the Easterns withdrew from the Council, and opened one of their own in Thrace under the presidency of the patriarch of Antioch. But they were unequal to the growing strength of their rivals, and the Sardican council, in their absence, passed canons, giving to the Bishop of Rome appellate jurisdiction in the case of any bishop who disapproved of the acts of his synod. He was not to decide the case himself, but to say whether there ought to be a new trial, in which case he was to send legates to sit with the judges. But, as Robertson shows, while this greatly increased the Roman power from that time onward, it is also a proof that such power was then conferred, and did not previously exist (Ch. Hist. i. 304). Nevertheless the Bishop of Rome grew into the habit of quoting the canons of Sardica as if they were those of Nicæa. In the pontificate of Siricius, the Bishop of Tarragona in Spain applied for advice, and the result was the first papal "Decretal." At first the Decretals were written in the name of the Synod of Rome, but afterwards they ran in the name of the Pope alone, and the tone changed from that of brotherly advice to command. The next step was the change of the nature of claim. The power of the Empire was declining, the traditions of the august city were great as ever. No longer on the ground of imperial dignity was the claim to supremacy grounded, but on Christ's charge to St Peter. This claim

was first made by Pope Innocent I., who laid it down as a principle that all churches should follow the usages of Rome. Yet he appears to have limited the claim to those of the West—Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily—on the plea that these had been founded by St Peter or the emissaries of his successors. Innocent's successor, Zosimus, went further, and proclaimed the authority of the Apostolic see to be such that no one might dare to question its decisions, and that the successors of St Peter were to be regarded as holding an authority equal to that of the apostle himself. Pope Leo the Great, as we have already noted, was the representative, through the circumstances of his time, of the imperial dignity of old Rome. And in consequence he became the true founder of the mediæval papacy in its uncompromising strength. Circumstances not unlike Leo's were those of Pope Gregory I. The Western Empire had quite disappeared, Italy was nominally under an exarch or lieutenant who resided at Ravenna, and it fell not to him but to the Pope to provide for the feeding and protection of the citizens. What Attila had been to Leo the Lombards were now to Gregory. But, moreover, the Popes had become great land holders; "the patrimony of St Peter," as their estates were called, were situated not only in Italy but in other countries. This property was managed by agents, whose influence with the sovereign of the countries they lived in was great; and thus the personal power of the Pontiffs still grew.

A great change had by this time come over the position of the Church. It was no longer the religion of the Roman world, but also of the Teutonic. The races which had destroyed the ancient Empire and were to play so large a part in the foundations of modern Europe, had been Arians. They were now orthodox. And meanwhile the old Roman letters and arts were almost extinct. For many a long year literature had no place; the only writers were the monks and schoolmen, and their only subject theological discussions. For Monasticism having been introduced into the West had

received a strong impulse from St Benedict and was increasing mightily.

The Iconoclastic controversy in the eighth century brought the Popes and the Eastern Emperors into collision. The Emperor, against whom public opinion in his own country unmistakably set, had to give way, and the Pope was the stronger for the struggle. And now as the nations of modern Europe began to emerge from the ruins of the old Roman Empire, the claim of the Pope to be a judge of temporal matters was for the first time made and allowed. Pipin, Mayor of the Palace under Childeric, the last of the feeble Meerwing kings, asked Pope Zachary whether the nominal power should not be in the hands of the real holder. The answer was in the affirmative, and the Meerwing race gave place to the Karlings. As a matter of fact, the question was one of casuistry, laid before the chief religious judge of the Church. But the opportunity was taken of declaring that hereby was confessed the Pope's right to depose sovereigns.

Controversy hangs round the great event which ushers in the ninth century, the restoration of the Western Empire under Charles the Great, commonly known as Charlemagne. He was crowned in St Peter's by Pope Leo III. in the year 800. One side declares that he was so by the will of the Pope, who thus had the power of raising men to monarchy, the other, that the Pope was but the voice of the popular will (see Milman ii. 206). The title of the new Empire thus founded, and which lasted unbroken, though its splendour waned, until 1806, was significant of the idea on which that foundation rested. It was "The Holy Roman Empire." "In that day," says Mr Bryce, "as through all the dark and middle ages, two forces were striving for the mastery. The one was the instinct of separation, disorder, anarchy, caused by the ungoverned impulses and barbarous ignorance of the great bulk of mankind; the other was that passionate longing of the better minds for a formal unity of government, which had its histori-

cal basis in the memories of the old Roman Empire, and its most constant expression in the devotion to a visible and Catholic Church. . . . The act [of coronation] is conceived of as directly ordered by the Divine providence, which has brought about a state of things that admits but of one issue, an issue which king, priest, and people have only to recognise and obey; their personal ambitions, passions, intrigues, sinking and vanishing in reverential awe at what seems the immediate interposition of heaven." From the first Charles regarded his sway as of a distinctly sacred character. He summoned and sat in councils (presiding even when Papal legates were present), appointed bishops, settled small details of church discipline in his capitularies, regulated the monasteries, restricted the clergy to spiritual duties, even admonished the Pope to obey the canons. Among his intimate friends he chose to be called by the name of David, signifying thereby that he presided over the kingdom of God on earth. But his might belonged more to his personal character than to his Empire. At his death all this temporal and ecclesiastical supremacy crumbled to pieces, and as the various portions of the Empire became possessions of great nobles, so the spiritual supremacy and much of the temporal fell to the clergy. Two great forgeries which were put forth at this period did much to help the Papal claims. The one was the so-called "Donation of Constantine," alleging that that Emperor had conferred on Pope Sylvester the right of wearing a golden crown, that he had endowed the see with the Lateran Palace, with the City of Rome, with the whole of Italy. Probably the Lateran story was true; the rest were all fictions purporting to date from A.D. 330, but really invented about the middle of the ninth century, and believed in until the fifteenth. The other was the Forged Decretals. Some real ones had been gathered early in the seventh century by Isidore of Seville; about A.D. 840 these false ones were put forth, very skilfully arranged, and purporting to go back to Apostolic days. They aimed at exalting the Pope's power, and also at asserting clerical rights against

the oppressions of the Emperors. That they were forgeries is now admitted by Roman Catholics, but their influence for some centuries was very strong.

Of course this power of the Pope's was not unfrequently put to a righteous use, and the civilised world recognised then, as it does still, that the mediæval Papacy was a great agency for good. It defended the peoples against the power of monarchs, who but for it would have been cruel tyrants. When Lothair II., in 858, wished to divorce his wife, a Frankish National Council obsequiously sanctioned the proceeding, but Pope Nicholas I. firmly and successfully opposed him. The righteousness of the cause sufficed to sanction any irregularity or want of just title.

But now clouds began to gather over the Papacy, and the tenth century is a dark and dismal age. Under the disorders which accompanied the disintegration of the empire of Charles, the Popes became degraded into slaves of the fierce barons of the Romagna. The sombre picture which Platina draws of the morals and character of the Pontiffs is proved by all contemporary history not to be over-coloured. Italy was in a terrible state. As the Karling power came to an end, she aimed at freeing herself from the German thraldom, and to name her own king, but there was no spirit among the people brave or great enough to take the lead. There were rival claimants who made war upon each other, but without such general support as enabled any one to rule. Pope succeeded Pope with such rapidity as to awaken the worst suspicions. Yet in the North this period is not without bright features. While the Saracens were threatening Europe and acquiring almost absolute command of the Mediterranean, the fierce Northmen were settling down, embracing Christianity, laying the foundations of power, exercised on the whole nobly, and themselves sending missionaries to the heathen Prussians on the Baltic. The greatest of English Kings, Alfred, was restoring peace to his country, and laying the foundations of English greatness, learning, and literature.

Europe in general knew little and cared little for the miserable intrigues which went on in the Papal city, the Pontificate so often won, and again vacated, by murder; and yet no one questioned the spiritual monarchy of the men who thus succeeded. Not even the nobles and people of Rome, but the soldiers and the rabble were the electors of the vicar of Christ. The exception to this was when some profligate woman nominated him, or he bought the see. The Transalpine powers at length interfered, foreign ecclesiastics were for nearly a century seated on the Papal throne, and only thus was the see delivered from the hatred and contempt of mankind.

Meanwhile, agencies were at work, begun in antipathy to the crimes and ungodliness at Rome, and threatening to break up Christendom into sects. They were kept down by the strong arm of ecclesiastical and temporal power, but were not extinguished, and in the course of years showed themselves again with increased force. But two controversies had arisen, which were destined to have most serious and lasting effects upon Christendom. The first was the quarrel between the East and the West. We can trace antipathies almost from the beginning, jealousy between Greece and Rome, questions about Monasticism, about the time for keeping Easter, about ritual. But the first clear breach arose out of Iconoclasm, the decrees of the Emperor Leo III. ("the Isauarian") against images, A.D. 730. A quarrel about the conversion of Bulgaria in the following century increased the existing ill-feeling, the Patriarch of Constantinople alleging that the Pope of Rome had intruded into his dominion. The breach was patched up, not healed. But the crisis came through the famous *Filioque*, the addition by the Western Church to the words of the Nicene Creed, *Qui ex Patre procedit.* After long disputing, and even for a while the disuse of the addition, the Western Church once more revived it, and in 1053 Pope Leo IX. excommunicated the Patriarch of Constantinople, and with him all who refused it. The Patriarch, Michael Cerularius, invited legates from the Pope to Constantinople,

to negotiate for peace. They came accordingly, but it was to lay the Pope's sentence on the altar of St Sophia (June 16, 1054). The Patriarch retorted the excommunication, and the breach was complete.

The second great controversy was within the Western Church, and concerned the presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist. The name of Paschasius Radbertus, Abbot of Corbie (A.D. 844-851) is associated with the first promulgation of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The most eminent Frankish churchmen combated his views, headed by Ratramnus, another monk of Corbie. A yet more uncompromising opponent, who seems to have made the sacrament a commemorative ordinance only, was John Scotus Erigena. We need not add that the view of Radbert has come to be the doctrine of the Roman Church. Bishop Ridley declared that he was induced to abandon it through reading the reply of Ratramnus, The history of this great controversy will be found at length. and told with characteristic power and eloquence, in Milman's "Latin Christianity," Book vi. ch. ii.

Toward the end of the period before us, the dark clouds which had rested so long on the Papal see began to break. The Emperor Henry III. (1039-1056), was one of the most vigorous of rulers, raising the Holy Roman Empire to the zenith of its power, and bent on reforming the ghastly abuses of the Church. The Romans, sickened with the disorders and crimes around them, joyously welcomed him when he came among them; there never was any monarch so popular there as he, and Pope Leo IX. was his nominee. It was on the occasion of his election that Hildebrand, afterwards to become so famous, first comes into notice. When at length, after being the means of nominating four Popes in succession, he saw fit to accept the see himself, he had acquired sufficient power to revolutionise the Papacy, and to start a new order of things.

The Lives of the Popes.

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ST PETER THE APOSTLE.

Circa 33-68.

AFTER the death and resurrection of Christ, and the completion of the days of Pentecost, the disciples received the Holy Ghost: and being filled with the spirit, they published the wonderful works of God in divers tongues, though most of them, especially Peter and John, were looked upon as utterly illiterate men. Their manner of living was measured by the common good; none of them challenged any propriety in anything; and whatsoever religious oblation was laid at their feet, they either divided it between themselves for the supply of the necessities of nature, or else distributed it to the poor. These disciples had each of them his province assigned to him: to St Thomas was allotted Parthia, to St Matthew Æthiopia, to St Bartholomew India on this side Ganges, to St Andrew Scythia, and Asia to St John, who after a long series of toil and care, died during his abode at Ephesus. But to St Peter, the chief of the apostles, were assigned Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia and Cappadocia; who being by birth a Galilean, of the city of Bethsaida, the son of John, and brother of Andrew the apostle, sat first in the Episcopal see of Antioch for seven years in the days of Tiberius.

This emperor was son-in-law and heir to Augustus, and for the space of twenty-three years his administration of the government had so much of change and variety in it, that we cannot reckon him altogether a bad, or absolutely a good prince. He was a man of great learning, and weighty elo-

quence; his wars he managed not in person, but by his lieutenants, and showed a great deal of prudence in suppressing any sudden commotions. Having by arts of flattery enticed several princes to his court, he never suffered them to return home again; as particularly among others, Archelaus of Cappadocia, whose kingdom he made a province of the empire. Many of the senators were banished, and some of them slain by him. C. Asinius Gallus the pleader, son of Asinius Pollio, was by his order put to death with the most exquisite torments; and Vocienus Montanus Narbonensis, one of the same profession, died in the Baleares, where Tiberius had confined him. Moreover historians tell us, that his brother Drusus was poisoned at his command. And yet upon occasion he exercised so much lenity, that when certain publicans and governors of provinces moved him to raise the public taxes, he gave them this answer, "that a good shepherd does indeed shear, but not flay his sheep."

Tiberius dying, C. Cæsar, who, with a jocular reflection upon his education in the camp, had the surname of Caligula,[1] succeeded him in the empire; he was the son of Drusus (son-in-law to Augustus) and nephew to Tiberius; the greatest villain in the world, and one who never did any worthy action either at home or abroad. His avarice put him upon all manner of oppression; his lust was such that he did not forbear to violate the chastity of his own sisters; and his cruelty was so great, that he is reported oftentimes to have cried out, "Oh! that all the people of Rome had but one neck!" At his command all who were under proscription were put to death; for having recalled a certain person from banishment, and enquiring of him what the exiles did chiefly wish for,—the man imprudently answering, that they desired nothing more than the death of the emperor—he thereupon gave order that every man of them should be executed. He would often complain of the condition of his times, that they were not rendered remarkable by any public calamities, as those of Tiberius had been, in whose reign no less than twenty thousand men had been slain by the fall of a theatre at Tarracina. He expressed so much envy at the renown of Virgil and Livy, that he was very near taking away their writings and images out of all the libraries; the former of whom he would censure as a man of no wit and little learning, the latter as a verbose and

[1] Caliga signifying a common soldier's hose.—Ed.

negligent historian; and it was his common bye-word concerning Seneca, "That his writings were like a rope of sand." Agrippa, the son of king Herod, who had been cast into prison by Tiberius for accusing Herod, was by him set at liberty, and made king of Judæa; while Herod himself was confined to perpetual banishment at Lyons. He caused himself to be translated into the number of the gods, and ordered the setting up his image in the temple of Jerusalem. At last he was assaulted and slain by some of his own officers, in the third year and tenth month of his empire. Among his writings were found two rolls or lists, one of which had a dagger, the other a sword stamped upon it for a seal; they both contained the names and characters of certain principal men, both of the senatorian and equestrian order, whom he designed to slaughter. There was found likewise a large chest filled with several sorts of poisons, which being at the command of Claudius Cæsar not long after thrown into the sea, it is reported that the waters were so infected thereby, that there died abundance of fish, which the tide cast up in vast numbers upon the neighbouring shores.

I thought good to give this account of these monsters of men, that thereby it might the better appear, that God could then have scarce forborne destroying the whole world, unless He had sent His Son and His Apostles, by whose blood mankind, though equal to Lycaon in impiety, was yet redeemed from destruction. In their times lived that St Peter, whom our Saviour (upon his acknowledgment of Him to be the Christ), bespake in these words, "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven;" and, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the power of binding and loosing." This apostle being a person of most unwearied industry, when he had sufficiently settled the churches of Asia, and confuted the opinion of those who maintained the necessity of circumcision, came into Italy in the second year of Claudius.

This Claudius, who was uncle to Caligula, and had been all along very contumeliously treated and buffooned by his nephew, being now Emperor, making an expedition into Britain, had the island surrendered up to him,—an enterprise which none before Julius Cæsar, nor any after Claudius, durst

undertake: he also added the Isles of Orkney to the Roman Empire. He banished out of the city of Rome the seditious Jews, and suppressed the tumults of Judæa, which had been raised by certain false prophets. And while Cumanus was appointed by him Procurator of Judæa, there were crushed to death in the porches of the Temple of Jerusalem during the days of unleavened bread, to the number of thirty thousand Jews. At the same time, also, there was a great dearth and scarcity of provision throughout the whole world; a calamity which had been foretold by Agabus the prophet. Being secure of any hostilities from abroad, he finished the aqueduct that had been begun by Caligula, whose ruins are yet to be seen in the Lateran. He attempted also to empty the Lake Fucinus, being prompted thereto by the hope of getting not only honour and reputation, but profit and advantage by it; since there was a certain person who proffered to undertake that work at his own private charge, upon condition that the land when it was drained might have been granted to him for his reward. The mountain being partly undermined, partly cut through, the length of three miles, the passage was at the end of eleven years with much ado finished, there being no less than thirty thousand labourers continually employed in it. It was he likewise that made the harbour of Ostia, by drawing an arm of the sea on each hand, and so breaking the violence of the waves; a work, the footsteps of which are not to be seen at this day without wonder. Having put to death his wife Messalina for adultery, he afterwards, against all law both human and divine, married Agrippina the daughter of his brother Germanicus, by whom, in the fourteenth year of his Empire, he was poisoned with mushrooms prepared by her for that purpose.

In his time St Peter came to Rome, the principal city of the world; both because he judged it a seat best accommodated to the Pontifical dignity, and because likewise he understood that Simon Magus, a Samaritan, had planted himself there, who by his sorceries had so far seduced the people, that they believed him to be a god. For his statue had been already erected at Rome, between the two bridges, with this Latin inscription, "*Simoni Deo Sancto*," *i.e.*, to "Simon the Holy God." This man while he stayed in Samaria, pretended faith in Christ so far as to obtain baptism from Philip one of the seven deacons, which afterwards abusing to ill ends, he laid

the foundation of diverse heresies. To him was joined one Sebene, a shameless strumpet, who was his companion and partner in villany. To such a height of impudence did this lewd fellow arrive that he challenged St Peter to work miracles with him; and particularly he undertook to raise to life a dead child, which indeed at first seemed somewhat to move at his charms; but it being manifest presently that the child nevertheless continued dead still, at St Peter's command in the name of Jesus, it immediately arose. Simon being enraged hereat, proffered, as a further trial which of them was the more holy man and more beloved of God, to fly from the Capitol to the Aventine in the sight of all the people, provided Peter would follow him. While he was yet flying, at the prayer of Peter, who with hands lifted up to heaven, beseeched God not to suffer so great a multitude to be deluded with magical arts, down he fell and broke his leg, with grief of which misadventure he not long after died at Aricia, whither his followers had conveyed him after this foul disgrace. From him the heretics called Simoniaci had their original, who pretended to buy and sell the gift of the Holy Ghost, and who asserted the creation to proceed from a certain superior power, but not to be from God.

After this, St Peter applying himself both by preaching and example to the propagating of the Word of God, was by the Christian Romans earnestly desired that John, surnamed Mark, who was his son in baptism, and a person of a most approved life and conversation, might be employed by him in writing a Gospel. St Hierom saith, that he being a priest in Israel, a Levite according to the flesh, after his conversion to the Christian faith, wrote his Gospel in Italy, showing what he owed to his own parentage and extraction and what to Christ. Which Gospel, as we now have it, was approved by the testimony of St Peter. Being afterwards sent into Egypt, as Philo the Jew a famous writer tells us, after that by preaching and writing he had well formed the Alexandrian Church, being a man very eminent both for his life and learning, in the eighth year of the Emperor Nero, he died and was buried at Alexandria, in whose place succeeded Anianus.

The year before died James, surnamed Justus, the brother of our Lord, being the son of Joseph by another wife, or, as some will have it, sister's son to Mary, Christ's mother. Hegesippus, who lived near the Apostles' times, affirms of him

that he was holy in his mother's womb, that he drank neither wine nor strong drink, nor ever tasted flesh, that he neither shaved, nor bathed, nor anointed himself, nor ever wore any other but linen garments. He was often accustomed to enter into the Holy of Holies, where he continued so incessantly in his prayers for the welfare of the people, that his knees were grown hard and callous like those of camels. But Festus leaving the government of Judæa, before Albinus his successor arrived there, the High Priest Ananus, the son of Ananus, requiring James publicly to deny Christ to be the Son of God, upon his refusal he gave order he should be stoned to death; who, after he had been thrown down headlong from a pinnacle of the Temple, continuing yet half alive, and with hands stretched forth towards heaven praying for his persecutors, was at last killed outright with a blow of a fuller's club. Josephus reports him to have been a man of so great sanctity, that it was the general belief that his murder was the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem. This is that James, whom our Lord appeared to after His resurrection, and to whom, having blessed bread and broken it, He said, "Brother, eat thy bread, because the Son of man is risen." He presided over the church of Jerusalem thirty years, that is, to the seventh year of Nero. His sepulchre with an inscription, hard by the temple from which he had been cast down, was yet in being in Hadrian's time.

It is evident likewise that Barnabas, by birth a Cypriot, surnamed Joses, a Levite, died before St Peter's martyrdom. He being chosen together with Paul an apostle of the Gentiles, wrote only one epistle of matters concerning the Church, and that too is reckoned apocryphal. There happening to be a difference between him and Paul, occasioned by Mark a disciple, he, accompanied by the said Mark, went to Cyprus, where preaching the faith of Christ he was crowned with martyrdom. Paul, first called Saul, was descended of the tribe of Benjamin, of a town of Judæa, called Giscalis; which being taken in war by the Romans, he with his parents removed to Tarsus, a city of Cilicia.[1] And being sent thence to Jerusalem to study the law, he had his education under the learned Gamaliel. After this, he became a persecutor of

[1] This is the story mentioned by St Jerome, but independently of its contradicting Acts xxii. 3, it is improbable in itself. See Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," *s.v.* "Paul," note, p. 731.—Ed.

the Christians, and was present and assistant at the death of St Stephen the protomartyr. But as he was going to Damascus, being wonderfully converted to the faith, he became a chosen vessel; and took the name of Paul, from a pro-consul of Cyprus, whom he had converted to Christianity. After this he, together with Barnabas, having travelled through divers cities, upon his return to Jerusalem, was by Peter, John, and James, chosen an apostle of the Gentiles.[1] In the twenty-fifth year after the death of Christ, which was the second of the Emperor Nero, he, with his fellow-captive Aristarchus, was as a free denizen sent bound to Rome; where continuing the space of two years under very little confinement, he was daily engaged in disputation with the Jews. Being at length set at liberty by Nero, he both preached and wrote many things. We have at this day fourteen of his epistles; one to the Romans, two to the Corinthians, one to the Galatians, one to the Ephesians, one to the Philippians, one to the Colossians, two to the Thessalonians, two to Timothy, one to Titus, and one to Philemon; that to the Hebrews is generally said to be his, though because of the difference of style and phrase from the rest, it is uncertain whether it were so or not; and there have been anciently divers who have entitled it, some to Luke, some to Barnabas, some to Clemens. St Peter also wrote two general epistles, though the latter is by many denied to be his for the same reason of the difference of style. But being so taken up with prayer and preaching, that he could not attend any other great variety of business, he constituted two bishops, viz., Linus and Cletus, who might exercise the sacerdotal ministry to the Romans and other Christians. The holy man applying himself entirely to these things, gained thereby so great and universal a reputation, that men were ready to worship him as a god. The Emperor Nero being displeased hereat, began to contrive his death; whereupon St Peter, with the advice of his friends, that he might avoid the Emperor's envy and rage, departed out of the city by the Via Appia; and at the end of the first mile he travelled, to use the words of Hegesippus, meeting with Christ in the way, and falling down and worshipping Him, he said, "Lord whither goest Thou?" to whom Christ replied, "I go to Rome to be crucified again." There is yet remaining a chapel built on the same place where these words were spoken. Now St

[1] This is not quite compatible with Gal. ii. 7-9.—Ed.

Peter believing this saying of our Saviour to relate to his own martyrdom, because Christ might seem to be ready to suffer again in him, went back to the city, and forthwith consecrated Clemens a bishop, and in these words recommended to him his chair, and the Church of God: "I deliver to thee the same power of binding and loosing which Christ left to me; do thou, as becomes a good pastor, promote the salvation of men both by prayer and preaching, without regard to any hazard of life or fortune." Having set these things thus in order, at the command of Nero, in the last year of his empire, he was put to death together with St Paul, though the kinds of their punishment were different. For St Peter was crucified with his head towards the ground, and his feet upwards, for so he desired it might be, saying, that he was unworthy to undergo the same kind of death with his Saviour. He was buried in the Vatican, in the Via Aurelia, near Nero's Gardens, not far from the Via Triumphalis which leads to the temple of Apollo. He continued in the see twenty-five years. But St Paul being on the same day beheaded, was interred in the Via Ostiensis, in the thirty-seventh year after the death of Christ. This is confirmed by the testimony of Caius the historian, who in a disputation against one Proculus a Montanist has these words: "I," says he, "can shew you the victorious ensigns of the apostles; for you cannot pass the Via Regalis that leads to the Vatican, nor the Via Ostiensis, but you will find the trophies of those heroes that established this church:" where certainly he refers to these two St Peter and St Paul. In the forementioned gardens of Nero, were reposited the ashes of a multitude of holy martyrs. For a fire happening in the time of Nero, which raging for six days together, had wasted a great part of the city, and devoured the substance of many wealthy citizens, the blame of all which was laid upon the Emperor, he, as Tacitus tells us, being very desirous to quell the rumour, suborned false witnesses to accuse, and lay all the blame of that calamity upon the Christians. Whereupon so great a number of them were seized and put to death, that it is said the flame of their empaled bodies supplied the room of lights for some nights together. There are those who say this fire was kindled by Nero, either that he might have before his eyes the resemblance of burning Troy, or else because he had taken offence at the irregularity of the old houses, and the narrowness and windings of the streets; neither of which are

improbable of such a man as he, who was profligately self-willed, intemperate, and cruel, and in all respects more lewd and wicked than his uncle Caligula. For he put to death a great part of the senate, and also without any regard to decency would in the sight of the people sing and dance in the public theatre. His dissolute luxury was such, that he made use of perfumed cold baths, and fished with golden nets, which were dragged with purple cords. Yet he took such care to concea all these vices in the beginning of his empire, that men had generally great hopes of him. For being put in mind to sign a warrant according to custom for the execution of one that was condemned to die, "how glad," says he, "should I be that I had never learnt to write." He was very sumptuous in his buildings both in the city and elsewhere; for the baths called by his name, and the Aurea Domus, and the Portico three miles long, were finished by him with wondrous magnificence; besides which he was at a vast expense to make the haven at Antium, at the sight of which I myself not long since was wonderfully pleased. I return to his cruelty, which he exercised towards his master Seneca, towards M. Annœus Lucanus the famous poet, towards his mother Agrippina, and his wife Octavia, towards Cornutus, the philosopher, Persius's master, whom he banished towards Piso, and in a word towards all those who were in any reputation among the citizens. In the end, he so highly provoked the rage and hatred of the people against him, that most diligent search was made after him to bring him to condign punishment; which punishment was, that being bound, he should be led up and down with a gallows upon his neck; and being whipped with rods to death, his body should be thrown into the river Tiber. But he making his escape four miles out of the city, laid violent hands upon himself in the country house of one of his freemen, between the Via Salaria, and Nomentana, in the thirty-second year of his age, and of his reign the fourteenth.

ST LINUS.

Circa A.D. 68-78.

LINUS, by nation a Tuscan, his father's name Herculeanus, was in the chair from the last year of Nero to the times of Vespasian, and from the consulship of Saturninus and Scipio, to that of Capito and Rufus.

In this space of time there were no less than three emperors, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, each of them reigning but a very little while.

Galba, a person descended of the most ancient nobility, being created emperor by the soldiers in Spain, as soon as he heard of the death of Nero, came immediately to Rome. But rendering himself obnoxious to all men by his avarice and sloth, through the treachery of Otho, he was slain at Rome near Curtius's lake in the seventh month of his reign; together with Piso a noble youth whom he had adopted for his son. He was doubtless a man, who before he came to the empire, was very eminent in the management both of military and civil affairs; being often consul, often proconsul, and several times general in the most important wars. That which makes me speak this in his praise, is the learning of M. Fabius Quintilianus, whom Galba brought with him out of Spain to Rome.

Otho, a man of better extraction by his mother's than by his father's side, who while he led a private life was very loose and effeminate, as being a great and intimate friend of Nero's, in the midst of tumults and slaughters, as I hinted before, invaded the empire. But being engaged in a civil war against Vitellius, who had been created emperor in Germany, though he got the better in three small skirmishes, one at the Alps, another at Placentia, the third at Castor, yet losing the day in the last and most considerable, which was at Bebriacum, he thereupon fell into so deep a melancholy, that, in the third month of his empire he stabbed himself.

Vitellius, concerning whose extraction there are different opinions, coming to Rome, and obtaining the empire, soon degenerated into all manner of lewdness, cruelty and gluttony, being used to make several meals in a day, and some of them to such an height of luxury, that there have been at one supper no less than two thousand fishes, and seven thousand fowl

served up to his table. But having intelligence that Vespasian, who had been created emperor by the army in Judæa, was advancing with his legions, he at first determined to quit the empire; yet being afterwards encouraged by those about him, he took up arms, and forced Sabinus, Vespasian's brother, with his Flavian soldiers into the Capitol; which being set on fire, they were all burnt. Hereupon being surprised by Vespasian, and having no hope of pardon left him, he hid himself in a private chamber in the palace, from whence he was most ignominiously dragged and carried naked through the Via Sacra to the Scalæ Gemoniæ, where being quartered he was thrown into the river Tiber.

During this time Linus was successor to St Peter, though there are some who place Clemens here, and wholly leave out Linus and Cletus, who yet are sufficiently confuted not only by history, but also by the authority of St Hierom, who tells us, that Clemens was the fourth bishop of Rome after Peter, for Linus was accounted the second, and Cletus the third, notwithstanding that most of the Romans immediately after Peter reckon Clemens. To whom, though St Peter had as it were by will bequeathed the right of succession, yet his modesty was so great that he compelled Linus and Cletus to take upon them the pontifical dignity before him, lest any ambition of pre-eminence might be of ill example to after ages. This Linus by commission from St Peter, ordained that no woman should enter the church but with her head veiled. Moreover, at two ordinations which he held in the city, he made eighteen presbyters and eleven bishops. In his time lived Philo, a Jew of Alexandria, in whose writings there is so much wit and judgment, that, from the likeness there appears between them, he deserved to have it proverbially said, either Plato does Philonize, or Philo does Platonize. By his learning and eloquence he corrected the rashness of Apion, who had been sent ambassador from the Alexandrians with complaints against the Jews. While he was at Rome, in the time of Claudius, he contracted an acquaintance with St Peter, and thereupon wrote several things in praise of the Christians.[1] Josephus also the son of Mattathias, a priest at Hierusalem, being taken prisoner by Vespasian, and committed to the custody of his son Titus, till that city was taken, coming to Rome during the pontificate of Linus, presented to the father and the son seven

[1] This is mere fable. Philo died soon after A.D. 40.—ED.

books of the Jewish war, which were laid up in the public library, and the author himself, as a reward for that performance, had most deservedly a statue erected to him. He wrote likewise twenty-four other books of antiquities, from the beginning of the world to the fourteenth year of the emperor Domitian. As for Linus himself, though he had gained a mighty reputation by the sanctity of his life, by his power of casting out devils and raising the dead, yet was he put to death by Saturninus, the consul, whose very daughter he had dispossessed, and was buried in the Vatican near the body of St Peter, on the twenty-first day of September, when he had sat in the Pontifical See eleven years, three months, and twelve days. There are some who affirm that Gregory Bishop of Ostia, did, according to a vow which he had made, remove the body of this holy bishop to that place, and solemnly inter it in the Church of St. Laurence.

ST CLETUS.

Circa 78-91.

CLETUS, born in Rome in the Vicopatrician[1] region, son of Æmilianus, through the persuasion of Clemens, unwillingly took upon him the burden of the pontificate, though for his learning, life, and quality, he was a person of very great esteem and authority among all that knew him. He lived in the time of Vespasian and Titus, from the seventh consulship of Vespasian, and the fifth of Domitian, to the consulate of Domitian and Rufus, according to Damasus.

Vespasian, as I said before, succeeding Vitellius, committed the management of the Jewish War, which had been carrying on two years before, to his son Titus, which he, within two years after, with great resolution finished. For all Judæa being conquered, the city Hierusalem destroyed, and the temple levelled to the ground, it is reported that no less than six hundred thousand Jews were slain; nay, Josephus, a Jew, who was a captive in that war, and had his life given him because he foretold the death of Nero, and that Vespasian should in

[1] One of the divisions of the City of Rome, answering to one of our wards in London.—Ed.

a short time be Emperor, relates that eleven hundred thousand perished therein by sword and famine, and that a hundred thousand were taken prisoners, and publicly exposed to sale. Nor will it seem improbable, if we consider that he tells us this happened at the time of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, when they came from all parts of Judæa to Jerusalem, as into a public prison; and especially on the day of the Passover, upon which they crucified Christ: being now to undergo the deserved punishment, both of their frequent revolts from the Roman government, and also of their villany and perfidiousness in putting to death the innocent Jesus. Upon this victory over the Jews, the father and son were honoured with a triumph, both riding in the same chariot, and Domitian upon a white horse following them. The monuments of this triumph remain still in the Via Nova, where are to be seen engraven the candlesticks and the tables of the old law that were taken out of the temple and triumphantly brought away. Yet Vespasian exercised so much humanity towards the Jews, even when they were conquered, that for all those whom he found among them remaining of the House of David, as being of royal descent, he had a very good esteem. And indeed he always used his power with great moderation, being of so mild and merciful a temper, as to discharge even traitors with no other than a verbal correction, and to slight the discourses of insolent and talkative people, and in general to be forgetful of faults and injuries. He was looked upon as too much inclined to avarice, and yet he used no oppression for the getting of money, and what he had he employed in bounty and magnificence. For he both finished the Temple of Peace adjoining to the Forum, that had been begun by Claudius, and began that amphitheatre, a part of which is yet to be seen with admiration. He had so great an opinion of the bravery and merit of his son Titus, that upon occasion of certain tumults, raised by some ambitious men who aspired to the empire, he said publicly, "That either his son, or no man, would be his successor in the empire." And good ground he had to say so, for that Titus, both for his courage and integrity, was accounted the darling and delight of mankind. He was endued with an eloquence excellently suited to the times of peace, and with a courage to those of war; he was very merciful to offenders, and so kind and bountiful to all, that he never denied any man anything. Upon which occasion when some

of his friends took the liberty to find fault with him as too profuse, he told them, "It was not fit that any man should depart sad out of the presence of a prince." And remembering at a certain time that he had not conferred any benefit in a whole day, he thereupon cried out to those about him, "My friends, I have lost a day." Never any emperor was superior to him in magnificence; the amphitheatre, together with the baths near adjoining, being perfectly completed and dedicated, and an hunting of five thousand wild beasts exhibited by him. He recalled from exile Mursonius Rufus, a famous philosopher, and was much pleased with the conversation of Asconius Pœdianus, a most learned man. He died in the second year of his empire, and was carried to his sepulchre with so great and universal a lamentation, as if every man had lost a father.

There are some who write that Cletus succeeded Linus in the second year of Vespasian, who held the empire ten years. Whether that were so or no, it is certain that Cletus was a most holy and good man, and that he left nothing undone that might contribute to the enlargement and increase of the Church of God. In his time lived Luke, a physician of Antioch, one extraordinarily well skilled in the Greek language, a follower of St Paul the Apostle, and his constant attendant and companion in his travels. He penned the gospel, which is commended by St Paul, and which St Paul for a good reason calls *his* gospel. He wrote also the Acts of the Apostles, being himself an eye-witness of them. He lived eighty-four years, was married in Bithynia, and buried at Constantinople, whither his bones, together with those of Andrew the Apostle, were, in the tenth year of Constantius, conveyed out of Achaia. At the same time likewise Philip returning out of Scythia, which, by his example and preaching he had kept stedfast in the faith for twenty years together, into Asia, died at Jerusalem. As for Cletus himself, having settled the Church as well as the times would bear, and ordained, according to St Peter's command, twenty-five presbyters, he was crowned with martyrdom in the reign of Domitian, and buried near the body of St Peter in the Vatican, April 27. There were many other martyrs about the same time, among whom is reckoned Flavia Domitilla, sister's daughter to Flavius Clemens the consul, who was banished into the island Pontia for the profession of Christianity. Cletus sat in the chair twelve years, one month, eleven days; and by his death the see was vacant twenty days.

ST CLEMENS.

Circa A.D. 91-100.

CLEMENS, born in Rome, in the region of Mons Cœlius, his father's name Faustinus, lived in the time of Titus's successor Domitian, who was more like to Nero or Caligula than to his father Vespasian or his brother, yet at the beginning of his empire he kept within some tolerable bounds, but soon after he broke out into very great enormities of lust, idleness, rage, and cruelty; crimes which brought upon him so great an odium, as almost entirely defaced the memory and renown of his father and brother. Most of the nobility he put to death, whereof most were by his order assassinated in the places whither he had banished them. He was so industriously idle as to spend the time of his privacy and retirement in killing flies with a bodkin; for which reason, when a certain person coming out of his presence was asked, whether any one were with Cæsar, he answered merrily, "No, not so much as a fly." He arrived to such a height of folly and arrogance, as to expect divine honours, and commanded that in all discourses and writings concerning him, the title of Lord and God should be given him. He was the second from Nero that raised a persecution against the Christians. Moreover, he gave order that all those of the lineage of David among the Jews, should by interrogatories and racking them to confession, be diligently searched after, and being found, utterly destroyed and extinguished. In the end, the divine vengeance overtaking him, he was in the fifteenth year of his empire stabbed to death in the palace by his own servants. His body was carried out by the common bearers, and ingloriously buried by Philix at her country house in the Via Latina.

Clemens was now (as I have said) the fourth Bishop of Rome from St Peter, Linus being accounted the second, and Cletus the third, though the Latins generally reckon Clemens next after Peter; and that he was designed so appears from his own letter to James, Bishop of Jerusalem, wherein he gives him the following account of that matter: "Simon Peter being apprehensive of his approaching death, in the presence of several brethren, taking hold of my hand, This," says he, "is the person, whom having been my assistant in all affairs

since I came to Rome, I constitute Bishop of that city; and when I showed my willingness to decline so great a burden, he expostulated with me in this manner, 'Wilt thou consult only thine own convenience, and deny thy assistance to the poor fluctuating Church of God when it is in thy power to steer it?'" But he being a person of wonderful modesty, did freely prefer Linus and Cletus to that dignity before himself undertook it. He wrote in the name of the Roman Church a very useful epistle to the Corinthians, not differing in style from that of the Hebrews, which is said to be St Paul's. This epistle was formerly read publicly in several churches; there is another bearing his name which the ancients did not think authentic; and Eusebius in the third Book of his History, does find fault with a long disputation between St Peter and Apion, said to be written by our Clement. It is certain that John the Apostle, son of Zebedee and brother of James, lived to this time, who was the last penman of the Gospel, and confirmed what had been before written by Matthew, Mark, and Luke. The reason why he wrote last is said to be that he might confront and defeat the heresy of the Ebionites, who impudently denied Christ to have had a being before His birth of the Blessed Virgin; and accordingly we find him very particular in demonstrating the divinity of our Saviour. He wrote several other things, and among the rest his Revelation, during his banishment into the island Patmos by Domitian; who being afterwards slain and his acts for their excessive severity rescinded by the Senate, he returned to Ephesus in the time of Nerva, where he continued till the reign of Trajan, supporting the churches of Asia by his counsel and writings, till at last being worn out with age he rested in the Lord the sixty-eighth year after the Passion of Christ. Our Clemens by his piety, religion, and learning made daily many proselytes to Christianity; whereupon P. Tarquinius the High-priest, and Mamertinus the city Præfect, stirred up the emperor against the Christians, at whose command Clement was banished to an island, where he found near two thousand Christians condemned to hew marble in the quarries. In this island there being at that time a great scarcity of water, which they were forced to fetch at six miles' distance, Clement going to the top of a little hill hard by, sees there a lamb, under whose right foot flowed miraculously a plentiful spring, with which all the islanders were refreshed,

and many of them thereupon converted to the Christian faith. At which Trajan, being enraged, sent some of his guards, who threw Clement into the sea, with an anchor tied about his neck.[1] But his blessed body was not long after cast on the shore, and being buried at the place where this miraculous fountain had sprung up, a temple was built over it. This is said to have happened September the fourteenth, in the third year of the Emperor Trajan. He was in the chair nine years, two months, and ten days. He divided the wards of the city among seven notaries, who were to register the acts of the martyrs; and at the ordinations which he held according to custom in the month of December, he made ten presbyters, two deacons, and fifteen bishops. By his death the see was vacant two-and-twenty days.

ST ANACLETUS.[2]

ANACLETUS, an Athenian, son of Antiochus, was successor to Clement in the time of Trajanus. This Trajan's predecessor, Nerva Cocceius, was an excellent person both in his private and public capacity, just and equal in all his proceedings, and one whose government was very advantageous to the republic. Through his procurement the acts of Domitian being repealed by decree of the Senate, multitudes thereupon returned from banishment, and several by his bounty had the goods of which they had before been plundered, restored to them. But being now very old, and drawing near to the time of his death, out of his care of the public weal, he adopted Trajan, and then died in the sixteenth month of his reign, and of his age the seventy-second year.

Trajan himself, a Spaniard, surnamed Ulpius Crinitus, coming to the empire, surpassed the best of princes in the glory of his arms, the goodness of his temper, and the moderation of his government. He extended the bounds of the empire far and wide, reduced that part of Germany beyond the Rhine to its former state, subdued Dacia, and several other nations beyond the Danube; recovered Parthia; gave a

[1] This story is probably not older than the ninth century.—ED.

[2] The modern historians make him identical with Cletus. But all is uncertain at this period.—ED.

king to the Albanians; made provinces beyond the Euphrates and Tigris; overcame and kept Armenia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Silesia, Ctesiphon, and Babylon; and proceeded as far as the borders of India, and the Red Sea, where he left a fleet to infest those borders.

The ecclesiastical laws and constitutions of Anacletus were as follows, viz.: That no prelate or other clerk should suffer his beard or hair to grow long; that no bishop should be ordained by less than three other bishops; that the clergy should be admitted into holy orders in public only; and that all the faithful should after consecration communicate or be put out of the Church. By this means the Christian interest so increased, that Trajan, fearing lest the Roman state might be impaired thereby, gave allowance to a third persecution of the Christians, in which multitudes were put to death, and particularly Ignatius, the third bishop of the Church of Antioch after St Peter. Who being taken and condemned to suffer by wild beasts, as he was carried to Rome by his guards, whom he called his Ten Leopards, he all along in his passage encouraged and confirmed the Christians, by discourse with some, and by epistle to others; declaring his readiness to suffer in this manner: "Come cross, come beasts, come rack, come the torture of my whole body, and the torments of the devil upon me, so I may enjoy Christ." And upon the occasion of his hearing the lions roar, "Corn," says he, "I am, let me be ground by the teeth of these beasts, that I may be found fine bread." He died in Trajan's eleventh year, and his bones were afterwards buried in the suburbs of Antioch. But Plinius Secundus, who was then governor of that province, being moved with compassion to see so many executed, wrote to the Emperor Trajan, informing him that incredible numbers of men were daily put to death, who were persons of an unblameable life, and who in no point transgressed the Roman laws, save only that before daybreak they would sing hymns to Christ their God, but that adulteries and the like crimes were disallowed and abominated by them. Hereupon Trajan gave order, that the magistrates should not make search after the Christians, but only punish those who voluntarily offered themselves. During this persecution Simeon, the kinsman of our Lord, son of Cleophas and bishop of Jerusalem, was crucified in the hundred and twentieth year of his age. These things which we have spoken of were acted in the time

of this bishop and not of Cletus, as Eusebius in the third book of his history would have it; for Damasus makes out that Cletus and Anacletus differed both as to their country and manner of death—Cletus being a Roman, and suffering under Domitian, but Anacletus an Athenian, and suffering under Trajan. Our Anacletus having erected an oratory to St Peter, and assigned places of burial for the martyrs distinct from those of other men, and at one Decembrian ordination made five presbyters, three deacons, and six bishops; upon his martyrdom the see was vacant thirteen days, after he had sat in it nine years, two months, and ten days.

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ST EVARISTUS.

Circa A.D. 100-109.

EVARISTUS, by birth a Grecian, his father a Jew, named Juda, of the holy city of Bethlehem, lived in the time of Trajan, a prince whom I take delight to mention, because of his singular justice and humanity; who behaved himself so acceptably towards all men, that, as far as the times of Justinian, the usual acclamation of the people at the creation of an emperor was this: "Let him be more prosperous than Augustus and better than Trajan." He was of a temper so courteous and condescending in visiting the sick, in saluting his friends, in keeping festivals, and being present at collations to which he was invited, that the fault which some found with him for that very reason, gave the occasion of that worthy noble saying of his, "That a prince ought to be such to his subjects as he desires they should be to him." He impartially distributed honours, riches, and rewards to all that deserved well; never oppressed any man to fill his own exchequer; granted advantageous immunities to poor cities; repaired the highways, and made the passages of rivers secure; made a high large mole at the haven of Ancona, to break the violence of the waves; and indeed neither acted nor designed anything in his whole life but what tended to the public good. Having gained such renown both in war and in peace, he died of a flux at Seleucia, a city of Isauria, in the eighteenth year and sixth month of his reign. His bones were afterwards

conveyed to Rome, and there buried in an urn of gold in the Forum which he himself had built, under the winding pillar of a hundred and forty feet high, which is yet to be seen.

But we return to Evaristus, who, as Damasus tells us, divided the city of Rome among the presbyters into parishes; ordained that seven deacons should attend the bishop whenever he preached, to be witnesses of the truth of his doctrine; and moreover, that the accusation of a layman should not be admitted against a bishop. He held Decembrian ordinations, at which he made six presbyters, two deacons, and five bishops. In his time lived Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, an auditor of John, a person who took not so much delight in the records of the ancient disciples of our Lord, as in the living conversation of Aristion and John the elder. And it is manifest, from the order he observes in setting down the names of these two after the mention of almost all the apostles, that the John whom he places among the apostles was a distinct person from this John the aged, whom he reckons after Aristion. He was certainly a very learned man, and followed by many, as particularly Irenæus, Apollinarius, Tertullian, Victorinus Pictaviensis, and Lactantius Firmianus. Now also Quadratus, a disciple of the apostles, did by his industry and courage support the Church of God as much as might be in such dangerous times. For when Hadrian, who now passed the winter at Athens, and was admitted a priest to the goddess Eleusina, began to persecute the Christians, Quadratus with his own hand presented to him a very honest and rational book of the excellence of the Christian religion. The like did Aristides, an Athenian philosopher, converted to Christianity; who at the same time with Quadratus, presented to Hadrian a treatise, containing an account of our religion. The effect of which apologetics was, that Hadrian being convinced of the injustice of putting the Christians to death without their being heard, wrote to Minutius Fundanus, the proconsul of Asia, ordering that no Christian should be executed, unless his guilt were proved by a credible witness. As for our Evaristus, some tell us that he was martyred in the last year of Trajan; but they are more in the right, who are of opinion that he suffered under Hadrian before his being reconciled to the Christians. For he was in the chair nine years, ten months, two days, and was buried in the Vatican, near the body of St Peter, October 27th. The see was then vacant nineteen days.

ST ALEXANDER I.

Circa A.D. 109-119.

ALEXANDER, a Roman, son of Alexander, a person of wisdom and gravity far exceeding his years, held the pontificate in the time of Ælius Hadrianus.

This Hadrian, who was son to Trajan's cousin-german, at his first coming to the empire proved an enemy to the Christians, but afterwards (as shall be said anon), upon knowledge of their religion and devotion, became very kind and propitious to them. From the great benefits which the Roman State received by his government, he was called the Father of his country, and his wife had the title of Augusta. He was excellently well skilled both in the Roman and Greek languages, made many laws, erected a goodly library at Athens, being mightily pleased with the learning and conversation of Plutarch, Sixtus, Agathocles, and Oenomaus the philosopher; and at the request of the Athenians, compiled laws for them according to the model of Draco and Solon. Being admitted to the Eleusinian mysteries, he was very bountiful to the citizens of Athens, and repaired their bridge broken down by an inundation of the river Cephisus. He built also a bridge at Rome, called by his own name, remaining to this day, and a stately sepulchre in the Vatican near the river Tiber, which the popes now make use of for a citadel. Moreover, he made that most sumptuous and stately villa, now called Old Tiber, to the several parts of which he gave the names of provinces and the most celebrated parts of the world. Coming to Pelusium, he was at great expense in adorning Pompey's Tomb, and in Britain he built a wall of sixty miles to sever the Romans from the natives. And because Septicius Clarus, the captain of his guards, and Suetonius Tranquillus, his secretary, with several others, had without his leave conversed somewhat more familiarly with his Empress Sabina than the reverence of a court admitted of, he removed them all and put others into their offices.

But to return to our Alexander. He was the first who for the remembrance of Christ's passion, at the communion added those words, *Qui pridie quam pateretur* to the clause, *hoc est corpus meum.* He ordained likewise that the holy water (as it is called), mixed with salt and consecrated

by prayer, should be kept in churches and in private houses, as a guard against evil spirits. Moreover, he instituted that water should be mingled with the wine, at the consecration of the elements, to signify the union of Christ with His Church; and that the host should not be of leavened bread, as was formerly used, but of unleavened only, as being the more pure, and by which all occasion of cavilling would be taken away from the Ebionite heretics, who were very much addicted to Judaism. In his time lived Agrippa Castor, who learnedly and effectually confuted the books which Basilides the heretic wrote against the Holy Gospel; exposing to derision his prophets, Barcabas and Barthecab, and his great god Abraxas, names invented by him to amuse and terrify the ignorant. This Basilides died at that time when the Christians were very much persecuted and tormented by Cochebas, the head of the Jewish faction. But Hadrian soon repressed the pertinacity of this rebel and the whole nation of the Jews, by an almost incredible slaughter of them; and then commanded that no Jew should be suffered to enter Jerusalem, permitting only Christians to inhabit that city, and having repaired the walls and buildings of it, he called it after his own name, Ælia; Marcus being, after the expulsion of the Jews, chosen the first Gentile bishop of it. In the time of this bishop also Sapphira of Antioch, and Sabina, a Roman lady, suffered martyrdom for the faith of Christ; and Favorinus, Palæmon, Herodes Atheniensis and Marcus Byzantius were famous rhetoricians. Our Alexander having at three Decembrian ordinations made five presbyters, three deacons, five bishops, was, together with his deacons Euentius and Theodulus, crowned with martyrdom, on the third day of May, and buried in the Via Nomentana, where he suffered, seven miles from the city. He was in the chair ten years, seven months, two days. After his death the see was vacant twenty-five days.

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ST SIXTUS I.

Circa A.D. 119-129.

SIXTUS, a Roman, the son of Pastor, or as others will have it, of Helvidius, held the Pontificate in the time of Hadrian, to the consulship of Verus and Anniculus.

Which Hadrian is reckoned in the number of the good emperors, upon the account of his liberality, splendour, magnificence, and clemency; an eminent instance of the last of which good qualities was this, that when a servant ran madly upon him with his sword, he took no farther notice of the action than to order him a physician to cure his frenzy. He visited the sick twice or thrice in a day; at his own charge he repaired Alexandria when it had been ruined by the Romans; he rebuilt the Pantheon in Rome, and made aromatic presents to the people. Being at the point of death, he is said to have uttered these verses:

"*Animula, vagula, blandula,*
Hospes, comesque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Pallidula, rigida, nudula?
Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos."

He died of a dropsy in the two-and-twentieth year of his reign, and was buried at Puteoli, in Cicero's Villa.

Sixtus, out of his care of the Church, ordained that the elements and vessels of the altar should not be touched by any but the ministers, but especially not by women; and that the *corporal*, as it is called, should be made of linen cloth only, and that of the finest sort. That no bishop who had been cited to appear before the apostolic see, should at his return be received by his flock, unless he brought with him letters communicatory to the people. At the celebration he instituted the hymn, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth." Anciently the office of the communion was performed in a plain manner, and unclogged with human mixtures. St Peter, after consecration, used the *paternoster;* James, Bishop of Jerusalem, added some rites; Basil more, and others more still. For Celestine brought in the *Introitus* of the mass, Gregory the *Kyrie Eleison*, Telesphorus *The Glory be to God on High*, Gelasius the First the *Collects*, and Hierom the Epistle and Gospel. The *Alleluia* was taken from the Church of Jerusalem, the *Creed* was instituted by the Council of Nice; Pelagius introduced the Commemoration of the Dead, Leo the Third the *Incense*, Innocent the First the *Kiss of Peace*, and Sergius ordered the *Agnus Dei* to be sung. During the time of Sixtus, the persecution being so sharp that few had courage enough to own the profession of Christianity, and the Christian Gauls desiring a bishop, to

them he sends Peregrine, a citizen of Rome, who, having confirmed them in the faith, at his return suffered martyrdom in the Via Appia, at the place where Christ appeared to Peter as he was leaving the city. His body was by the faithful carried into the Vatican, and buried near St Peter. Aquila, also by birth a Jew of Pontus, who with his wife Priscilla had been banished by the edict of Claudius, is said by some to have lived till this time; he was the second translator of the Old Testament, after the seventy who lived in the time of Ptolomy Philadelphus. As for Sixtus, having at three Decembrian ordinations made eleven presbyters, eleven deacons, and four bishops, he was crowned with martyrdom, and buried in the Vatican near St Peter, having been in the chair ten years, three months, and one-and-twenty days. Upon his death the see was vacant only two days.

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ST TELESPHORUS.

A.D. 129-139.

TELESPHORUS, a Grecian, the son of an anchorite, lived in the time of Antoninus Pius.

This emperor was by his father's side a Cisalpine Gaul, and together with his sons, Aurelius and Verus, he ruled twenty-two years and three months, with so much moderation and clemency that he deservedly gained the name of Pius, and Father of his country. He was never severe or rigorous towards any man in the recovery of his own private debts, or the exaction of public taxes, but would sometimes wholly remit them by burning the bonds of his debtors. What shall I need say more of this prince, who in the opinion of all good men was for religion, devotion, humanity, clemency, justice, and modesty, equal to Numa Pompilius himself. When the river Tiber had by an inundation much impaired many private and public buildings, he was at vast expense to assist the citizens in restoring the city to its former state again. Moreover, it was he who carried on those prodigious works which appear to this day, for improving the havens of Tarracina and Gaeta; and I believe that the famous winding pillar, from which the principal ward of the city is denominated, was built at his charge.

As for our Telesphorus, he ordained that a Quadragesimal Fast should be observed before Easter; and that on the Feast of the Nativity of our Lord there should be three masses: one at midnight, at which time Christ was born in Bethlehem; another at break of day, when he was discovered to the shepherds; the third at that hour wherein the light of truth and our redemption shone in the world (*i.e.*, when our Saviour was crucified),—whereas at other times the celebration of the mass was forbidden till the third hour, or between the hours of nine and twelve o'clock, the time when, as St Mark tells us, he was fastened to the cross. He also appointed that the hymn, "Glory be to God on High," should be sung before the sacrifice. In his time Justinus, a philosopher of Neapolis, a city of Palestine, who laboured successfully in the defending of Christianity, presented to Antoninus and his sons a book which he had written against the heathens; and held a dialogue with Tryphon, a principal Jew. He wrote also very warmly against Marcion, who, adhering to the heresy of Cerdo, affirmed that there were two gods, the one good, the other just, as two contrary principles of creation and goodness. He opposed likewise Crescens the cynic, as a person gluttonous, fearful of death, given over to luxury and lust, and a blasphemer of Christ. But being at length by this man's treacherous practices betrayed, he suffered in the cause of Christianity. Eusebius, writing of this cynic, allows him only to have been a vain-glorious pretender, but not a philosopher. At the same time the Valentinian heretics prevailed, who were the followers of one Valentinus, a Platonist; and held that Christ took nothing of the body of the Virgin, but passed clean through her, as through a pipe. Now also Photinus, Bishop of Lyons, a man of singular learning and piety, as Isodore tells us, suffered martyrdom with great resolution, being ninety years old. Telesphorus, having at four Decembrian ordinations made fifteen presbyters, eight deacons, thirteen bishops, died a martyr, and was buried in the Vatican near Saint Peter. He was in the chair eleven years, three months, twenty-two days. By his death the see was vacant seven days.

ST HYGINUS.

A.D. 139-143.

HYGINUS, an Athenian, son of a philosopher, succeeded Telesphorus, during the empire of Antoninus Pius, whose extraordinary merit compels me to add something farther in his praise, before I come to give an account of Hyginus. He was so far from the vanity of valuing himself upon the glory of his arms, that he made it his business rather to defend the provinces of the empire, than to increase them; and had often that saying of Scipio in his mouth, that he had rather save one citizen than destroy a thousand enemies: being herein of a quite contrary temper to that of Domitian, who, from a consciousness of his own cruelty, did so hate and fear a multitude, that he would expose the Roman army to the fury of its enemies, on purpose that it might return home thinner and less formidable. Moreover, Pius was so famous for his justice, that several princes and nations did at his command cease their hostilities, making him the arbitrator of their differences, and standing to his determination as to the justice of their pretensions. For these admirable qualities, the Romans, after his much lamented death, in honour to his memory, appointed cirque-shows, built a temple, and constituted a Flamen, with an order called by his name.

At this time Hyginus prudently settled and confirmed the several orders and degrees of the clergy; and ordained the solemn consecration of churches, the number of which he would not have increased or diminished without leave of the metropolitan or bishop. He forbade also that the timber or other materials prepared for the building any church should be converted to profane uses; yet allowing that, with the bishop's consent, they might be made use of towards the erecting any other church or religious house. He likewise ordained that at least one godfather or one godmother should be present at baptism; and that no metropolitan should condemn or censure any bishop of his province, until the cause were first heard and discussed by the other bishops of the province; though some make this latter an institution of Pelagius, not Hyginus. In his time lived Polycarp, a disciple of St John the Apostle, and by him made Bishop of Smyrna;

the most celebrated man for religion and learning in all Asia. He, coming to Rome, reduced to the orthodox faith multitudes who had been seduced into the errors of Marcion and Valentinus; the former of which by chance meeting him, and asking whether he knew him, Polycarp answered, that he knew him to be the first-born of the devil. For this heretic denied the Father of our blessed Saviour to be God the Creator, who by His Son made the world. But afterwards, in the time of M. Antoninus and L. Aurelius Commodus, who raised the fourth persecution, Polycarp was burnt at Smyrna by order of the proconsul. Melito, also an Asian, Bishop of Sardis, and a disciple of Fronto the orator, presented to M. Antoninus a book written in defence of the Christian doctrine. Tertullian highly extols his parts, and says that most of the Christians looked upon him as a prophet. Moreover, Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, wrote a book against the heresy of Hermogenes, who asserted an uncreated eternal matter, co-eval to God himself. As for Hyginus himself, having deserved well of the church, and at three Decembrian ordinations made fifteen presbyters, five deacons, six bishops, he died, and was buried in the Vatican, by St. Peter, January 11. He was in the chair four years, three months, four days. The see was then vacant four days.

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ST PIUS I.

A.D. 143-157.

PIUS, an Italian of Aquileia, son of Ruffinus, lived to the time of M. Antoninus Verus, who, together with his brother, L. Aurelius Commodus, jointly exercised the Government nineteen years.

These two princes undertook a war against the Parthians, and managed it with such admirable courage and success, that they had the honour of a triumph decreed to them. But not long after Commodus dying of an apoplexy, Antoninus was sole emperor; a person who so excelled in all good qualities, that it is more easy to admire than to describe him; for both because from his very youth no change of his fortune made any alteration in his mind or his countenance, and because it is hard to determine whether the sweetness of his

natural temper, or the knowledge he learnt from Cornelius Fronto, were more conspicuous in him; he deservedly gained the surname of Philosopher. And indeed (as Capitolinus tells us) he was often wont to use that saying of Plato, that then the world would be happy, when either philosophers were princes, or princes would be philosophers. He was so great a lover of learning, that even when he was emperor he would be present at the lectures of Apollonius the philosopher, and Sextus Plutarch's nephew; and he set up the statue of his tutor Fronto in the Senate House as a testimony of the honour he had for him.

At this time Pius maintained a strict friendship and familiarity with Hermas, who wrote the book called "Pastor;" in which book he introduces an angel in the form of a shepherd, who commanded him to persuade all Christians to keep the feast of Easter on a Sunday, which Pius accordingly did. Moreover, he ordained that every convert from the Cerinthian heresy should at his reception be baptized. At the request of Praxedes, a devout woman, he dedicated a church at the baths of Novatus to her sister, St Pudentiana; to which he himself made several donations, oftentimes celebrated mass in it, and built a font which he blessed and consecrated, and at which he baptized a great number of proselytes. He also appointed a punishment upon those who were negligent in handling the body and blood of Christ. If through the priest's carelessness any of the cup had fallen upon the ground, he was to undergo a penance of forty days; if it fell upon the altar, of three days; if upon the altar-cloth, of four days; if upon any other cloth, of nine days. Whithersoever it fell, he was to lick it up if he could; if not, the board or stone to be washed or scraped, and what of it could be recovered thereby either burnt or laid up in the sacrarium. In his time, Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis in Asia, was much esteemed, who wrote an excellent apology for Christianity, and presented it to Antoninus the second. He wrote also against the Montanists,[1] who, with their two fanatic prophetesses, Priscilla and Maximilla, pretended that the descent of the Holy Ghost was not upon the apostles, but themselves; an opinion which they had learned from their leader Montanus. At this time also, the learned Tatianus was in good reputation,

[1] This is wrong. The Montanists did not appear until some years after this pope's death.—ED.

so long as he swerved not from the doctrine of his master, Justin Martyr; but afterwards being puffed up with a great conceit of himself, he became the author of a new heresy, which being propagated by one Severus, the followers of it were from him called Severians. They drank no wine, ate no flesh, rejected the Old Testament, and believed not the Resurrection. Moreover, Philip, bishop of Crete, now published an excellent book against Marcion and his followers, whose errors were the same with those of Cerdo. Musanus also wrote a book against the heretics called Encratitæ, or the Abstemious, who agreed in opinion with the Severians, looking upon the marriage rites as filthy and unclean, and condemning those meats which God hath given for the use of mankind. But to return to Pius, having at five Decembrian ordinations made nineteen presbyters, twenty-one deacons, ten bishops, he died, and was buried in the Vatican, near St Peter, July 11. He was in the chair thirteen years, four months, three days; and by his death the see was vacant thirteen days.

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ST ANICETUS.

A.D. 157-168.

ANICETUS, a Syrian, the son of one John de Vicomurco, lived in the time of Antoninus Verus, concerning whom we have spoken in the life of Pius.

Which Antoninus, though he were a great philosopher, yet neglected not the pursuit of military glory. For, together with his son, Commodus Antoninus, he did with great courage and success gain a victory and a triumph over the Germans, Marcomanni, Quadi, and Sarmatæ. At his first enterprising this war, his exchequer being so low that he had not money to pay his soldiers, he exposed to public sale in the Forum Trajani all the furniture of his palace, and all the jewels of his empress. But afterwards returning home victoriously, to those who were willing to restore the goods they had bought, he refunded what they paid for them, but used no force against those who refused to relinquish their bargains. Upon this victory, he was very liberal to all who had done any good service to the public: to some provinces he remitted their

accustomed tribute; he caused to be publicly burnt in the Forum the writings by which any man was made a debtor to the exchequer; and by new constitutions moderated the severity of the old laws. By this means he became so much the darling of the people, that any man had a particular brand of infamy set upon him who had not Antoninus' effigies in his house.

Anicetus, that the reputation of the Church might not suffer by the extravagancy of a few men, ordained that no clergyman should, upon any pretence, wear long hair; and that no bishop should be consecrated by fewer than three of the same order (a constitution which was afterwards confirmed by the Council of Nice); and that at the consecration of a metropolitan, all the bishops of the province should be present. Moreover, he ordained (as Ptolemy tells us) that no bishop should implead his metropolitan but before the primate or the see apostolic (this being also a constitution which was afterwards confirmed by the Council of Nice, and several succeeding bishops of Rome); and that all archbishops should not be called primates, but only those of them who have a particular title to that denomination; the primates having also the style of patriarchs, whereas the others are simply archbishops or metropolitans. In his time, Hegesippus was a great defender of the Christian faith; who, as an imitator of their manner of speaking, of whose lives he had been a diligent observer, in a very plain, unaffected style, wrote a history of ecclesiastical affairs from the passion of our Lord to the age in which He lived. He says of himself that he came to Rome in the time of Anicetus, whom he calls the tenth bishop from St Peter, and that he stayed there to the time of Eleutherius, who had been deacon to Anicetus. He inveighed much against idolators for building sumptuous monuments and temples to the dead; as particularly Hadrian, the emperor, who, in honour to his darling Antinous, had instituted solemn games and prizes at the city, which he built and called by his name Antinoe, and also erected a temple, and appointed priests for his worship. Some say that Dionysius lived in the pontificate of Anicetus; but writers are in this place very confused in their chronology, some placing Pius first, others Anicetus, and so they are in their histories too. However, in a history of things so remote, and of which, through the negligence of the ancients, we have so slender an

account, it will be better to say something of the matters themselves, though it be some time before or after they were transacted, than altogether to pass them by in silence. As for Anicetus, having at five Decembrian ordinations made nineteen presbyters, four deacons, nine bishops, he received a crown of martyrdom, and was buried in the sepulchre of Callistus, in the Via Appia, April the 17th. He was in the chair eleven years, four months, and three days; and by his death the see was vacant seventeen days.

ST SOTER.

A.D. 168-177.

SOTER, a Campanian of Fundi, son of Concordius, lived in the time of L. Antoninus Commodus.

This Commodus was (as Lampridius plays upon his name) very incommodious and hurtful to all his subjects; being in nothing like his father, save that he also, thanks to the Christian soldiers for it, fought successfully against the Germans. In that war, when the army of Commodus was in great straits for want of water, it is said that at the prayers of the Christian legion, God supplied and refreshed the Romans with rain from heaven, and at the same time destroyed the Germans with thundershot.[1] The truth of which the Emperor himself testified by his letters. But at his return to Rome, he utterly renounced all virtue and goodness, and shamefully gave himself up to all manner of luxury and uncleanness. He used, in imitation of Nero, to combat with the gladiators, and oftentimes encountered with wild beasts in the amphitheatre; many of the senators he put to death, and those especially whom he observed to be more conspicuous for extraction or merit.

Soter, diverting his mind from the contemplation of this wretched scene of things to the care of ecclesiastical affairs, decreed that no deaconess should touch the altar-cloth, or put the incense upon the censer at the time of celebration. There is extant an epistle of his concerning that matter, written to the

[1] This legend, which has been abandoned, at least in the above form, by modern historians, is generally attributed to the reign not of Commodus, but of his father Marcus Aurelius. See Robertson, i. 28.—ED.

bishops of Italy. He ordained likewise that no woman should be accounted a lawful wife, but she whom the priest had formally blessed, and whom her parents had with the usual Christian solemnities given to her husband. This constitution he made to remove the danger and scandal that was incident to new-married persons from the juggling magical tricks of lewd fellows. Indeed, Gratian ascribes this decree to Evaristus, but whose due it is I leave the reader to judge, for it matters not much whether it be attributed to the one or the other. During the pontificate of Soter, as Eusebius tells us, lived Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, a person of so great parts and industry, that he instructed not only the people of his own city and province, but also by his epistles the bishops of other cities and provinces. For being thoroughly acquainted with the writings of St Paul, he could the more easily keep others within the bounds of their duty by the authority which his learning and sanctity had gained him. Theodotion also, an Asian, scholar to Tatianus, wrote several things in defence of our religion; and in particular he very handsomely exposed Apelles the heretic, for worshipping a God whom he professed he did not know; for he denied Christ to be truly a God, and affirmed Him to be only in appearance a man. Some say that the Cataphrygian heresy was at this time set on foot by Montanus. Moreover, Clemens, a presbyter of Alexandria and master to Origen, was now a great writer; among other things he was author of *Stromata* ("Miscellanies"), *Hypotyposeis* ("Outlines"), *Pœdagogos* ("The Instructor"), and a popular address, "What rich man is saved?" There are some who make Pinytus, a person of admirable eloquence; Oppian, a famous poet, who wrote the Halieutics or books concerning fishes; and Herodian, the grammarian—contemporaries to our Bishop Soter; who having at five Decembrian ordinations made eight presbyters, nine deacons, eleven bishops, he died and was buried in the Via Appia, in the Sepulchre of Calistus. He was in the chair nine years, three months, twenty-one days. And the see was vacant twenty-one days.

ST ELEUTHERIUS.

A.D., 177-192.

ELEUTHERIUS, a Grecian of Nicopolis, son of Habundius, lived also in the reign of L. Antoninus Commodus, for whose flagitious life the city of Rome smarted sorely; for in his time the Capitol, being fired with lightning, together with the famous library which had cost the ancients so much care in collecting, was consumed; nor did the neighbouring houses escape the same calamity. Not long after, another fire broke forth, in which the temple of Vesta, the palace, and a good part of the city were burnt to the ground. He was of so rash and freakish a humour that he caused the head of a vast colossus to be taken off, and that of his own statue to be placed in room of it; and in imitation of Augustus, he would needs have a month of his own name, ordering December to be called Commodus. But these things were soon changed after his death, and himself adjudged an enemy to mankind, such an hatred and detestation did all men entertain of his villanies. He was strangled in the twelfth year and seventh month of his reign.

Eleutherius, soon after his entrance upon the pontificate, received a message from Lucius, king of Britain, wherein he expressed a desire that he and his subjects might become Christians. Hereupon Eleutherius sends Fugatius and Damianus, two very religious men, to that island to baptize the king and his people. There were at that time in Britain twenty-five heathen priests called Flamens, and among them three styled Archflamens, in the place of which, as Ptolemy says, were constituted three archbishops—the ancient Church being wont to fix patriarchs there, where in the time of Gentilism Protoflamens had been seated. Furthermore, Eleutherius ordained that no person should superstitiously abstain from any sort of meat which was commonly eaten; and that no clergyman should be degraded before he were legally found guilty of the crime laid to his charge—following herein the example of our Saviour, who so patiently bore the fault of Judas, being not yet convicted, though really guilty, that whatsoever he acted in the meantime, by virtue of his apostleship remained firm and valid. He also prohibited the passing sentence against any person accused, unless he were present

to make his defence, which was afterwards confirmed by Damasus and the pontifical laws. In his pontificate the Church enjoyed peace and tranquillity, and Christianity was wonderfully propagated in the world, but especially at Rome, where many of the best quality, with their wives and children, received the faith and were baptized. Only Apollonius, a great orator, was now a martyr, having first in the Senate made an excellent speech in favour of Christianity, the doing of which was then a capital crime. Apollonius being dead, several heresies very much prevailed. For the sect of the Marcionites was divided into several parties; some of them owning but one principle, or God, others two, others three, thereby utterly undermining the credit of the prophets and other discoverers of revealed religion. Moreover, Florinus and Blastus set up new figments against the truth, asserting God to be the author of all kinds of evil, in contradiction to that text, that "every thing which God made was good."[1] Opposite to these were the Quotiliani, who denied God to be the author of any kind of evil, in equal contradiction to that other text, "I the Lord create evil."[2] Some are of opinion that Galen of Pergamus, the famous physician, and Julian, the great lawyer, and Fronto, the rhetorician, lived at this time; though whether they did or no, in so great a confusion of time and story, I shall neither affirm nor deny. But I dare be confident concerning Modestus and Bardesanes, the former of which wrote against Marcion, the latter against Valentinus, being now as strenuous an opposer, as he had been formerly a zealous follower, of that heretic. St Hierom, upon the perusal of his books, translated out of the Syriac language into Greek, affirms this Bardesanes to have been a wonderfully brisk ingenious writer; "And if," says he, "there be so much smartness in the translation, how much more shall we judge to be in the original?" As for Eleutherius, having at three Decembrian ordinations made twelve presbyters, eight deacons, fifteen bishops, he died and was buried near St Peter in the Vatican, May 26. He was in the chair fifteen years, three months, two days, and the see was vacant five days.

[1] Gen. [2] Isaiah xlv.

ST VICTOR I.

Circa A.D. 192-202.

VICTOR, an Asian, son of Felix, was, as I believe, in the time of Ælius Pertinax, which Ælius, being seventy years of age, was from the office of city-præfect created emperor by a decree of the Senate. Being afterwards desired to declare his lady Augusta, and his son Cæsar, he refused both, saying it was enough that he himself was emperor against his will. But undergoing the reproach of that unprincely vice, covetousness, being so sordid as to cause the half of a lettuce or artichoke to be served up to his table, he was without any opposition slain in the palace by Didius Julianus in the sixth month of his reign. This is that Julian[1] who made the perpetual edict, and who in the seventh month after his coming to the empire was vanquished and slain in a civil war by Severus at Pons Milvius.

Victor, out of his care of the affairs of the Church, decreed, that according to a former constitution of Eleutherius, as Damasus tells us, Easter should be kept upon the Sunday, which fell between the fourteenth and twenty-first day after the phasis or appearance of the moon in the first month. Theophilus, bishop of Cæsarea Palestinæ, was obedient to this decree, and wrote against those who observed that feast, as the Jews did their Passover, always upon the fourteenth day of the moon, whatever day of the week it happened to be. But Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, very hotly declaimed against this constitution, stiffly contending that, according to ancient custom, it ought to be celebrated precisely on that day on which the Jews kept their Passover. For he maintained that herein he followed the example of St John the apostle, and others, the ancients. We, says he, observe the exact day, neither anticipating nor protracting it. Thus did Philip, who died at Hierapolis; thus did John, who leaned on our Lord's bosom; thus did Polycarp, Thraseas, Melito, and Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem. Hereupon some tell us, that a council was held in Palestine, at which were present Theophilus, Irenæus, Narcissus, Polycarp, Bacchylus, all bishops of great note in Asia. But the whole matter was afterwards referred

[1] A mistake. The author of the perpetual edict in the reign of Hadrian was Salvius Julian, a different person altogether.—ED.

to the Council of Nice, in which it was decreed that Easter should be kept on the Sunday following the fourteenth day of the moon, to avoid all appearance of Judaising. Victor also ordained that, in cases of necessity, proselytes might at their desire be baptized in any kind of water or at any time of the year. During his pontificate there flourished many learned men. As, for instance, Appion, who wrote the "Hexaëmeron," or account of the six days' work of creation; Paulus Samosatenus,[1] who, together with Theodotus, held our Saviour to have been a mere man; Sixtus, who wrote of the resurrection; and Arabianus, who published several treatises of Christian doctrine. Now also one Judas wrote a chronology to the tenth year of Severus the emperor; wherein yet he is guilty of a mistake in asserting that Antichrist would come in his time—an error into which I suppose him to have fallen from the observation he had made of the cruelty and other vices of the age, which he saw now grown to such a height, that he thought Almighty God could not bear with mankind any longer. By which very thing Lactantius and St Austin themselves were after deceived. Our Victor, having first written some books concerning religion, died and was buried near St Peter in the Vatican, whose feast we observe on the 28th day of July. He was in the chair ten years, three months, ten days, and the see was vacant twelve days.

ST ZEPHYRINUS.

Circa A.D. 202-219.

ZEPHYRINUS, a Roman, son of Habundius, lived in the time of Severus the emperor, who, being by birth an African, of the town of Leptis, upon the death of Julian succeeded in the empire, and took the surname of Pertinax. He was first an officer of the exchequer, then a colonel in the army, till, by several steps, he advanced himself to the dignity of imperator. He was of a very frugal temper. The cruelty of his nature was heightened by the many wars he had been engaged in; and he exercised great valour in defending, and great care in governing, his subjects. He was eminent not only for his skill in arms, but

[1] He lived considerably later, being made Bishop of Samosata about A.D. 260.—ED.

in letters too, taking very much delight in the study of philosophy. He conquered the Parthians and Adiabeni, and made Arabia Interior a province of the Roman empire. For this achievement he triumphed, and upon the arch erected to him in the Capitol he was styled Parthicus Arabicus and Adiabenicus. Moreover, he adorned the city with public buildings. For he made those which from his own name are called the Severian Baths, and erected the famous Septizonium—that part of which noble pile that is now remaining, hardly escaped being pulled down some years ago by order of Pope Paul the second, to make the best of the stones.

But Bishop Zephyrinus, being more intent upon ecclesiastical than secular affairs, decreed, that every deacon and priest should be ordained in the presence of the faithful, both clergy and laity; which was afterwards confirmed in the council of Chalcedon. He decreed likewise, that the wine at the communion should not be consecrated, as had been before used, in a wooden chalice, but in glass. Though this constitution was altered in following times; wherein order was given that it should neither be in wood, because of its sponginess, whereby some of the sacrament might soak into it; nor of glass, because of its brittleness, and the danger of its being broken; nor of any ordinary coarse metal, by reason of the ill taste it might contract from it; but only in vessels of gold or silver, or at least of pewter; as appears in the canons of the councils of Triburia and Reims. He also ordained that all Christians of fourteen years of age should communicate every year upon Easter Day, which in aftertimes Innocent the Third extended not only to communion, but confession too. He commanded likewise, that no bishop being accused by his patriarch, or primate, or metropolitan, should have sentence passed against him but by the authority of the see apostolic. Lastly, he ordained that when the bishop celebrated, all his presbyters should be present. In his time flourished Heraclius, who wrote a comment upon the apostle; Maximus, who in a large book decided the great controversy of this age (viz., concerning the author of evil and the original of matter); Candidus, who composed an Hexaëmeron; and Origen, who in the tenth year of Severus Pertinax, a great persecution being raised against the Christians, and his father Leonidas put to death for his religion, whom he himself, being yet a youth, did very much confirm in his constancy and resolution,

was left with his mother, a widow, and six brethren, in a very low condition—all his father's estate being confiscated, because they owned Christ to be the true God. Hereupon he was forced to teach a grammar school to get a livelihood for himself and his relations; and among others he had for his scholar Plutarchus, who afterwards became a martyr. Not long after applying himself wholly to religion, he undertook the office of a catechist or preacher. He was a person of very great parts and skilled in all languages and kinds of learning. He was wonderfully temperate and abstemious as to meat and drink and all other things; imitating the poverty of Christ, and for many years walking barefoot; and, moreover, in his younger days he made himself an example of that passage in the gospel, "There be Eunuchs which have made themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake."[1] Many were so encouraged in religion by his pattern, that they did with great constancy lay down their lives for Christianity, and particularly a woman named Potamiena, who was put to death by pouring scalding pitch upon her head. As for Zephyrinus, having at four Decembrian ordinations made thirteen presbyters, seven deacons, thirteen bishops, he died in the time of Severus, and was buried in the Via Appia, not far from the sepulchre of Calistus, August the 26th. He was in the chair seventeen years, seven months, ten days; and the see was vacant six days.

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ST CALISTUS I.

A.D. 219-223.

CALISTUS, an Italian of Ravenna, son of Domitius, lived in the time of Severus, an emperor whose fortune changed with his mind; for no sooner did he raise the fifth persecution against the Christians, but he was presently exposed to a multitude of dangers, and engaged in several wars: on the one side by Piscennius Niger, who was the cause of great commotions in Syria; on the other by Clodius Albinus, whom yet he vanquished with great slaughter in Gaul. But passing over from thence into Britain, being deserted of his friends, and accom-

[1] Matt. xix. 12.

panied only with calamities, he died at York in the fifth year of his empire, leaving behind him two sons, Bassianus and Geta; the latter of which was looked upon and put to death as a public enemy, both because of his abominably dissolute life, but especially because he had with his own hand slain Papinian, the great asylum of the civil law. But Bassianus, receiving from the Senate the name of Antoninus, became possessed of the empire and took the surname of Caracalla, from a kind of long vests which he bestowed by way of largess among the people. He was of a nature more cruel than his father, and so impotently vicious, that there was no kind of villany which he was not guilty of. He is said to have slain his brother Geta, and to have married his own step-mother. He left behind him nothing great and magnificent to perpetuate his memory, save only the Antoninian Baths (which bore his name as being begun by him, but were indeed finished by the emperor Alexander Severus), and the causeway he made in the Via Nova. He made it capital for any to wear amulets about their necks for the cure of quartan or tertian agues. But at length undertaking a war against the Parthians, he was surprised by his enemies between Edessa and Charræ, and stabbed, in the seventh year of his reign, as he was alighting off his horse to ease nature.

But during the most confused state of things and under the government of the most dissolute emperors, Calistus was not at all diverted from his purpose of establishing a solemn fast three times in the year, to be observed on the Sabbath or Saturday, particularly to implore a blessing upon the fruits of the earth, corn, wine, and oil, viz., in the fourth month, the seventh, and the tenth, beginning the year according to the custom of the Jews. Though afterwards he changed his opinion, and appointed it at the four seasons of the year, viz., spring, summer, autumn, and winter; at which times in succeeding ages holy orders were conferred, which before was used to be only in the month of December. He also ordained that accusations against clergymen should not be admitted of in any court if the informers were either infamous, or liable to just suspicion, or avowed enemies of the accused. Moreover, he adjudged those to be heretics who maintained that priests, after they were once convicted of any notorious crime, were not to be restored to their former dignity, though they showed never so great signs of their repentance. Damasus

tells us that he built St Mary's Church in Trastevere; but I cannot imagine that of his founding to be the magnificent vast one which continues there at this time, since in those days of frequent persecution all things were carried secretly, and the Christians had only small chapels, and those private and hidden, and for the most part underground. He likewise built a burial-place, called by his own name, in the Via Appia, at the very place where the ashes of a multitude of martyrs had been formerly reposited; so that the reader must not think it strange that we have already said of several that they were buried in the Cemetery of Calistus, though it had not that name till now. I myself with some of my friends have religiously been to view it, wherein the ashes and bones of the martyrs are yet to be seen, and oratories and chapels in which the Christians privately communicated, when through the edicts of some emperors they could not do it publicly. In his time lived Tertullian, an African, the son of a Proconsular centurion, whom St Hierom reckoned next to Victor and Apollonius, the principal of the Latin writers. He was a man of excellent parts, and wrote a multitude of books. I have seen (saith Hierom) at Concordia, a little town in Italy, one Paul, who said, that when he was very young he was at Rome acquainted with St Cyprian's amanuensis, who assured him that St Cyprian never passed a day without the reading of Tertullian. But having continued half his life-time a presbyter at Rome, through the envy and reproaches of the Roman clergy he afterwards turned Montanist, and wrote several pieces against orthodox doctrine, particularly those "de Pudicitiâ," "de Monogamiâ," and "de Jejuniis." He also composed six books against Apollonius. At the same time likewise Origen flourished, and did great service for the Church. For he opposed the heresy of the Ebionites, who asserted our Saviour to be a mere man, the son of Joseph and Mary, and pressed the observation of Mosaical rites; both which errors were maintained by Symmachus. Moreover, by his learning he brought over to the orthodox faith one Ambrosius, who had been (as Eusebius tells us) a Valentinian, or (as Hierom will have it) a Marcionite; to whom, with Protoctetus, a presbyter, he dedicated his book "de Martyrio." Porphyry, that violent opposer of Christianity, and who was Origen's professed adversary, cannot yet sometimes forbear commending him, calling him the most learned and prince of

philosophers, acknowledging that he was profoundly skilled in Platonism, and finding no fault in him but his being a Christian. St Hierom himself says that he wrote six thousand volumes; though that father and St Austin too tell us that he was erroneous in most of them, and particularly in his book on *First Principles* entitled περὶ ἀρχῶν; yet Pamphilus the martyr, and Eusebius, and Ruffinus, a priest of Aquileia, appear very much in his praise and defence. As for Calistus, having at five Decembrian ordinations made sixteen presbyters, four deacons, eight bishops, he was crowned with martyrdom, and was buried in the cemetery of Calepodius, in the Via Aurelia, three miles distant from the city, October 14. He was in the chair four years, ten months, ten days. The see was then vacant six days.

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ST URBANUS I.

A.D. 223-230.

URBANUS, a Roman, son of Pontianus, was Bishop of Rome in the time of the Emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus, A.D. 223.

This Antoninus, supposed to be the base son of Caracalla, coming to Rome, and being advanced to the empire not without an universal expectation of good from him, took the name of Heliogabalus from the sun, so called by the Phœnicians, to which he built a temple and was himself a priest of it. But he led a life so contrary to the hopes and opinion men had entertained of him, that he has left no other memory of himself than that of his exorbitant villanies and all kinds of debauchery. For he violated the chastity of the Vestal virgins, made his palace no better than a stews, and in a rage commanded Sabinus, a man of consular dignity (and to whom Ulpian, the famous civilian wrote) to be immediately put to death. He conferred all places of trust and honour upon the vilest of men, with whom he was wont sometimes to make himself sport after this manner: he would make them lie down with him at supper, but it should be upon large bellows, which being raised and distended, they would all of a sudden tumble down under the table. He had such a loud and indecent way of laughing, that in a full theatre his voice

might be heard above all the company. He was the first among the Romans who wore velvet, and used tables and other utensils of silver. When some of his friends advised him to beware that by his luxury he did not reduce himself to want; "Can I do better," says he, "than to make myself my own and my wife's heir?" He was once so extravagantly freakish as to cause a collection to be made of ten thousand pound weight of spiders, from whence he pretended an estimate might be taken of the bigness of the city of Rome; and to get together ten thousand mice, and as many weazels, and rats. These mad pranks by degrees rendered him so contemptible in the eyes of all men, that himself and his mother were both slain in military tumult. It is said that some Syrian priests having told him that he should undergo a violent death, he thereupon fairly provided himself of a decent scarlet silken halter to do his own work withal. He died in the fourth year of his reign, at the same time when the city of Nicopolis in Palestine (formerly called Emmaus) was built—Africanus, the historian and chronologer, undertaking an embassy to promote that affair.

Urban, who lived in the time of this monster, not of Dioclesian (as some would have it), by his eminent piety and learning proselyted multitudes to the Christian faith; and among others, particularly Valerianus, an excellent person, and contracted to St Cecilia, with his brother Tiburtius, both which afterwards suffered martyrdom with great constancy of mind; as did also the espoused virgin herself, in her father's house, which was at her request consecrated and made a church by Urban. The same Urban also ordained that the Church might receive estates in land or houses, given and bequeathed to her by any of the faithful, but that the revenues of them should not be any one's property, but for the common good be distributed among the whole clergy, to every one his share—a constitution long since antiquated through the covetousness and rapacity of following ages. Some attribute to him the distinction of the four stated annual times of fasting, or Ember-weeks, which through men's ignorance were before kept very confusedly. In his time lived Tryphon, one of Origen's disciples, remarkable for the book he composed concerning the red heifer in Deuteronomy. Minutius Felix, also a famous pleader at Rome, wrote a dialogue, in which he introduces a Christian and a heathen disputing; besides

another book against the mathematicians, of which Lactantius makes mention. Moreover, Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, at this time founded the famous library there, by which he has gained so great a reputation. As for Urban himself, having at five Decembrian ordinations made nine presbyters, five deacons, nine bishops, he received a crown of martyrdom, and was buried in the cemetery of Pretexatus, in the Via Tiburtina; having been in the chair seven years, ten months, twelve days; and the see was vacant thirty days.

ST PONTIANUS.

A.D. 230-235.

PONTIANUS, a Roman, son of Calphurnius, lived in the time of the Emperor Alexander, in the year nine hundred and seventy-four from the building of Rome, and the year of our Lord two hundred and thirty.

But between the reign of Heliogabalus and Alexander there are reckoned three other emperors, Macrimus, Diadumenus, and Albinus—whose names I intended to have left out, not only because they governed but a very little while, but chiefly because they did nothing memorable: only Albinus became notorious to posterity for his gluttony, eating, if we may believe the authority of Cordus, an hundred large peaches, ten choice melons, five hundred dried figs, and four hundred oysters at one meal. But to pass by these monsters of men, I come to Alexander, a singular pattern of virtue, who being created emperor by the Senate and the army, immediately applied himself to the settling of the commonwealth, which had been very much impaired by the miscarriages of former princes. To which end he made use of Julius Frontinus, a very learned man, and Ulpian and Paul, two excellent civilians, as assistants and coadjutors in that affair. He was so upright in all his dealings, that no man could ever complain of any injury received from him; and so far removed from any kind of vanity or ostentation, that he appeared but once in the costly robes belonging to his office, while he was consul. All those who in their addresses to him were sneakingly obsequious in their carriage, or affectedly complaisant in their words, he would reject as fawning fellows:

for he was so wise and discerning that no man could impose upon him; one instance of which was his proceeding with Turinus, to whom, for his taking bribes upon the pretence of his being the emperor's mighty favourite, he allotted this remarkable punishment: that being bound to a stake in the Transitory Forum, a place of greatest concourse, and the most public thoroughfare, he should be suffocated with smoke—the common crier in the meantime proclaiming these words, "He that sold smoke, is punished with smoke." Though his mother Mammæa, as she was a woman, had a great love for money, yet he was altogether above it; and for jewels he slighted them as feminine trifles, being often wont to say that in Virgil (whom he called the Plato of the poets), there were more and more precious gems to be found. The revenue which arose from bawds, and whores, and catamites, he forbade to be laid up in the sacred treasury, and judged it more fit to be assigned to the defraying some public charge, as the repairing of the theatre, the cirque, the amphitheatre, and the stadium. Having after great search gotten a collection of the images of famous men, he caused them to be put up in the Transitory Forum; and likewise finished and beautified those which are at this time called the Antonian Baths, having been begun by Antoninus Caracalla. He had it in his design to acknowledge our Saviour to be a God, and build a temple to Him, and did actually set up the effigies of Christ, and Abraham, and Orpheus in his domestic chapel. Being renowned for so many excellent qualities, and created emperor while he was very young, he immediately engaged in a war against the Persians, and bravely vanquished the king Xerxes. In reforming the military discipline he was so strict that he cashiered some whole legions at once; which severity of his was the occasion of his being slain in a tumult of the soldiers at Mentz.

Pontianus being now Bishop of Rome, at the instigation of the idol priests both he and Philip, a presbyter, were at the emperor's command transported from the city of Rome to the island Sardinia, much about that time when Germanus, a presbyter of Antioch, and Beryllus, a bishop of Arabia, were converted to the faith by Origen. The heresy of Beryllus was his denial that Christ had any being before His incarnation. He wrote some small pieces, and particularly certain epistles, in which he returns thanks to Origen for his sound doctrine. There is extant likewise a dialogue between them,

wherein Origen convicts Beryllus of heresy. As for Origen himself, he was a person of so great wit and learning that seven amanuenses, taking their turns, were scarce sufficient for him. He had also as many transcribers and young women well skilled in writing, all of which he wearied out with the copiousness and fertility of his inventions. Being sent for from Antioch to Rome by Mammæa, the pious emperor's mother, he was in great esteem with her, and having fully instructed her in the Christian faith, he returned to Antioch. But Pontianus, having suffered diverse calamities and severe torments for the faith of Christ, at length died in Sardinia, his body being afterwards at the request of the whole clergy brought back with great veneration to Rome by Bishop Fabian, and interred in the Via Appia in the cemetery of Calistus. At the ordinations which he held twice in the month of December, he made six presbyters, five deacons, and six bishops. He was in the chair five years, five months, two days; and from his martyrdom the see was vacant ten days.

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ST ANTERUS.

A.D. 235-236.

ANTERUS, a Grecian, the son of Romulus, was made bishop of Rome in the time of Maximine; who A.U.C. 987, having fortunately managed the war in Germany, was elected emperor by the army without any authority of the Senate.

He was a man of a mighty stature, being about eight feet high; and had a foot of such a magnitude, that it is since become proverbial, when men talk of a tall silly fellow, to say, "He needs Maximine's hose." His wife's bracelet served him only for a ring; and his appetite was so large, that he would drink a rundlet of nine gallons of wine at a sitting. He raised the sixth persecution against the Christians, but in the third year of his reign, himself, together with his son Maximine, was slain by Pupienus at Aquileia, a city which he besieged, and so an end was put to his life and that persecution together; by which means Mammæa, a Christian lady, and the famous Origen, the blood of both which he very much thirsted for,

escaped his cruelty. It is reported, that during this siege of Aquileia, when their bowstrings failed, the women of the city supplied that want with their hair ; for which reason, in honour to those matrons, the Senate dedicated a temple to Venus the Bald.

Anterus was the first who, for the sake of one Maximus a martyr, ordained that the acts of the martyrs diligently searched after should be committed to writing by certain notaries appointed for that purpose, and being written should be deposited in the treasury of the church, that so the memory of good men might not perish with their lives. He ordered likewise that no bishop should be translated from his first bishopric to another for his private need or benefit, but only for the sake of the flock committed to him, and by the leave of the supreme bishop—a constitution which at this day is made void by common practice ; for now the prelates being intent upon their own profit and pleasure, are always looking out for a fatter ; not that they are at all inquisitive how they may feed a larger flock, but the great enquiry is, how much any see may be made worth yearly. There is very little discourse among them concerning the care of souls, but very much concerning the increase of their revenues, that thereby they may be able to keep more horses, and have a greater retinue of useless lubberly servants. In his time flourished Julius Africanus, an eminent writer, who, as Eusebius tells us, founded a famous library at Cesarea. This Julius, in the reign of M. Aurelius Antoninus, undertook an embassy for the rebuilding the city of Emmaus, which, as I have already said, was afterwards called Nicopolis. He wrote also an epistle to Origen, showing that the story of Susanna was not received among the Jews : against whom Origen afterwards penned a large epistle upon that argument. At this time likewise flourished Geminus, a presbyter of the Church of Antioch, and Heraclas, patriarch of the Church of Alexandria. As for Anterus himself, having consecrated only one bishop, he suffered martyrdom, and was interred in the cemetery of Calistus in the Via Appia, on the 3rd of January. He was in the chair one year, one month, twelve days, and the see was then vacant thirteen days.

ST FABIANUS.

A.D. 236-249.

FABIANUS, a Roman, the son of Fabius, continued from the reign of Gordianus and Philip to that of the Emperor Decius. Gordianus getting the empire, and having given a mighty defeat to the Parthians, in his return home to triumph was slain by the two Philips. His chief commendation was, that he is reported to have had sixty-two thousand books in his Library.

Philip, A.U.C. 997, having brought home his army out of Syria into Italy, reigned, together with his son, whom he joined to him as a partner in the empire, five years. He was the first Christian emperor, and it is said of him that he never presumed to go to the holy mysteries before he had confessed.[1] After the third year of his reign, the thousandth year from the building of the city being completed, he caused to be celebrated the secular games, which were wont to be repeated every hundredth year. They were first instituted by Valerius Poplicola after the expulsion of the kings, and had their name from the Latin word *seculum*, which signifies the space of an hundred years. But by the fraud of Decius, both the Philips were slain : the father at Verona, the son at Rome.

Fabianus distributed the several regions of the city among the seven deacons, by whom the Acts of the Martyrs written by the notaries were to be collected and digested, for the example of others who professed the faith of Christ. He also built monuments in the cemeteries for the honour of the martyrs. Further, he ordained, that every year at some sacrament the chrism or holy oil should be new consecrated, and the old burnt in the church. In his time sprang up the Novatian heresy. For Novatianus, a presbyter of the city of Rome, out of an eager desire of being bishop, put all things into a great disorder, that the pontificate might not come into the hands of Cornelius, who was successor to Fabianus. Having separated himself from the Church, he gave to himself and his followers the denomination of the Pure ; and denied that apostates, though truly penitent, ought to be re-

[1] It is very unlikely that Philip was a Christian. See Smith's *Dict. of Christian Biography s.v.* "Philip." Platina has quite mistaken the story about the Confession. There was a legend that he was refused the communion on one occasion until he had made amends for a specific crime.—ED.

ceived into the Church. Upon this occasion a Council of sixty bishops, as many presbyters, and several deacons, was held at Rome, in which the opinion of Novatianus was condemned as false, for that according to the example of our Saviour, pardon is to be denied to no man that repents. At the same time Origen opposed the heretical doctrine of certain persons, who affirmed that the souls of men died with their bodies, and were both together to be raised again at the resurrection; as also that of the Helchesaites, who altogether rejected the Apostle St Paul, and asserted, that though a man in his torments should outwardly deny Christ, yet he might be free from guilt, provided his heart were upright. The same author wrote against Celsus an Epicurean, who opposed the Christians, and sent letters concerning religion to the Emperor Philip and his wife Severa, and wrote also many things concerning the order of faith to Fabianus. Alexander, Bishop of Cappadocia, having, from a desire to see the holy places, made a journey to Jerusalem, was there compelled by Narcissus, bishop of that city, and now grown old, to be his assistant in the administration of that bishopric. But the persecution under Decius growing hot, at the same that Babylas suffered martyrdom at Antioch, he being carried to Cæsarea, was there put to death for the faith of Christ. As for Fabianus (concerning whom it is commonly believed, that, when inquiry was made for a successor to Anterus, a dove lighted upon his head in the same shape with that which descended upon the head of Jesus at Jordan) he received a crown of martyrdom, after that at five ordinations, which he held in the month of December, he had ordained twenty-two presbyters, seven deacons, eleven bishops; and was interred in the cemetery of Calistus in the Via Appia, Jan. the 19th. He was in the chair thirteen years, eleven months, eleven days, and by his death the see was vacant six days.

ST CORNELIUS.

A.D. 251-252.

CORNELIUS, a Roman, the son of Castinus, lived in the times of the Emperor Decius, who being born at Buda in Hungary, upon the death of the two Philips, assumed the

empire, proving a bitter enemy to the Christians, because those Philips had been favourers of their religion. But having with his son Cæsar reigned only two years, he was so suddenly cut off by the Goths, that not so much as his dead body was ever found—a just judgment upon him who, raising the seventh persecution, had put to death a multitude of most holy men.

During the pontificate of Cornelius, whose judgment was, that apostates upon their repentance ought to be received, Novatus irregularly ordained Novatianus and Nicostratus; upon which occasion the confessors who had fallen off from Cornelius, being of the same opinion with Maximus the presbyter, and Moyses, reconciled themselves to the Church again, and thereby gained the name of confessors indeed. But, not long after, these heretics pressing hard upon him, Cornelius is banished to Centumcellæ; to whom Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, being himself imprisoned, wrote letters, by which he came to understand both the calamity of his friend and the confirmation of his own exile. There are extant also other epistles of Cyprian to Cornelius, full of religion and piety, but the choicest of them is accounted to be that wherein he accuses and condemns Novatus, a certain disciple of his. Concerning the same heresy, Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria, who had been scholar to Origen, wrote to Cornelius; and in another epistle reproves Novatian for having deserted the communion of the Roman Church, and pretending that he was forced against his will to take the pontificate upon him; to whom he thus replies: "That thou wert," says he, "O Novatian, chosen to that dignity against thy will, will appear when thou dost voluntarily leave it." Cornelius, before he went into banishment, at the instance of Lucina, a holy matron, by night removed the bodies of St Peter and St Paul out of the public burial places, where they seemed to be less secure. That of St Paul was by Lucina herself deposited in ground of her own in the Via Oxiensis, near the place where he suffered; and that of Peter was by Cornelius laid near the place where he also was martyred, not far from the Temple of Apollo. But when Decius came to understand that Cornelius had received letters from Cyprian, he caused him to be brought from Centumcellæ to Rome; and in the Temple of Tellus, the city prefect being present, he thus expostulated with him: "Are you," says he, "resolved

to live thus contumaciously, that neither regarding the gods, nor fearing the commands and threatening of princes, you keep a correspondence tending to endanger the public weal?" To whom Cornelius replied, "That the letters which he received and returned, were only concerning the praises of Christ, and the design of the redemption of souls, but contained nothing in them tending to the diminution of the empire." At this Decius, being enraged, gave order that the holy man should first be scourged with a kind of whips that had small globes of lead fastened to the end of them; that afterwards he should be carried to the Temple of Mars to pay adoration to his image, and upon his refusal so to do, that he should be put to death. The good man, as they were leading him to punishment, disposed of what he had to Stephen the archdeacon; and afterwards, upon the 5th of May, was beheaded. Lucina, with some of the clergy, buried his body by night in a grotto of hers in the Via Appia, nor far from the cemetery of Calistus. There are some who write that the bishop suffered under Gallus and Volusianus, but I rather give credit to Damasus, who affirms Decius to have been the author of his martyrdom. Cornelius held two ordinations in the month of December, in which he made four presbyters, four deacons, seven bishops. He sat in the chair two years, three days; and by his death the see was vacant thirty-five days.

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ST LUCIUS I.

A.D. 252-253.

LUCIUS, by birth a Roman, his father's name Porphyrius, was chosen bishop when Gallus Hostilianus was emperor.

Gallus associated to himself in the Government his son Volusianus, in whose time there arose so great a plague to revenge the cause of Christianity, that there were few families, much less cities and provinces, which had not their share in the public calamity. But while Gallus and Volusianus were engaging in a civil war against Æmilianus, who had attempted an alteration of the government, they were both killed at Terani, before they had completed the second year of their empire. Æmilianus, a person of obscure birth, was slain

ere he had possessed his usurped power three months; and soon after Valerianus and Gallienus were chosen emperors—the former by the army in Rhetia and Noricum, the latter at Rome by the Senate. Their government proved very pernicious to the Roman State by means of their own pusillanimity and the cruelty they exercised against the Christians. For both the Germans had marched forward as far as Ravenna, laying all waste wherever they came with fire and sword; and also Valerianus himself, making war in Mesopotamia, was taken prisoner by the Parthians and forced to live in the most ignominious servitude, for Sapor, king of Persia, made use of him for a footstool when he got up on horseback—a punishment which justly befell him for this reason, that as soon as he was seized of the empire, he was the eighth from Nero who commanded that the Christians should be put to tortures, be made to worship idols, or upon their refusal be put to death. Gallienus, being terrified by this manifest judgment of God, suffered the Christians to live quietly. But it was now too late, for by the Divine permission, the barbarians had already made inroads upon the Roman borders, and certain pernicious tyrants arose, who overthrew at home what was left undestroyed by the foreign enemy. Gallienus hereupon leaves the care of the public, and spending his time very dissolutely at Milan, was there slain.

Lucius, upon the death of Volusianus, being released from banishment, at his return to Rome ordained that every bishop should be accompanied wherever he went with two presbyters and three deacons, as witnesses of his life and actions. In his time suffered St Cyprian, who was first a professor of rhetoric, and afterward, as St Hierom tells us, at the persuasion of Cæcilius, the presbyter, from whom he took his surname, becoming a Christian, he gave his estate to the poor. Having been first ordained a presbyter, and then Bishop of Carthage, he was put to death under Gallus and Volusianus. His life and martyrdom were excellently well written by Pontius, a presbyter, and his companion in exile. And it ought not to be forgotten that Cyprian, before he died, was reconciled to the opinion of the Church of Rome, that heretics were not to be rebaptized, but to be received without any further ceremony than that of imposition of hands—a matter about which there had been formerly a great controversy between him and Cornelius. But to return to Lucius;

before his martyrdom, which he suffered at the command of Valerianus, he delivered up his ecclesiastical power to Stephanus, the archdeacon. He conferred holy orders thrice in the month of December, ordaining four presbyters, four deacons, seven bishops. He was interred in the cemetery of Calistus in the Via Appia, August the 25th. He was in the chair one year, three months, three days; and by his death the see was vacant thirty-five days.

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ST STEPHANUS I.

A.D. 253-257.

STEPHANUS, a Roman, the son of Julius, was chosen bishop when the Roman Empire seemed to be utterly ruined, and particularly at the time when Posthumus exercised his usurped power in Gallia, though not without great advantage to the public, for he governed very well ten years together, freed the country from hostility, and restored that province to its ancient form. But being afterwards killed at Mentz in a tumult of the soldiers, Victorinus succeeded him, who was indeed an excellent soldier, but being excessively incontinent and adulterous, was slain at Cologne.

Stephanus, applying himself to the regulation of the Church, ordained that the priests and other ministers should not use their sacred vestments anywhere but in the church, and during the performance of divine offices; lest otherwise they should incur the punishment of Belshazzar, king of Babylon, for touching the holy vessels with profane hands. Concerning the rebaptization of those who returned to the faith, he was of the same judgment with Cornelius, his predecessor, and thought it by no means lawful to communicate with those who rebaptized them; whereupon Dionysius, who had formerly concurred in opinion about the matter with those of Carthage and the East, both his and their sentiments of it being now altered, writes to Stephen, and encourages him from the assurance that both the Asian and African Churches were now reconciled to the judgment of the Roman see concerning it. About the same time Malchion, a presbyter of Antioch, a person of extraordinary eloquence, became very useful to

the Church of God in writing against Paulus of Samosata, the bishop of that place, who endeavoured to revive the opinion of Artemon, affirming Christ to have been a mere man, and that he had no existence till he was conceived by the Virgin Mary,—an opinion which, being afterwards condemned in the Council of Antioch by general consent, this Malchion, in the name of the synod, wrote a large epistle to the Christians concerning it. As for Stephanus, when he had by his example and persuasion converted a multitude of Gentiles to Christianity, being seized by Gallienus, as some say, or else by those who upon the edict of Decius were appointed to persecute the Christians, he himself, together with many others his proselytes, was hurried away to martyrdom; and having suffered, he was interred in the cemetery of Calistus in the Via Appia, August the 2nd, after that he had at two Decembrian ordinations made six presbyters, five deacons, three bishops. He was in the chair four years, five months, two days; and the see was vacant two and twenty days.

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ST SIXTUS II.

A.D. 257-258.

SIXTUS, an Athenian philosopher, became a Christian, the Decian and Valerian persecution yet continuing.

But it will not be foreign to our present purpose to go on, as we have begun, to give some account of the other tyrants, till we come to the true successor. Victorinus therefore being slain in Gallia, Tetricus, a senator, being at that time governor of Aquitain, was in his absence chosen emperor by the soldiers. But while these things are transacting in Gallia, Odenatus overcomes the Persians, defends Syria, and seizeth Mesopotamia as far as Ctesiphon.

At this time in Ptolemais, anciently called Barce, a city of Pentapolis, there was broached a doctrine, full of blasphemies against God the Father, and against Christ, whom it denied to be the Son of the Most High God and the first-born of every creature, and against the Holy Ghost, whose being it disowned. The assertors of it were called Sabellians, from Sabellius, the author of this perverse sect. What shall I say

of that carnal opinion of Cerinthus?[1] who affirmed, that Christ should personally reign upon the earth a thousand years (from whence by the Greeks he was called a Chiliast). Being himself a man of unbounded lust and luxury, he feigned a great plenty of delicious viands and a great variety of beautiful women to be the principal ingredients of the happiness of that kingdom. Of the same opinion likewise was Nepos, a bishop of some parts of Egypt, who affirmed that the saints were to reign with Christ on the earth, in the highest enjoyment of all sensual delights and pleasures (from whom his brutish followers were called Nepotiani). Sixtus had it some time in his mind to baffle and suppress these opinions, but being accused for preaching the faith of Christ contrary to the emperor's edict, he was taken and led to the Temple of Mars, where he must either offer sacrifice to the idol, or, upon his refusal, be put to death. As he was going forth to punishment, Laurence, his archdeacon, thus bespake him:—"Whither art thou going, O my father, without thy son? whither, O best of bishops, art thou hastening without thy attendants?" To whom Sixtus answered, "I do not forsake thee, O my son; there are yet greater conflicts behind which thou art to undergo for the faith of Christ: within three days, thou, as a dutiful deacon, shalt follow me, thy bishop; in the meantime, if thou hast any stock lying by thee, distribute it all to the poor." On the same day with Sixtus, which was the eighth of August, there were executed six deacons, viz., Felicissimus, Agapetus, Januarius, Magus, Innocentius, Stephanus. And on the third day after, August the tenth, the same Lawrence, with Claudius the subdeacon, and Severus the presbyter, and Crescentius the reader, and Romanus the door-keeper, were all put to death together, though with several kinds of tortures; among which it is said that Laurence was broiled upon a gridiron. Vincentius, who had been scholar to Sixtus, being gone into Spain, could not be present at this martyrdom. Sixtus, during his pontificate having at two Decembrian ordinations made four presbyters, seven deacons, two bishops, his body was interred in the cemetery of Calistus, in the Via Appia. The other martyrs lay in the cemetery of Prætextatus, in the Via Tiburtina. Sixtus sat in the chair two years, ten months, twenty-three days. And the see was vacant thirty-five days.

[1] Our author seems here to be confused in his dates. Cerinthus was a contemporary of St John.—Ed.

ST DIONYSIUS.

A.D. 259-269.

DIONYSIUS, whose original Damasus could not trace, being of a monk advanced to the pontifical dignity, forthwith allotted to the several presbyters in the city of Rome their several churches and cemeteries, and to others elsewhere distributed their respective parishes and dioceses, that so every one might be confined within his own bounds and limits.

His contemporary emperor I take to have been Claudius,[1] who, when by consent of the senate he had undertaken the government, made war upon, and with incredible slaughter defeated the Goths, who had for fifteen years together wasted Illyricum and Macedonia. Hereupon it was decreed by the senate, that in the council-house a golden shield, in the Capitol a golden statue, should be erected to his honour. But falling sick at Sirmium, he died before the second year of his empire was completed. Upon his death, Quintillus, his brother, was straightway chosen emperor by the army—a person of singular moderation, and the only man who deserved to succeed his brother; but he also governed a very little time, being slain in the seventeenth day of his reign.

During the pontificate of Dionysius, Paulus of Samosata, deserting the orthodox faith, revived the heresy of Artemon. This Paul, being made bishop of Antioch in the room of Demetrianus, behaved himself with excessive haughtiness and affectation; for as he passed along he affected to read and dictate letters, a great throng of attendants going before and following him; so that for the sake of his arrogance, multitudes were very strongly prejudiced against the Christian religion. But had they lived in our times, wherein pride and pomp, not to say luxury itself, are at their height, what would they think to see prelates led on by so many young sparks, and brought up by a crowd of presbyters, all mounted upon high-fed and gay-trapped horses? Certain I am they would abhor and execrate them, and say, that they were false and hypocritical pretenders to the religion of the blessed Jesus. But I return to Paul, whom I may more securely reprove.

[1] It was Gallienus. Claudius did not attain the purple until the last year of Dionysius.—ED.

He was highly self-opinionated and ambitious, and denied our Saviour's eternal generation, or that he had a being till his conception of the blessed Virgin. For this reason, at the council of Antioch, he was publicly condemned by the consent of all the bishops that were present; but especially by the sentence of Gregory, Bishop of Cesarea, a most holy man who was present at the council, and afterwards suffered martyrdom for the faith of Christ. Malchion, also a presbyter of Antioch, disputed and wrote much against this Paul, for the reason that I have already mentioned. Dionysius himself could not be at this council because of his great age, but of all the transactions there he had full intelligence given him by Maximus, Bishop of Alexandria. Dionysius dying, was buried in the cemetery of Calistus; after that at two Decembrian ordinations he had made twelve presbyters, six deacons, seven bishops. He sat in the chair, ten years, two months, four days; and the see was vacant six days.

ST FELIX I.

A.D. 269-275.

FELIX, a Roman, son of Constantinus, lived in the time of Aurelianus, who came to the empire A.U.C. 1027, and being an excellent soldier, gained a great victory over the Goths at the river Danube. From thence passing into Asia, at a place not far from Antioch, by the terror of his name rather than by fighting, he overcame Zenobia, who from the time that her husband, Odenatus, had been slain, was possessed of the Eastern Empire. Her he led in triumph, together with Tetricus, by his defeating of whom at Chalons, Gallia was again recovered. Yet by the humanity and clemency of Aurelianus, Zenobia lived all her time very honourably in the city, from whom the Zenobian family in Rome derives its original; and Tetricus being saved, was afterwards made governor of the Lucani. The emperor now applying himself to works of peace, repaired the Temple of Apollo and the walls of the city with great magnificence. But not long after, raising the ninth persecution against the Christians, the Divine vengeance meeting with him, he was slain at a small fort between Constantinople and Heraclea, called Zenophrurium.

Felix, out of the great regard he had to the honour of the martyrs, ordained that upon their account masses should be celebrated yearly; and that the sacrifice of the mass should be celebrated by no other persons but such as were in holy orders, and in no places but such as were consecrated—cases of necessity being always excepted. But if through the age or loss of records it were doubtful concerning any church whether it had been consecrated or no, he commanded that it should be consecrated anew; saying, that nothing could properly be said to be repeated, of which it is uncertain whether ever it were once done at all. During his pontificate, one Manes, a Persian, had the impudence to profess himself to be Christ, and that he might gain the greater credit to his imposture, he associated to himself twelve disciples. But as that Manes was detested and abhorred for his pride and blasphemy, so Anatolius, the Bishop of Laodicæa, was as much extolled and magnified for his religion and learning. At the same time also Saturninus, relying upon the assistance of his army, enterprised the building of a new Antioch; but when it appeared that he designed to invade the empire too, he was slain at Apamæa. Felix, after that at several Decembrian ordinations he had made nine presbyters, seven deacons, five bishops, suffered martyrdom, and was buried in the Via Aurelia, May the 30th, in a church which he had built, two miles distant from the city. He sat in the chair six years, three months, fifteen days; and the see was vacant seven days.

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ST EUTYCHIANUS.

A.D. 275-283.

EUTYCHIANUS, a Tuscan, his father's name Maximus, was in the time of the emperor Aurelianus, who being slain, was succeeded by Tacitus, a man who both for his valour and justice, was certainly very fit for government, but he was slain in Pontus in the sixth month after he came to the empire; as was also his successor Florianus in Tarsus, before he had reigned three months.

Eutychianus ordained that the fruits of the earth, as beans and grapes, &c., should be blessed upon the altar; and also that no persons should bury the martyrs in any but purple

vestments, unless with his knowledge and leave. Some write that in his time Dorotheus the eunuch flourished, a man questionless of very great skill in the Greek and Hebrew languages, and with whose learning it is said the Emperor Aurelianus was wonderfully delighted. For in the beginning of his reign he was such a favourer of the Christians that he severely censured the sect of Paulus of Samosata. But being afterwards corrupted by evil counsels, and, as hath been said, raising a persecution against the Christians, having sent despatches concerning that affair to the several governors of provinces, he was cut off by the Divine hand. Eusebius, when he was young, was an auditor of Dorotheus at his expositions of Scripture. At this time also Anatolius an Alexandrian, Bishop of Laodicæa, a man of great learning, wrote several excellent things in mathematics and divinity, and was very severe against the Manichæan heresy which then very much prevailed. These Manichees, to their other errors, brought in two substances, the one good, the other evil, and held that souls flowed from God as from a fountain. The Old Testament they altogether disowned, and received but some parts of the New.

Eutychianus, after that at several ordinations he had consecrated fourteen presbyters, five deacons, nine bishops, was crowned with martyrdom, and buried in the cemetery of Calistus, July the 25th. He sat in the chair one year, one month, one day; and by his death the see was vacant eight days. There are some who say he lived in the pontificate eight years, ten months;[1] but I rather give credit to Damasus, who is the author of the former assertion.

ST CAIUS.

A.D. 283-296.

CAIUS, a Dalmatian, the son of Caius, a kinsman of the Emperor Diocletian, lived in the times of Probus, Carus, and Carinus.

Probus, a person renowned for military skill, having undertaken the government, was very successful in recovering Gallia that had been possessed by the barbarians. He also van-

[1] They are correct according to Milman (i. 15).—ED.

quished Saturninus, who was attempting to usurp the Empire in the east, and Proculus and Bonosus at Cologne. But this valiant and just man was notwithstanding slain in a tumult of the soldiers at Sirmium, in the sixth year of his reign. After whom Carus Narbonensis entered upon the Empire, and held it two years. He having admitted his two sons, Carinus and Numerianus, to a share in the government, and having in the Parthian War taken Celænæ and Ctesiphon, two famous cities, was in the camp slain by a thunderbolt. Numerianus, who was returning with his father, was murdered by the fraud of his father-in-law, Arrius Aper. But Carinus, a person most dissolutely lewd, was overcome after a sharp and doubtful engagement by Diocletian in Dalmatia; and at length suffered the just punishment of his villanies.

Caius stated the several orders in the Church by which, as by certain steps and degrees, the clergy were to rise to the Episcopal dignity. These were the door-keeper, the reader, the exorcist, the acolythus, the sub-deacon, the deacon, the presbyter, and the bishop. He also, as Fabianus had done before him, allotted several regions to the deacons, who were to register and compile the acts of the martyrs. He ordained, likewise, that no laic should commence a suit of law against a clergyman, and that no pagan or heretic should have power to accuse a Christian. In his time lived Victorinus, Bishop of Poictiers, who wrote diverse commentaries on the Scriptures, and was very sharp and severe against the heresies then prevailing, though he had greater skill in the Latin than the Greek tongue, as Hierom will have it, who tells us that the sense of his writings was great, but the style mean. Pamphilus, also a presbyter, and the intimate friend of Eusebius, bishop of Cesarea, was so eagerly greedy of divine learning, that with his own hand he transcribed a great part of Origen's books; which books Eusebius affirms himself to have seen in the library of Cesarea, with as great satisfaction as if he had gained the riches of Crœsus. The same Pamphilus wrote the defence of Origen, as Eusebius himself also did not long after.

But in the reign of Diocletian, there arising against the Christians a persecution sharper than ever was before, Caius lay a long time concealed in certain grottoes and vaults underground; but being at length discovered and taken from thence by the persecutors, together with his brother, Gabinius,

and his niece, Susanna, he was crowned with martyrdom, and buried in the cemetery of Calistus, in the Via Appia, April the 22nd. Some write that Lucia, Agatha, and Agnes became martyrs not long after. Caius sat in the chair thirteen years, four months, twelve days; in which time, at four several Decembrian ordinations, he made twenty-five presbyters, eight deacons, five bishops; and by his death the see was vacant eleven days.

ST MARCELLINUS.

A.D. 296-304.

MARCELLINUS, a Roman, the son of Projectus, was, in the times of Diocletian, a Dalmatian of obscure birth, and Maximian.

Diocletian being elected Emperor by the army in A.D. 284, slew that Aper who had murdered Numerian. But a commotion arising in Gallia, which was a sedition rather than a war, thither Diocletian sent Maximianus Herculeus, by whom the peasants were soon quelled. But wars breaking out on every side, Diocletian not being able singly to bear the shock of so many dangers, associated Maximian as his colleague by the name of Augustus, and Constantius and Galerius under them by the name of Cæsars. Maximian, after that Carausius was killed by the treachery of Alectus, in ten years' time made himself master of Britain. And Constantius, after one unsuccessful engagement in Gallia, renewing the fight a second time, slew several thousand Germans who were mercenaries there, and thereby restored peace to that province. In the meantime Diocletian took Alexandria, which, being bravely defended by Achilleus, held out a siege of eight months, and gratified his soldiers with the plunder of it. But Galerius having behaved himself gallantly in two fights against Narseus, was at length routed between Galietium and Carræ; and his forces being scattered and lost in that unfortunate battle, he was forced to fly to Diocletian, who received him with such disdain, that it is said he suffered him in his imperial habit to run on foot several miles before his chariot. Maximian, being nettled at so foul a disgrace, undertook the war afresh, and in the end became victorious.

Affairs being thus settled, Diocletian in the east, and Maximian Herculeus in the west, commanded that the churches should be destroyed, and the Christians tortured and put to death; and so raised the tenth persecution, which lasted longer, and was more vehement and bloody than any before. For now Bibles were publicly burnt; all Christians who were in any office ignominiously cashiered; servants who continued constant to their profession cut off of all hope of being ever made free, and the Christian soldiers compelled either to offer up sacrifice to idols, or else to lay down their arms and their lives together, by an imperial edict publicly affixed in the forum. This edict, a certain person being so hardy as to pull down and tear in pieces, he was thereupon ordered to be flayed and to have vinegar mixed with salt poured upon his raw flesh till he died; which he patiently endured, being confirmed and encouraged in his sufferings by Dorotheus and Gorgonius, two very eminent men. At the same time the royal palace at Nicomedia happening to be on fire, the emperor groundlessly suspecting it to be caused by the Christians, commanded multitudes of them to be put to the sword, and several others to be thrown alive into the flames. The same severity was exercised against them in Mitylene, Syria, Africa, Thebais, and Egypt, by the several governors of those provinces; and in Palestine and Tyre great numbers of them were exposed to be devoured by wild beasts. Indeed, there was no kind of torment could be invented which the Christians did not undergo. Some had their flesh scraped and torn off with potsherds; to others, sharp reeds were thrust under their nails, and to the women run into their bodies. A certain city in Phrygia was set on fire and burnt to the ground, because the citizens, who were kept constant to the faith by Adauctus, a pious Roman, refused to offer sacrifice to idols. In the end their inhuman tormentors came to such a height of cruelty, that they would first burn out their eyes with searing-irons, and then wreak the remainder of their fury and rage against them. At this time were also put to death for the profession of Christianity, Anthimus, Bishop of Nicomedia; and Lucianus, the learned presbyter of Antioch; and Pamphilus of Cesarea; and Philæas, an Egyptian, and Bishop of Thmyis—this last being beheaded because he had written a book in praise of the martyrs, and had courage enough to tell his unjust judges their sin. I need not enumerate more

instances, since Damasus affirms that there were no less than seventeen thousand persons of both sexes who suffered martyrdom through the several provinces in the space of thirty days. I shall not mention those who were banished to the islands, or condemned to work in the mines or melting-houses, or to dig sand, or to hew stones, or to other the like kinds of servitude, whose numbers were almost infinite.

But our Marcellinus, being carried to the heathen sacrifices, and his tormentors, with menaces, urging him to offer, he being overcome with fear, submitted to their importunities, and joined with them in their idolatries. But not long after, a council of a hundred and eighty bishops being held at Sinuessa, a city of Campania, thither goes Marcellinus, clothed in sackcloth, with all the marks of a humble penitent, and beseeches them to inflict upon him the just punishment of his cowardice and inconstancy. Yet, in so numerous a council, there was not a man who would pass any sentence against him, they all agreeing that he had lapsed only after the same manner that St Peter himself did, and that by his tears and sorrows he had already sufficiently suffered for his fault. To Rome returns Marcellinus, full of zeal, hastens to Diocletian, and boldly reproves him for causing him to sacrifice to false gods. Hereupon, by Diocletian's order, he was forthwith led to execution, together with Claudius, Cyrinus, and Antoninus, three other assertors of Christianity. As he went along, he admonished Marcellus his presbyter, not to submit to the command of Diocletian in matters appertaining to religion; and forbade him to suffer his body to be buried, saying that, since he had denied his Saviour, he was unworthy of the least acts of humanity—though, indeed, by Diocletian's order, the bodies of all these four martyrs lay unburied in the highway the space of thirty-six days. Afterwards, at the command of St Peter the Apostle, who appeared to Marcellus in a dream, they were buried in the Via Salaria, in the cemetery of Priscilla, near the body of St Crescention, May the 27th. After so long a series of miseries, God at length, as Eusebius words it, opened his eyes, and, to free the Christians from such a plague, so wrought upon Diocletian's mind that he voluntarily resigned the empire and retired to a private life. And he compelled Maximian, his partner in the government, to do the same. He was as violent a persecutor as himself, who, some years after, was afflicted with divers

diseases, and after incessant torment was smitten with distraction, and haunted with the reflections on his guilt. It is the judgment of Eusebius that this calamity befell the Christians by God's permission, as a just punishment for the great corruption of manners which the liberty and indulgence which they before enjoyed had occasioned among them all in general, but especially among the clergy, to the hypocrisy of whose looks, the fraud of their words, and the deceit of their hearts, the Divine justice deigned to give a check by this persecution. Indeed, the envy, pride, animosity, and hatred with which they strove among themselves, was grown to such a height that it seemed rather a contention between haughty tyrants than humble churchmen; and having forgotten all true Christian piety, they did not so much perform as profane the Divine offices. But what calamity shall our presaging minds prompt us to expect in our age, in which our vices have increased to such a magnitude that they have scarce left us any room for God's mercy. It would be to no purpose for me to mention the great covetousness of the clergy, especially of those who are in authority; their lust, their ambition, their pomp, their pride, their idleness, their ignorance of themselves and of the doctrine of Christianity, their little piety, and that rather feigned than true, and their great debauchery, so great that it would be abominable even in the profane (for so they superciliously call the laity); this I say, it would be to no purpose for me to tell, since they themselves do avow their sins so openly that one would think they judged vice to be a laudable quality, and expected to gain reputation by it. The Turk (believe me, though I wish I may prove a false prophet)—the Turk is coming whom we shall find a more violent enemy to Christianity than Diocletian or Maximian. He is already at the gates of Italy; while we idly and supinely wait the common ruin, every one consulting rather his own private pleasure than the public defence. I come now again to Marcellinus, whom I would to God we might at last imitate, and return to a better mind. For he, as I said before, finding his error in falling away from his profession, came to himself, and did with great constancy suffer martyrdom for the sake of Christ; after that, at two Decembrian ordinations, he had made four presbyters, two deacons, five bishops. He was in the chair nine years, two months, fifteen days; and by his death the see was vacant till 308.

ST MARCELLUS.

A.D. 308-310.

MARCELLUS, a Roman, of the region called Via Lata, the son of Benedict, was in the chair from the time of Constantius and Galerius to Maxentius; for Diocletian and Maximian, having laid down their authority, Constantius and Galerius undertook the government and divided the provinces between them. Illyricum, Asia, and the East fell to the share of Galerius; but Constantius, being a person of very moderate desires, was contented with only Gallia and Spain, though Italy also was his by lot. Hereupon Galerius created two Cæsars, Maximinus, whom he made governor of the East, and Severus, to whom he intrusted Italy, he himself holding Illyricum, as apprehending that the most formidable enemies of the Roman State would attempt their passage that way. Constantius, a man of singular meekness and clemency, soon gained the universal love of the Gauls, and the rather for that now they had escaped the danger they had been in before from the craft of Diocletian, and the cruelty of Maximian. But in the thirteenth year of his reign, he died at York in England, and by general consent of all men was placed in the number of the gods.

Marcellus being intent upon the affairs of the Church, and having persuaded Priscilla, a Roman matron, to build at her own charge a cemetery in the Via Salaria, constituted twenty-five titles or parishes in the city of Rome for the more advantageous and convenient administration of baptism to those Gentiles who daily in great numbers were converted to the faith, having a regard likewise to the better provision which was thereby made for the sepultures of the martyrs. But Maxentius, understanding that Lucina, a Roman lady, had made the Church her heir, was so incensed thereat, that he banished her for a time, and, seizing Marcellus, endeavoured by menaces to prevail with him to lay aside his Episcopal dignity and renounce Christianity; but finding his commands despised and slighted by the good man, he ordered him to be confined to a stable, and made to look after the Emperor's camels and horses. Yet this ignominious usage did not so discourage the good bishop, but that he kept constantly to stated times of prayer and fasting, and though he was now dis-

abled in person yet he neglected not by epistle to take due care for the regulating of the churches. But before he had been there nine months, his clergy by night rescued him from this loathsome restraint; whereupon Maxentius, being yet more enraged, secured him the second time, and condemned him to the same filthy drudgery again, the stench and nastiness of which at length occasioned his death. His body was buried by Lucina in the cemetery of Priscilla in the Via Salaria on the sixteenth of January. In time following when Christianity flourished, a church was built upon the ground where this stable stood, and dedicated to St Marcellus, which is to be seen at this day. We read, moreover, that Mauritius, together with his whole legion of Christian soldiers, suffered themselves to be tamely cut off near the river Rhone; to whom may be added Marcus, Sergius, Cosmas, Damianus, with multitudes more who were slain in all places. Marcellus being in the chair two years, six months, twenty-one days, at several Decembrian ordinations made twenty-six presbyters, two deacons, twenty-one bishops; and by his death the see was vacant twenty days.

ST EUSEBIUS.

A.D. 310.

EUSEBIUS, a Grecian, son of a physician, entered upon the pontificate when Constantius and Maxentius were Emperors.

For Constantius (called Chlorus from his paleness) dying, Constantine, his son by Helena, whom he afterwards divorced to marry the daughter of Maximian, was with universal consent made Emperor of the West. But the Prætorian Guards at Rome in a tumultuary manner declared for Maxentius, son to Maximian, and gave him the title of Augustus. Hereupon Maximian himself, being raised to some hopes of recovering the Empire, left his retirement in Lucania and came to Rome, having by letter endeavoured to persuade Diocletian to do the same. To suppress these tumults, Galerius sent Severus with his army, who besieged the city, but being deserted by the treachery of some of his soldiers who favoured Maxentius' pretensions, was forced to fly to Ravenna, and

there slain. And Maximian himself did very narrowly escape the revenge of his son Maxentius, who eagerly sought his father's life for endeavouring by promises and bribes to gain the good-will of the soldiers for himself. So Maximian went into Gaul to Constantine, and gave him his daughter Fausta in marriage. But afterwards he laid a design to ensnare and circumvent him too, till his plot being discovered by Fausta, who revealed the whole matter to her husband, he betook himself to flight, but was taken and put to death at Marseilles, thereby suffering the just punishment of his villanies; or, as others tell us, he laid violent hands upon himself.

During the pontificate of Eusebius, on the third of May, the Cross of our Saviour was found, and very much adorned, and had in great veneration by Helena, Constantine's mother; Judas also, who found it, was baptized, and his name being thereupon changed, was afterwards called Cyriacus. Eusebius admitted heretics to the communion of the Church upon their retractation by the imposition of hands only. Moreover he ordained that no laics should commence a suit against a bishop. In his time lived Lactantius Firmianus, a scholar of Arnobius, who being a Professor of Rhetoric at Nicomedia, and discontented that he had so few scholars in a city of Greece, he thereupon betook himself to writing, wherein he became so excellent that he gained a reputation next to that of Cicero himself. He wrote many things, but his works that are chiefly extant, are those against the heathens, concerning the creation of man, and the anger of God. In his old age he was tutor to Constantine's son, Cæsar Crispus, in Gallia. Eusebius also, bishop of Cesarea in Palestine, a partner with Pamphilus in the diligent search after divine learning, wrote a vast number of books; particularly those "On the preparation of the Gospel;" an Ecclesiastical History; against Porphyry, a violent opposer of the Christians; six apologies for Origen; and three books of the life of Pamphilus the martyr, whose name he added to his own for a surname, as a testimony of the strict friendship there had been between them. But our Eusebius, the bishop of Rome, having at one Decembrian ordination made thirteen presbyters, three deacons, fourteen bishops, died at Rone, and was buried in the cemetery of Calistus, in the Via Appia, October the 2nd. He sat in the chair six months; and by his death the see was vacant one day.

ST MELCHIADES.

A.D. 311-314.

MELCHIADES, an African, was co-temporary with Maxentius, Maximin, and Licinius a Dacian, who for his being an excellent soldier, was admitted by Galerius to a partnership in the empire.

These being sensible that Constantine was well beloved and highly esteemed by all men, did for that reason seem less enraged against the Christians. Yet Maxentius sent his soldiers about with private instructions to massacre all they could secretly meet with; and taking delight in magic, at the performance of the hellish rites belonging to that black art, he would send for great-bellied women, especially Christians, and rip them up for the sake of their unborn infants, whose ashes he made use of in his sorceries, thereby showing that tyranny might be supported and kept up even by villany. Maximin also exercised the like rage and cruelty in the East, giving rewards and preferments to the professors and teachers of witchcraft and sorcery; and being himself very much inclined to give credit to auguries and divinations, became the more bitterly incensed against the Christians, because they despised such superstitions. He commanded likewise, that the decayed idolatrous temples should be repaired, and sacrifices offered to the gods in them after the ancient manner. Against them Constantine advancing with his army, gained so perfect a victory over Maxentius at Pons Milvius, that his grief at being so shamefully defeated, caused him to forget the snares which himself had laid, and so passing over a bridge which he had deceitfully contrived to entrap his enemies, he himself with the greatest part of his guards was drowned in the river. Constantine having both by sea and land overcome his sister's husband Licinius, forced him at Nicomedia to yield himself, and to live privately at Thessalonica; a confinement which he justly deserved, because having apostatised from the faith merely through envy, he had been a grievous persecutor of the Christians for the good-will they bare to Constantine. As for Maximin, he became manifestly the object of Divine vengeance; his bowels and entrails being on a sudden so swollen and putrified, that there appeared no difference between him and a putrid carcase; worms in great abundance breeding

in his flesh, and rottenness with intolerable stench overspreading his body. This dreadful punishment had been long called for by his wicked practices; for he had forbidden the Christians to assemble at the sepulchres of the martyrs, and had given out that at Antioch an image had spoke and proclaimed aloud, that the Christians must be banished out of the cities, when indeed they were certain knavish priests whom himself had suborned, who from their adjoining private recesses had uttered these words; and moreover, he had distributed rewards through the several provinces to the idol-priests who were active against the Christians. But at length the physician plainly telling him the danger of his condition, the tyrant began to relent, and by a public edict forbade all persons to molest or injure the Christians, and suffered them to enjoy their liberty. But this forced repentance stood him in no stead; for having been a long time afflicted with grievous pain and disease, at last died this cruel and inconstant man, who had been sometimes an encourager, sometimes a persecutor of the Christians. During these calamities, multitudes of Christians were put to death, and particularly Dorothea, a most virtuous and beautiful virgin, who chose rather to die than to yield to the tyrant's lust. Sophronia also having been oftentimes solicited by Maxentius, like the noble Lucretia, slew herself to avoid the danger her chastity was in from him.

Melchiades ordained, that no Christian should keep a fast upon a Sunday or a Thursday, because those days were so observed and kept by the pagans; and the Manichæan heresy being at that time very prevalent in the city of Rome, he made several constitutions concerning oblations. These things being settled, he was by Maximin's order crowned with martyrdom; as were also Peter, bishop of Alexandria; Lucianus, a presbyter of Antioch, a man eminent for piety and learning; Timothy, a presbyter of Rome, and divers others both bishops and priests. Melchiades was buried in the cemetery of Calistus, in the Via Appia, December the 10th. During his pontificate, he did at one ordination make seven presbyters, six deacons, twelve bishops. He sat in the chair four years, seven months, nine days; and by his death the see was vacant seventeen days.

ST SYLVESTER.

A.D. 314-336.

SYLVESTER, a Roman, the son of Ruffinus, was bishop in the time of Constantine, *anno dom.* 314.

Under this prince the Christians, who had been continually harassed by tyrants, began to have some respite. For Constantine was equal to the best of princes in all endowments of body and mind, very desirous of military glory, successful in war, and yet freely granting peace to them who asked it. When his other great affairs permitted, he took very much delight in the study of the arts: by his bounty and goodness he gained the love of all men; many good laws he enacted, repealed those that were superfluous, and moderated those that were too rigorous. Upon the ruins of Byzantium he built a city of his own name, and endeavouring to make it equal in stateliness of buildings to Rome herself, he ordered it to be called New Rome, as appears from the inscription under his statue on horseback.

This great prince, well weighing and considering all things, when he came to understand the excellence of the Christian religion, how it obliges men to be moderate in their enjoyments, to rejoice in poverty, to be gentle and peaceable, sincere and constant, &c., he thereupon heartily embraced it; and when he undertook any war, bore no other figure on his standard but that of the cross, the form of which he had seen in the air as he was advancing with his forces against Maxentius, and had heard the angels near it saying to him, Ἐν τούτῳ νίκα—"by this do thou overcome;" which accordingly he did, freeing the necks of the people of Rome and the Christians from the yoke of tyranny, and particularly defeating Licinius, who had expelled the Christians from city and camp, and persecuted them with banishment, imprisonment, and death itself; exposing some of them to the lions, and causing others to be hung up and cut to pieces limb by limb like dead swine.

Sylvester, having so potent and propitious a prince on his side, left the mountain Soracte, whither he had been banished by the tyrants, or, as some say, had voluntarily retired, and came to Rome, where he soon prevailed with Constantine, who was before well inclined towards the Christians, to be now very zealous in deserving well of the Church. For as

a particular testimony of the honour he had for the clergy, he allowed to the bishops of Rome the use of a diadem of gold set with precious stones. But this Sylvester declined, as not suiting a person devoted to religion, and therefore contented himself with a white Phrygian mitre. Constantine being highly affected with Sylvester's sanctity, built a church in the city of Rome, in the gardens of Equitius, not far from Domitian's baths, which bore the name of Equitius till the time of Damasus. Upon this church the munificent emperor conferred several donations of vessels, both of gold and silver, and likewise very plentifully endowed it.

While these things were transacting at Rome, at Alexandria a certain presbyter, named Arius (a man more remarkable for his person, than the inward qualifications of his mind, and who sought more eagerly after fame and vain-glory than after truth), began to sow dissension in the Church. For he endeavoured to separate the Son from the eternal and ineffable substance of God the Father, by affirming that there was a time when He was not; not understanding that the Son was co-eternal with the Father, and of the same substance with Him, according to that assertion of His in the gospel, "I and My Father are one. Now, Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, having in vain attempted to reclaim Arius from this his error, by Constantine's appointment, and at his great charge, a general Council was called at Nicæa, a city of Bithynia, at which three hundred and eighteen bishops were present. The debates on either side were long and warm. For divers persons subtile at arguing, were favourers of Arius, and opposers of the simplicity of the Gospel; though one of these, a very learned philosopher, being inwardly touched by the Divine Spirit, all on a sudden changed his opinion, and immediately embraced the sound and orthodox doctrine which before he had pleaded against. At length the matter being thoroughly discussed in the Council, it was concluded that the Son should be styled ὁμοούσιος, *i.e.*, acknowledged to be of the same substance with the Father. Of those who were of Arius's opinion, affirming the Son of God to be created, not begotten of the very Divinity of the Father, there were seventeen. But Constantine, coming to understand the truth of the controversy, confirmed the decree of the Council, and denounced the punishment of exile to those who contradicted it. Hereupon Arius with only six more were banished,

the rest of his party coming over to the orthodox opinion. In this Council the Photinians were condemned, who had their name from Photinus, Bishop of Sirmium,[1] who, taking up the heresy of the Ebionites, held that Christ was conceived of Mary by the ordinary way of generation; as were likewise the Sabellians, who affirmed that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were but one Person. In this Council also, the bishops, according to custom, gave in bills of complaint to Constantine, wherein they accused each other, and desired justice from him; but the good emperor burnt all their accusations, and told them, that they must stand or fall by the judgment of God only, and not of men. In this Council moreover it was decreed, that no person who, upon pretence of allaying the heat of his lust, had castrated himself, should be admitted into holy orders; that no new proselyte, without a very strict examination, should be ordained, and being so, that it should not be lawful for him to associate with any other women than his mother, or sister, or aunt; that none should be promoted to the order of a bishop, unless by all, or at least by three, bishops of the province; and that one bishop should not receive any person, whether clerk or laic, who stood excommunicated by another. It was decreed likewise, and that very sacredly, to prevent all oppression, that there should be a Provincial Synod held every year, whither any who thought themselves injured by the bishop might appeal; and I cannot see why this wholesome institution should be abolished by the prelates of our age, unless it be because they dread the censures of the pious and orthodox. It was decreed also, that they who in time of persecution fell away before they were brought to the torture, should from thenceforward continue five years among the catechumens. Finally, it was decreed, that no bishop should upon the account of ambition or covetousness leave a smaller church for a greater—a canon which is quite laid aside in our days, wherein with eager appetites, like hungry wolves, they all gape after fatter bishoprics, using all importunities, promises, and bribes to get them. The constitutions of Sylvester himself were reckoned these that follow, viz.: That the holy oil should be consecrated by the bishop only; that none but bishops should

[1] This seems to be inaccurate. Photinus developed his heresy somewhat later. He was repeatedly condemned, and in 351 was deposed by a synod held in his own city.—Ed.

have the power of confirmation, but a presbyter might anoint any person baptized upon the occasion of imminent death. That no laic should commence a suit against a clergyman; that a deacon, while he is doing his office in the church, should use a cope with sleeves; that no clergyman should plead for others or for himself before a secular judge. That a presbyter should not consecrate the elements upon a pall of silk or dyed cloth, but only upon white linen, for the nearer resemblance of the fine white linen in which the body of Christ was buried. He also fixed the several degrees in the orders of the Church, that every one might act in his own sphere, and be the husband of one wife. But Constantine being desirous to promote the Christian religion, built the Constantinian church (called the Lateran), which he beautified and enriched with several great donations, the ornaments and endowments which he conferred upon it being of a vast value. Among other things, he set up in it a font of porphyry stone, that part of it which contains the water being all silver; in the middle of the font was placed a pillar of porphyry, on the top of which stood a golden lamp, full of the most precious oil, which was wont to burn in the night during the Easter solemnities. On the edge or brink of it stood a lamb of pure gold, through which the water was conveyed into it; not far from the lamb was the statue of our Saviour, of most pure silver. On the other side stood the image of John Baptist, of silver likewise, with an inscription of these words, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." There were, besides, seven hearts placed round about it, and pouring water into it. For the maintenance of this font he gave several estates in land and houses. Moreover, Constantine, at the motion of Sylvester, built and dedicated a church to St Peter, the chief of the apostles, in the Vatican, not far from the temple of Apollo, where he very splendidly deposited the body of that apostle, and covered his tomb over with brass and copper. This church, likewise, he magnificently adorned, and very largely endowed. The same emperor, also at the instance of Sylvester, built a church, which he enriched and endowed as he had done the former, in the Via Ostiensis, in honour to St Paul, whose body he entombed after the same manner with that of St Peter; by his order also, a church was built in the Sessorian Atrium, by the name of St Cross of Jerusalem, wherein he deposited a part of the holy cross,

which was found out by his mother, Helena, a lady of incomparable piety and devotion, who, being prompted thereto partly by the greatness of her own mind and partly by visions in the night, went to Jerusalem to seek after the cross upon which Christ was crucified. To find it was a very difficult task, because the ancient persecutors had set up the image of Venus in the same place, that so the Christians might by mistake worship her instead of their Saviour. But Helena, being animated with zeal, proceeded on to dig and remove the rubbish, till at last she found three crosses lying confusedly one among another; on one of which was this inscription, in three languages, "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews." Macarius, the bishop of that city, was at first mistaken in his opinion as to which was the right; but at length all doubt concerning it was removed by an experiment upon the body of a dead woman, who was raised to life at the application of the true one. From the sense of so great a miracle, Constantine published an edict, forbidding any malefactor to be from thenceforward punished by crucifixion. Helena, having first built a church upon the ground where this cross was found, returned, and brought the nails with which our Saviour's body was fastened to it, as a present to her son. Of one of those nails he caused to be made the bit of the bridle with which he managed the horse he used in war, the other he wore on the crest of his helmet, and the third he threw into the Adriatic Sea, to suppress the rage and tempestuousness of it. That part of the cross which the devout lady brought along with her in a silver case, set with gold and precious stones, was placed in this Sessorian Church, to which Constantine was very liberal and munificent. Some tell us that the Church of St Agnes was built at Constantine's command, upon the request of his daughter Constantia, and a font set up in it, where both his daughter and his sister of the same name were baptized, and which in like manner he largely presented and endowed. The same emperor built also the Church of St Laurence without the walls, towards which he was not wanting to express his usual beneficence. Moreover, in the Via Lavicana he built a church to the two martyrs, Marcellinus the presbyter, and Peter the exorcist; not far from which he built a stately monument in honour to his mother, whom he buried in a sepulchre of porphyry. This church also received signal testimonies of his exemplary bounty.

Besides these churches in the city of Rome, he built several others also elsewhere. At Ostia, not far from the port, he built a church in honour to St Peter and Paul the blessed apostles, and John Baptist; near Alba he built a church peculiarly dedicated to John Baptist; at Capua, also, he built in honour to the apostles, that which they called the Constantinian Church,—all which he enriched as he had done the former. At Naples he built another, as Damasus tells us, but it is uncertain to whom he dedicated it. And that the clergy of New Rome also might be sharers in the emperor's munificence, he built likewise two churches at Constantinople, one dedicated to Irene, the other to the apostles, having first quite destroyed the Delphic Tripods, which had been the occasion of a great deal of mischief to superstitious people, and either demolished the pagan temples or else transferred them to the use and benefit of the Christians. Besides all the foregoing instances of Constantine's munificence, he distributed moreover, among the provincial churches and the clergy, a certain tribute or custom due to him from the several cities, which donation he made valid, and perpetuated by an imperial edict. And that virgins and those who continued in celibacy, might be enabled to make wills, and so to bequeath by testament something to the clergy (from whence I believe the patrimony of the church to have received a great increase), he repealed a law which had been made for the propagating of mankind, by which any person was rendered incapable of entering upon an estate who had lived unmarried till five-and-twenty years of age—a law upon which the princes had founded their *jus trium liberorum*, the right or privilege of having three children, of which they often took advantage against those who had no issue. All these things are exactly and fully delivered to us by Socrates and Sozomen, the historians. In the time of Sylvester flourished several persons of extraordinary note, by whose labour and industry many countries and nations were converted to Christianity, and particularly by the preaching of Julianus, Frumentius, and Edisius, whom certain philosophers of Alexandria had carried thither. The Iberi also, a remote people, were brought to the knowledge and belief of Christianity by a certain captive woman, through the assistance and persuasion of their king Bacurius. At this time likewise, the authority of Antony, the holy hermit, did much towards the reformation of man-

kind; Helena did oftentimes, both by letter and messengers, recommend herself and her sons to his prayers. He was by country an Egyptian; his manner of living, severe and abstemious, eating only bread and drinking nothing but water, and never making any meal but about sunset; a man wholly rapt up in contemplation. His life was written at large by Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria. As for Sylvester himself, having at seven Decembrian ordinations made forty-two presbyters, thirty-six deacons, sixty-five bishops, he died, and was buried in the cemetery of Priscilla, in the Via Salaria, three miles distant from the city, on the last day of December. He was in the chair twenty-three years, ten months, eleven days; and by his death the see was vacant fifteen days.

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MARCUS I.

A.D. 336-337.

MARCUS, a Roman, son of Priscus, lived also in the reign of Constantine the Great, concerning whom historians differ in their writings.

For some affirm that Constantine, towards the latter end of his reign, recalled Arius from banishment, and became a favourer of his heresy through the persuasion of his sister, who always insisted that it was nothing but envy that had caused his condemnation. These I believe to be deceived by the nearness of their names, and so to ascribe that to the father which was the act of the son. For it is not probable that that wise prince, who had all along before disapproved of the Arian opinion, should now begin to incline to it in that part of his age wherein men are usually most judicious and discerning. They write moreover, that Constantine was baptized by Eusebius, an Arian, Bishop of Nicomedia. But that this is a mistake appears both from the Emperor's great bounty towards the orthodox, and also from that stately font upon that occasion erected with wonderful magnificence at Rome; at which, after he had been successful in expelling the tyrants, he, with his son Crispus, were instructed in the faith, and baptized by Sylvester. They who are of the other opinion tell us that Constantine deferred so great an affair till the time that he might come to the river Jordan, in which he had a great de-

sire to be baptized, in imitation of our Saviour; but that in an expedition against the Parthians, making inroads upon Mesopotamia, in the thirty-first year of his reign, and of his age the sixty-sixth, he died on the way at Nicomedia, before he could reach the river Jordan for the purpose he designed, and was there baptized at the point of death. But let these men confound and perplex the matter as they please, we have reason to believe, according to the general opinion, that Constantine, who had so often overcome his enemies under the standard of the Cross, who had built so many churches to the honour of God, who had been present at holy councils, and who had so often joined in devotion with the holy fathers, would desire to be fortified against the enemy of mankind by the character of baptism as soon as ever he came to understand the excellence of our religion. I am not ignorant what Socrates and Sozomen and most other writers say concerning it, but I follow the truth, and that which is most agreeable to the religion and piety of this excellent prince. The vulgar story of his having been overspread with leprosy, and cured of it by baptism, with a previous fiction concerning a bath of the blood of infants before prescribed for his cure, I can by no means give credit to, having herein the authority of Socrates on my side, who affirms that Constantine, being now sixty-five years of age, fell sick, and left the city of Constantinople to go to the hot baths for the recovery of his health, but speaks not a word concerning any leprosy. Besides, there is no mention made of it by any writer, either heathen or Christian, and certainly, had there been any such thing, Orosius, Eutropius, and others who have most accurately written the memoirs of Constantine, would not have omitted it. One thing more concerning this great prince is certain, viz., that a blazing star or comet of extraordinary magnitude appeared some time before his death.

Marcus, applying himself to the care of religion, ordained that the Bishop of Ostia, whose place it is to consecrate the Bishop of Rome, might use a pall. He appointed likewise that upon solemn days, immediately after the Gospel, the Nicene creed should be rehearsed with a loud voice both by the clergy and people. He built also two churches at Rome, one in the Via Ardeatina, in which he was buried, the other within the city: these churches Constantine presented and endowed very liberally. In the time of this Emperor and Bishop lived Juvencus, a Spaniard of noble birth and a pres-

byter, who in four books translated almost verbatim into hexameter verse the four Gospels; he wrote also something concerning the sacraments in the same kind of metre. Our Marcus having at two Decembrian ordinations made twenty-five presbyters, six deacons, twenty-eight bishops, died, and was buried in the cemetery of Balbina, in the Via Ardeatina, October the 5th. He was in the chair one year, eight months, twenty days; and by his death the see was vacant twenty days.

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JULIUS I.

A.D. 337-352.

JULIUS, a Roman, the son of Rusticus, lived in the time of Constantius, who, sharing the Empire with his two brethren, Constantine and Constans, reigned twenty-four years.

Among the successors of Constantine the Great is sometimes reckoned Delmatius Cæsar his nephew, who was certainly a very hopeful young gentleman, but was soon cut off in a tumult of the soldiers, though by the permission, rather than at the command of Constantius. In the meantime the Arian heresy mightily prevailed, being abetted by Constantius, who compelled the orthodox to receive Arius. In the second year of his reign, therefore, a council was called at Laodicea, a city of Syria, or, as others have it, at Tyre. Thither resorted both the Catholics and Arians, and their daily debate was, Whether Christ should be styled ὁμοούσιος, of the same substance with the Father, or no. Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, asserted it, and pressed hard upon them with his reasons and arguments for it; which when Arius found himself not able to answer, he betook himself to reproach and calumny, accusing the holy man of sorcery, and to procure credit to his charge, producing out of a box the pretended arm of Arsenius, whom he falsely asserted that Athanasius had killed, and was wont to make use of that dead arm in his incantations. Hereupon Athanasius was violently run down and condemned by the Emperor, but making his escape he lay concealed in a dry cistern for six years together without seeing the sun; but being at length discovered by a certain servant maid, when his enemies were ready to seize him, by Divine admonition he fled to the Emperor Constans, who by menaces compelled his brother Con-

stantius to receive him again. In the meantime, Arius, as he was going along in the streets, attended with several bishops and multitudes of people, stepping aside to a place of easement, he voided his entrails into the privy, and immediately died, undergoing a death agreeable to the filthiness of his life.

Our bishop, Julius, having been very uneasy amidst this confusion of things, at length, after ten months' banishment, returns to Rome; especially having received the news of the death of Constantine the younger, who, making war upon his brother Constans, and fighting unwarily near Aquileia, was there slain. But notwithstanding the present face of things, Julius desisted not from censuring the Oriental bishops, and especially the Arians, for calling a council at Antioch without the command of the Bishop of Rome, pretending it ought not to have been done without his authority, for the pre-eminence of the Roman above all other churches. To which they of the east returned this ironical answer: "That since the Christian princes came from them to the west, for this reason their Church ought to have the preference, as being the fountain and spring from whence so great a blessing flowed." But Julius, laying aside that controversy, built two churches, one near the Forum Romanum, the other in that part of the city beyond Tiber. He erected also three cemeteries—one in the Via Flaminia, another in the Via Aurelia, the third in the Via Portuensis. He constituted likewise, that no clergyman should plead before any but an ecclesiastical judge. He appointed likewise, that all matters belonging to the Church should be penned by the notaries or the protonotary, whose office it was to commit to writing all memorable occurrences. But in our age most of them (not to say all) are so ignorant, that they are scarce able to write their own names in Latin, much less to transmit the actions of others. Concerning their morals, I am ashamed to say anything, since panders and parasites have been sometimes preferred to that office. During the reign of Constantine and Constantius, Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra, was a man of considerable note, and wrote several things, particularly against the Arians. Asterius and Apollinarius wrote against him, and accused him of the Sabellian heresy, as did likewise Hilarius, whom while Marcellus is confuting, his very defence shows him to be of a different opinion from Julius and Athanasius. He was opposed likewise by Basilius, Bishop of Ancyra, in his book "De Virginitate,"

which Basilius, together with Eustathius, Bishop of Sebastia, were the principal men of the Macedonian party. About this time also, Theodorus, Bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, a person of terse and copious eloquence, was a considerable writer, as particularly appears by his commentaries upon St Matthew, St John, the Psalms, and Epistles. As for Julius himself, having at three Decembrian ordinations made eighteen presbyters, three deacons, nine bishops, he died, and was buried in the Via Aurelia, in the cemetery of Calepodius, three miles from the city, August the 12th. He sat in the chair fifteen years, two months, six days, and by his death the see was vacant twenty-five days.[1]

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LIBERIUS I.

A.D. 352-366.

LIBERIUS, a Roman, the son of Augustus, lived in the times of Constantius and Constans.

For Constantine, as I said before, engaging unadvisedly in a war against his brother Constans, was therein slain. And Constans himself, having fought with various success against the Persians, being forced by a tumult in the army to join battle at midnight, was at last routed, and designing afterwards to make an example of his seditious soldiers, was by the fraud and treachery of Magnentius slain at a town called Helena, in the seventeenth year of his reign, and the thirtieth of his age.

Constans being dead, the old firebrands of the Arian heresy began afresh to make head against Athanasius. For in a council held at Milan, all those that favoured Athanasius were banished. Moreover, at the council of Ariminum, because the subtle, crafty eastern prelates were too hard at argument and disputation for the honest well-meaning bishops of the west, it was thought good to let fall the debate for a

[1] In this Pontificate was held the Council of Sardica, in Illyria, attended by 100 western and 76 eastern bishops. Its object was to decide some disputed questions in the Arian controversy, and to reconcile the breach which that controversy had caused between the eastern and western churches. The result, however, was not successful, for the alienation was made stronger.—ED.

time; the Orientalist denied Christ to be of the same substance with the Father. This because Bishop Liberius did at first oppose, and because he refused to condemn Athanasius at the Emperor's command, he was banished by the Arians, and forced to absent from the city for the space of three years. In which time the clergy, being assembled in a synod, in the place of Liberius made choice of Felix, a presbyter, an excellent person, and who, immediately after his choice, did in a convention of forty-eight bishops excommunicate Ursatius and Valens, two presbyters, for being of the Emperor's opinion in religion.[1] Hereupon, at their request and importunity, Constans recalls Liberius from exile: who being wrought upon by the kindness of the Emperor, though he became, as some tell us, in all other things heretical, yet in this particular tenet was on the orthodox side, that heretics returning to the Church ought not to be rebaptized. It is said that Liberius did for some time live in the cemetery of St Agnes with Constantia, the Emperor's sister, that so through her assistance and intercession he might procure a safe return to the city; but she being a Catholic, and apprehending he might have some ill design, utterly refused to engage in it. At length Constantius, at the instance of Ursatius and Valens, deposed Felix, and restored Liberius. Upon which there arose so fierce a persecution, that the presbyters and other clergy were in many places murdered in their very churches. Some tell us that they were the Roman ladies at a circus show, who by their entreaties obtained of the Emperor this restoration of Liberius, who, though he were of the Arian opinion, yet was very diligent in beautifying consecrated places, and particularly the cemetery of St Agnes, and the church which he built and called by his own name, near the market-place of Livia. During these calamitous times lived Eusebius, Bishop

[1] All this portion of the history is more than doubtful. By Milner, as well as by Milman and Robertson, Felix II., who was placed in the see in place of Liberius, is reckoned as an anti-pope. Athanasius calls him a monster and a minister of Antichrist. He is said by Milman to have been elected by three eunuchs, who styled themselves "the people of Rome." Some ancient authorities, while condemning his usurpation, declare, as Platina does, that he adhered to the Nicene creed; others, that he was an Arian. The cause of the recall of Liberius is very differently given by other authors, viz., that while on one hand, all except the Arians refused to attend the communion of Felix; on the other, Liberius made concessions which the Emperor accepted.—See Robertson's "Church History," i. 227; and Milman, i. 62.—Ed.

of Emissa, who wrote very learnedly and elegantly against the Jews, Gentiles, and Novatians. Triphyllius, also bishop of Ledra or Leutheon, in Cyprus, wrote a large and exact commentary upon the Canticles. Moreover, Donatus an African (from whom the sect of the Donatists are denominated) was so industrious in writing against the Catholic doctrine, that he infected almost all Africa and Judæa with his false opinions. He affirmed the Son to be inferior to the Father, and the Holy Spirit inferior to the Son, and rebaptized all those whom he could pervert to his own sect. Several of his heretical writings were extant in the time of St Hierom, and particularly one book on the Holy Spirit, agreeing exactly with the Arian doctrine. And that the Arians might neglect no ill arts of promoting their opinions, Asterius, a philosopher of that faction, at the command of Constantius, compiled divers commentaries upon the Epistle to the Romans, the gospels, and the psalms, which were diligently read by those of that party to confirm them in their persuasion. Moreover, Lucifer, Bishop of Cagliari, together with Pancratius the presbyter, and Hilarius the deacon, were sent in an embassy from the bishop to the emperor; and being by him banished for refusing to renounce the Nicene, under the name of the Athanasian faith, he wrote a book against Constantius, and sent it to him to read. But, notwithstanding this provocation, he lived till the time of Valentinian. It is said also, that Fortunatus, Bishop of Aquileia, had been tampering with Liberius just before his banishment, and endeavouring to bring him over to the Arian heresy. Serapion likewise, who for his great parts had deservedly given him the surname of Scholasticus, compiled an excellent book against Manichæus, nor could all the menaces of the emperor make him desist from the open confession of the truth; but on the contrary, hoping to have rendered Constantius more favourable to Athanasius the Great (so called from the constant and unwearied opposition which he always kept up against pagans and heretics), into his presence he boldly goes, nor did the threats of so great a prince cause him to stir one step backward from his constancy and resolution. As for Liberius, having at two ordinations, held in the city of Rome, made eighteen presbyters, five deacons, nineteen bishops, he died and was buried in the cemetery of Priscilla, in the Via

Salaria, April the 23rd. He sat in the chair fifteen years, three months, four days; and by his death the see was vacant six days.

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FELIX II.[1]

A.D. 356.

FELIX the Second, a Roman, the son of Anastasius, was Bishop of Rome in the reign of Constantius, who by the death of Constans, slain by Magnentius, becoming now sole emperor, sent into Gallia to suppress a sedition arisen there, his cousin-german Julian, whom he had created Cæsar; who in a short time, by his great valour and conduct, reduced both the Gauls and Germans; whereby he gained so much the affections of the army, that by universal consent they made him emperor. At the news of this, Constantius, who was engaged in a war with the Parthians, suddenly strikes up a truce with them, and forthwith marches forward to oppose Julian; but in his march being seized with an apoplexy, he died between Cilicia and Cappadocia, at a town called Mopsocrene, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, and of his age the forty-fifth. The physicians were of opinion that the excessive grief and anxiety of mind which the rebellion of Julian had brought upon him, was the occasion of that fatal distemper to him. He was (excepting always the case of the Christians, against whom he was unjust and cruel) a person of so great moderation and clemency, that, according to the ancient custom, he deserved an apotheosis. Upon his first undertaking the government, at his entering triumphantly by the Via Flaminia into the city of Rome in his golden chariot, he did with wonderful condescension take notice of and salute the citizens that went out to meet him, affirming that of Cyneas, the ambassador of Pyrrhus, to be true, that he saw at Rome as many kings as there were citizens. In one thing only he was the occasion of laughter to the people, viz., that as he passed through the lofty gates of the city, and the stately triumphal arches, though he were a man of very little stature,

[1] See preceding note.

yet as though he feared to hit his head against the tops of them, he bowed it down low, like a goose stooping as she goes in at a barn door. Being conducted to view the rarities of the city, and beholding with admiration the Campus Martius, the sepulchre of Augustus Cæsar, adorned with so many statues of marble and brass, the Forum Romanum, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the baths, the porticoes, enlarged like so many provinces, the amphitheatre, built with Tiburtine stone of so vast a height that a man's eye could scarce reach to the top of it, the Pantheon, built with stately arches, of a wonderful altitude, the temple of peace, Pompey's theatre, the great cirque, the Septizonium of Severus, so many triumphal arches, so many aqueducts, so many statues erected here and there throughout the city for ornament; beholding all this, I say, he at first stood astonished, and at length declared, that certainly Nature had laid out all her stock upon one city. At the sight of the famous horse of brass set up by Trajan, he desired of Hormisda, an excellent workman whom he had brought along with him, that he would make such another for him at Constantinople, to whom Hormisda replied that the emperor ought then to build such another stable (meaning the city of Rome). The same Hormisda being asked by Constantius what he thought of the city of Rome, returned an answer becoming a philosopher, that all which pleased him in it was, that he understood that there also men were wont to die.

Felix, who, as we have said, was put into the place of Liberius by the orthodox (though Eusebius and St Hierom, which I much wonder at, affirm it to have been done by the heretics), presently after his entrance upon the pontificate pronounces Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great, a heretic, and rebaptized by Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, in a little town called Aquilo, not far from Nicomedia. And hereby may be discovered the error of those who accuse Constantine the Great himself of this heresy—an imputation which certainly, as appears by history, neither ought nor can be fastened upon that great prince and great favourer of the Christian religion. While this great contention which we have spoken of between Liberius and Felix lasted, the Arian heresy branched itself into two factions. For on the one side Eunomis (from whom they were called Eunomians), a man leprous both in body and mind, and who had a falling-

sickness as well within as without, affirmed that in all things the Son was unequal to the Father, and that the Holy Spirit had no community of essence with the Father or the Son. On the other side, Macedonius, whom the orthodox had made Bishop of Constantinople before he became erroneous in his opinions, was renounced by the Arians, for holding the Son to be equal with the Father, though he uttered the same blasphemies against the Holy Spirit that themselves did. It is said that Felix held a council of forty-eight bishops, in which it was decreed that all bishops should attend in person at every General Council, or else by letter give a good account why they could not; which decree was afterwards renewed in the Council of Carthage. In his time lived Acacius, for his having but one eye called Monophthalmus, Bishop of Cesarea in Palestine, who wrote largely upon Ecclesiastes, and who by his fair speech and swimming carriage had gained such an ascendant over Constantius that he himself undertook to appoint Felix, an Arian, to be bishop in room of Liberius. This St Hierom tells us, though I much marvel at it, since, as we have already said, it is evident that Felix was a Catholic, and a constant opposer of the Arians. At length, after Felix had done all that in him lay for the propagation and defence of the true faith, he was seized by his enemies, and together with many orthodox believers, was slain and buried in a church which he himself had built in the Via Aurelia, two miles from the city, November the 20th.[1] He was in the chair only one year, four months, two days, through the means of a sedition raised by Liberius (whom I have inserted into the number of bishops, more upon the authority of Damasus, than for any deserts of his own).

[1] This is very doubtful. Modern Roman Catholic historians reject the story of the massacre, though Gibbon accepts it. But Felix escaped and lived for eight years longer in peaceful obscurity. By some curious oversight his name stole into the Roman martyrology. See a curious note in Milman i. 62.—ED.

DAMASUS I.

A.D. 367-384.

DAMASUS, a Spaniard, son of Antonius, lived in the reign of Julian,[1] who was certainly an extraordinary person, if we regard his fitness either for civil or military affairs. He had his education under Eubulus the sophist, and Libanius the philosopher, and made such proficiency in the liberal arts, that no prince was his superior in them. He had a capacious memory, and a happy eloquence, was bountiful towards his friends, just to foreigners, and very desirous of fame. But all these qualities were at last sullied by his persecution of the Christians, which yet he managed more craftily than others had done; for he did not persecute at first with force and torture, but by rewards, and honours, and caresses, and persuasions. He seduced greater numbers of them than if he had exercised any manner of cruelties against them. He forbade the Christians the study of heathen authors, and denied access to the public schools to any but those who worshipped the Gentile gods. Indeed, he granted a dispensation to one person, named Prohæresius, a most learned man, to teach the Christians publicly; but he with disdain refused to accept of that indulgence. He prohibited the conferring military offices upon any but heathens, and ordered that no Christians should be admitted to the government or jurisdiction of provinces, upon pretence that the laws of their religion forbade them the use of their own swords. He openly opposed and banished Athanasius, at the instigation of his sorcerers and soothsayers, with whose arts he was wonderfully pleased—they complaining to him that Athanasius was the cause why their profession was in no greater esteem. At a certain time, as he was sacrificing to Apollo at Daphne, in the suburbs of Antioch, near the Castalian fountain, and no answers were given him to those things concerning which he enquired; expostulating with the priests about the cause of that silence, the devils replied, that the sepulchre of Babylas the martyr, was too near, and therefore no responses could be given. Hereupon Julian commanded the Galileans, for so he called the Christians, to remove the martyr's tomb further off.

[1] He *lived* certainly, but he was not elected to the papacy until the reign of Gratian.—ED.

This they applied themselves to with wondrous exultation and cheerfulness, but rehearsing at the same time that of the Psalmist, "Confounded be all they that serve graven images, that boast themselves of idols." They hereby so heightened the rage of Julian, that he forthwith commanded multitudes of them to be put to death, which he did not before intend. I much wonder that Julian should act after this manner, having had before experience of the vanity of diabolical arts. For entering once into a cave in company with a magician, and being sorely affrighted when he heard the demons howl, in the surprise he used the sign of the cross, at which the demons immediately fled. Upon this, telling his companion that certainly there must needs be something miraculous in the sign of the cross, the sorcerer made him this answer, "That indeed the demons themselves did dread that kind of punishment." By this slight account of the matter Julian became more obstinate than before, so strangely was he addicted to magical allusions, though he had formerly, to decline the displeasure of Constantius, feignedly embraced the Christian religion, publicly read the Holy Scriptures, and built a church in honour to the martyrs. Moreover, this emperor, on purpose to spite the Christians, permitted the Jews to rebuild their temple at Jerusalem, upon their declaring that they could not sacrifice in any other place. By which concession they were so mightily puffed up, that they used all their endeavours to raise it more magnificently than the former. But while they were carrying on the work, the new fabric fell down in an earthquake, by the fall of which multitudes of the Jews were crushed to death, and the prophesy a second time verified, "That there should not be left one stone upon another." On the following day the very iron tools with which the workmen wrought were consumed by fire from heaven; a miracle by which many of the Jews were so wrought upon that they became proselytes to Christianity. After this Julian undertakes an expedition against the Persians, of whom he had intelligence that they were endeavouring a change in the government; but before he set forth, he spared not to threaten what havoc he would make among the Christians at his return. But having vanquished the enemy, and returning conqueror with his army, though in some disorder, he died of a wound given him near Ctesiphon. Whether he received it from any of his own men or from the enemy, is uncertain;

though some tell us, that he was pierced through with an arrow sent no man knew from whence, as also that when he was just expiring, with his hand lifted up to heaven, he cried out, "Thou hast overcome me, O Galilean," for so in contempt he was wont to call our Saviour, the Galilean, or the carpenter's Son; upon which was grounded that answer of a young man to Libanius, the sophist, asking him by way of derision, "What he thought the carpenter's Son was doing;" to whom the youth replied, "That he was making a coffin for Julian," a witty and prophetic reply; for soon after his saying so, Julian's dead body was coffined up and brought away. We are told that this emperor had once been in holy orders, but that afterwards he fell away from the faith, for which reason he is commonly called the Apostate. He died in the twentieth month of his reign, and in the thirty-second year of his age.

Him Jovinian succeeded, who being voted emperor by the army, refused to own that title, till they should all with a loud voice confess themselves Christians. This they having done, and he having commended them for it, he took the government upon him, and freed his army out of the hands of the barbarous, with no other composition but that of leaving Nisibis, and part of Mesopotamia, free to Sapor the Persian king. But in the eighth month of his reign, whether from some crudity upon his stomach, as some will have it, or from the faint and suffocating steam of burning coals, as others, or by what means soever, certain it is that he died suddenly.

Damasus being chosen to the pontificate, was soon rivalled in that dignity by Ursicinus a deacon, whose party having assembled themselves in a church, thither also Damasus's friends resorted, where the competition being managed not only by vote, but by force and arms, several persons on both sides were slain in the very church. But not long after the matter was compromised, and by the consent both of the clergy and people, Damasus was confirmed in the bishopric of Rome, and Ursicinus was made Bishop of Naples. But Damasus being afterwards accused of adultery, he made his defence in a public council, wherein he was acquitted and pronounced innocent, and Concordius and Calistus, two deacons, his false accusers, were condemned and excommunicated. Upon which a law was made, "That if any man did bear false witness against another, he was to undergo the same punishment that the person accused should have done if he had been

guilty." The affairs of the church being at length settled, Damasus, taking great delight in study, wrote the lives of all the Bishops of Rome that had been before him, and sent them to St Hierom. Notwithstanding which, he neglected not to increase the number of churches, and to add to the ornaments of Divine worship. For he built two churches, one near Pompey's theatre, the other at the tombs in the Via Ardeatina, and in elegant verse wrote the epitaphs of those martyrs whose bodies had been buried, to perpetuate their names to posterity. He also dedicated a marble table with an inscription to the memory of St Peter and St Paul at the place where their bodies had once lain. Moreover, he enriched the church which he had built in honour of St Laurence, not far from Pompey's theatre, with very large donations. He ordained likewise, that the psalms should be sung alternately in the church, and that at the end of every psalm the *gloria patri* should be added. And whereas formerly the Septuagint only had been in vogue, Damasus first gave authority to Hierom's translation of the Bible, which began to be read publicly, as also his psalter faithfully rendered from the Hebrew, which before, especially among the Gauls, had been very much depraved. He commanded also, that at the beginning of the mass the confession should be used as it is at this day. But having at five ordinations made thirty-one presbyters, eleven deacons, sixty-two bishops, he died and was buried with his mother and sister in the Via Ardeatina, in the church built by himself, December the 11th. He sat in the chair seventeen years, three months, eleven days; and by his death the see was vacant twenty-one days.[1]

SIRICIUS I.

A.D. 385-398.

SIRICIUS, a Roman, son of Tiburtius, lived in the time of Valentinian, who, for his being a Christian, had been very unjustly dealt withal, and cashiered from a considerable command in the army by Julian. But upon the death of Jovinian, being by the universal consent

[1] During this pontificate the great council of Constantinople was held, A.D. 381.—ED.

of the soldiers elected emperor, he admitted his brother Valens his colleague in the Empire,[1] and assigned to him the government of the east. Afterwards, in the third year of his reign, at the persuasion of his wife and her mother, he created his young son Gratian Augustus. And whereas one Procopius had raised a sedition and set up for himself at Constantinople, him with his adherents the emperor very suddenly overthrew and put to death.

But Valens having been baptized by Eudoxius, an Arian bishop, and becoming a bigoted heretic, presently fell to persecuting and banishing the orthodox, especially after the death of Athanasius, who, while he lived, was a mighty support to the Christian state for forty-six years together. Lucius, also another heretical bishop, was extremely violent and outrageous against the orthodox Christians; nor did he spare so much as the Anchorites and Eremites, but sent parties of soldiers to invade their solitudes, who either put them to death or else sent them into exile. Amongst this sort of men, they who at that time had the greatest esteem and authority were the two Macarii in Syria, the disciples of Anthony, one of which lived in the upper, the other in the lower desert; as also Isidorus, Panucius, Pambus, Moses, Benjamin, Paulus Apheliotes, Paulus Phocensis, and Joseph in Egypt. While Lucius was intent upon the banishment of these men, a certain inspired woman went about crying aloud, that those good men, those men of God, ought by no means to be sent into the islands. Moreover, Mauvia, queen of the Saracens, having by frequent battles very much impaired the Roman forces, and harassed their towns on the borders of Palestine and Arabia, refused to grant the peace which they desired at her hands, unless Moses, a man of most exemplary piety, were consecrated and appointed bishop to her people. This Lucius willingly assented to; but when Moses was brought to him, he plainly told him, that the multitudes of Christians condemned to the mines, banished to the islands, and imprisoned through his cruelty, did cry loud against him, and that therefore he would never endure the imposition of his polluted hands. Hereupon, certain bishops being recalled from exile to consecrate him, he was presented to the queen, and thereby a peace concluded. But Valens and Lucius continued still to wreak their fury against the orthodox, though Valens was rendered somewhat more favourable towards them by the letters of

Themistius, the philosopher. Athanaricus also, king of the Goths, exercised very great cruelty against those of his people who were Christians, many of whom suffered martyrdom for their religion.

In the meantime, Valentinian, by his valour and conduct, subdued the Saxons and Burgundians. But while he was making preparations for war against the Sarmatians, who had spread themselves through the two Hungaries, he died at a little town called Brigio, through a sudden effusion of blood. At this time the Goths, being driven out of their own country, had possessed themselves of all Thrace; against them Valens marches with his army (having first, though now too late, recalled from exile the bishops and monks, and forced them to serve in the war with him), but his army was utterly routed, and himself burnt in an obscure cottage, — an overthrow which proved very fatal to the Roman Empire and all Italy.

While these things were transacting, Siricius ordained that those monks whose life and manners were approved of, should be capable of admission into any ecclesiastical office, from the lowest to the highest, even the Episcopal dignity itself. That the several degrees of holy orders should not be conferred at once, but at certain distances of time. Moreover, he forbade the Manichees who lurked in the city, the communion of the faithful; but withal provided that upon their repentance and return to the orthodox faith, they should be received into the Church, upon condition they would undertake a monastic course of living, and devote themselves to fasting and prayer all their life; upon which, if it appeared that their conversion were sincere, they might, at the approach of death, receive the blessed sacrament as their *viaticum*. He ordained likewise, that none but a bishop should have power to ordain a presbyter; that whosoever married a widow, or second wife, should be degraded from his office in the church, and that heretics, upon their repentance, should be received with only the imposition of hands. In his time lived Hilarius, Bishop of Poictiers, who wrote twelve books against the Arians, and one against Valens and Ursatius; but not long after he died at Poictiers. Victorinus, also an African, who had once been a professor of rhetoric at Rome, but afterwards, being very ancient, was converted to Christianity, wrote several books after the dialectic manner against Arius. Moreover, Gregorius Bæticus,

Bishop of Illiberis, wrote at this time divers tracts, showing the excellence of the Christian religion. But Photinus, a Galatian, the scholar of Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra, endeavoured now to revive the heresy of Ebion, who held Christ to be a mere man, born in the ordinary way of generation. Being banished by the Emperor Valentinian, he wrote divers treatises, and especially against the Gentiles. Didymus of Alexandria, who had been blind from his very childhood, and thereby utterly ignorant of the first rudiments of learning, became yet afterwards in his old age so great a proficient in those arts which most require the assistance of sight, particularly in logic and geometry, that he wrote some excellent treatises in the mathematics. He published also commentaries on the psalms, and the gospels of Matthew and John, and was a great opposer of the Arians. Moreover, Optatus, an African, Bishop of Mela, compiled six books against the Donatists; and Severus Aquilius, a Spaniard, who was kinsman to that Severus to whom Lactantius penned two books of epistles, wrote one volume, called "Catastrophe." As for our Siricius, having settled the affairs of the Church, and at five ordinations made twenty-six presbyters, sixteen deacons, thirty-two bishops, he died and was buried in the cemetery of Priscilla, in the Via Salaria, February 22. He was in the chair fifteen years, eleven months, twenty days; and by his death the see was vacant twenty days.

The Emperor Gratian was a young prince of eminent piety, and so good a soldier, that in an expedition against the Germans, who were now harassing the Roman borders, he did at one battle at Argentaria cut off thirty thousand of them, with very little loss on his own side. Returning from thence to Italy, he expelled all those of the Arian faction, and admitted none but the orthodox to the execution of any ecclesiastical office. But apprehending the public weal to be in great danger from the attempts of the Goths, he associated to himself, as a partner in the government, Theodosius, a Spaniard, a person eminent for his valour and conduct, who, vanquishing the Alans, Huns, and Goths, re-established the Empire of the east, and entered into a league with Athanaricus, king of the Goths, after whose death and magnificent burial at Constantinople, his whole army repaired to Theodosius, and declared they would serve under no other commander but that good emperor. In the meantime, Maximus usurped the

empire in Britain, and passing over into Gaul, slew Gratian at Lyons, whose death so terrified his younger brother, Valentinian, that he forthwith fled for refuge to Theodosius in the east. Some are of opinion that those two brethren owed the calamities which befell them to their mother Justina, whose great zeal for the Arian heresy made her a fierce persecutor of the orthodox, and especially of St Ambrose, whom, against his will, the people of Milan had at this time chosen their bishop. For Auxentius, an Arian, their late bishop, being dead, a great sedition arose in the city about choosing his successor. Now Ambrose, who was a man of consular dignity and their governor, endeavouring all he could to quell that disorder, and to that end going into the church, where the people were in a tumultuary manner assembled, he there makes an excellent speech tending to persuade them to peace and unity among themselves, which so wrought upon them, that they all with one consent cried out, that they would have no other bishop but Ambrose himself. And the event answered their desires; for being as yet but a catechumen, he was forthwith baptized, and then admitted into holy orders, and constituted Bishop of Milan. That he was a person of great learning and extraordinary sanctity, the account which we have of his life, and the many excellent books which he wrote, do abundantly testify.

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ANASTASIUS I.

A.D. 399-402.

ANASTASIUS, a Roman, the son of Maximus, was made Bishop of Rome in the time of Arcadius and Honorius, the sons of Theodosius.

Our Anastasius decreed that the clergy should by no means sit at the singing or reading of the holy Gospel in the church, but stand bowed, and in a posture of veneration; and that no strangers, especially those that came from the parts beyond the seas, should be received into our holy orders, unless they could produce testimonials under the hands of five bishops. Which latter ordinance is supposed to have been occasioned by the practice of the Manichees, who, having gained a great esteem and authority in Africa, were wont to send their missionaries

abroad into all parts, to corrupt the orthodox doctrine by the infusion of their errors. He ordained, likewise, that no person infirm of body, or maimed, or defective of any limb or member, should be admitted into holy orders. Moreover, he dedicated the Crescentian Church, which stands in the second region of the city, in the Via Marurtina. The pontificate of this Anastasius, as also that of Damasus and Siricius, his predecessors, were signalised not only by those excellent emperors, Jovinian, Valentinian, Gratian, and Theodosius, but also by those many holy and worthy doctors, both Greek and Latin, that were famous in all kinds of learning. Cappadocia, as Eusebius tells us, brought forth Gregory Nazianzen and Basil the Great, both extraordinary persons, and both brought up at Athens. Basil was a Bishop of Cesarea of Cappadocia, a city formerly called Mazaca. He wrote divers excellent books against Eunomius, one concerning the Holy Ghost, and the orders of a monastic life. He had two brethren, Gregory and Peter, both very learned men, of the former of which some books were extant in the time of Eusebius. Gregory Nazianzen, who was master to St Hierom, wrote also many things, particularly in praise of Cyprian, Athanasius, and Maximus the philosopher; two books against Eunomius, and one against the Emperor Julian, besides an encomium of marriage and single life in hexameter verse. By the strength of his reasoning and the power of his rhetoric (in which he was an imitator of Polemon, a man of admirable eloquence), he brought off the citizens of Constantinople from the errors with which they had been infected. At length, being very aged, he chose his own successor, and led a private life in the country. Basil died in the reign of Gratian, Gregory of Theodosius. About the same time flourished Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamine, in Cyprus, a strenuous oppugner of all kinds of heresies; as did also Ephrem, a deacon of the Church of Edessa, who composed divers treatises in the Syrian language, which gained him so great a veneration that in some churches his books were publicly read after the Holy Scriptures. Anastasius, having at two Decembrian ordinations made eight presbyters, five deacons, ten bishops, died, and was buried April 28. He was in the chair three years, ten days; and by his death the see was vacant twenty one days.

INNOCENTIUS I.

A.D. 402-417.

INNOCENTIUS, an Alban, son of Innocentius, was bishop in part of the reign of Theodosius, who, with great conduct and singular despatch, overcame the usurper Maximus, and at Aquileia, whither he had fled, retaliated upon him the death of Gratian,—a fate which the good Bishop Martinus had foretold to Maximus himself, when he was going, against all right and justice, to invade Italy, having drained Britain of its military forces, and left it an easy prey to the Scots and Picts. Moreover, Theodosius, relying wholly upon the Divine aid, in a very short time defeated not only Andragatius, Maximus's general, and Victor his son, but Argobastus and Eugenius, two other usurpers; which was the occasion of that strain of the poet Claudian upon this Emperor's success:

> *O nimium dilecte Deo, tibi militat æther,*
> *Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti!*

Englished:

> Darling of Heaven, with whom the skies combine,
> And the confederate winds in battle join!

He was not only a great soldier, but a very pious and devout man, as appears by his carriage upon the repulse he found at the Church of Milan; for, being forbidden entrance by Ambrose the bishop of it, till he should have repented of a certain crime committed by him, he so well resented the bishop's plain dealing with him, that he frankly gave him thanks for it, and completed his course of penance for the fact that had been the occasion of it. By his Empress Flaccilla he had two sons, Arcadius and Honorius. Being once in a great transport of rage against the citizens of Thessalonica for their having killed a soldier, or, as others say, a magistrate of his, all the clergy of Italy were scarce able to keep him from destroying the whole city upon that provocation. But afterwards coming to himself, and understanding the matter better, being convinced of his error, he both bewailed the fact which he had only willed, but not executed, and also made a law that the punitive decrees of princes should be deferred for three days, that so they might

have space left for compassion or retraction. It is reported of him that, when at any time he was in a sudden heat of anger, he would force himself to repeat over distinctly all the letters of the alphabet, that so in the meantime his anger might evaporate. It is said also that he contracted a great friendship with one John, an Anchorite, whose advice he always used, both in war and peace. But in the fiftieth year of his age he died at Milan.

Innocentius, improving the opportunity of such a peaceable state of affairs and so propitious a prince, made several constitutions concerning matters of the Church. He appointed that every Saturday should be a fast, because our blessed Saviour lay in the grave, and His disciples fasted on that day. He made certain laws concerning the Jews and pagans, and for the regulation of monks. By the consent of Theodosius he banished from the city and confined to a monastic life the Cataphrygian heretics of the gang of Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla. Moreover, he condemned the heresy of Pelagius and Cœlestinus, who preferred free-will before the Divine grace, and asserted, that men by their own natural strength were able to perform the laws of God; against whom St Austin wrote largely. But Pelagius persisting obstinately in his opinions against all conviction, went into Britain and infected the whole island with his errors, being assisted by Julian, his companion and confederate in that wicked design. He also consecrated the church of Gervasius and Protasius, erected and beautified at the cost of a lady named Vestina, whose goods and jewels, bequeathed by will, were sold according to a just appraisement, and employed to that purpose. This church was endowed with several estates both in houses and land within and without the city, and the cure of it, and that of St Agnes, given to Leopardus and Paulinus, two presbyters. In his time lived Apollinarius, Bishop of Laodicea (from whom the Apollinarians had their name and original), a man vehement and subtle at disputation; who maintained, that our Saviour at His incarnation took only a body, not a soul; but being pressed hard with arguments to the contrary, he at length granted that He had indeed an animal soul but not a rational one, that being supplied by His divinity,—an opinion which had been before exploded by Damasus and Peter, Bishop of Alexandria. But Martianus, Bishop of Barcelona, a man eminent for his chastity and

eloquence, was very orthodox in matters of faith, and a great opposer of the Novatian heresy. Cyril also, Bishop of Jerusalem, who before had been several times deposed and as often restored, at length, under Theodosius the Emperor, held his episcopal dignity peaceably and without interruption eight years together, and became a great writer.[1] Euzoius, who in his youth had been co-disciple to Gregory Nazianzen at Cesarea, under Thespesius the rhetorician, took a vast deal of pains in amending and rectifying the corrupted copies of the works of Origen and Pamphilus, and was himself a considerable author. At the same time Hieronymus, a presbyter living in Bethlehem, was a very successful propagator of Christianity, as appears by his writings. Now also the Synod of Bordeaux condemned the doctrine of Priscillian, a heresy patched up out of the tenets of the Gnostics and Manichees, of whom we have spoken above. Our Innocentius, having at four ordinations made thirty presbyters, twelve deacons, fifty-four bishops, died and was buried July the 28th. He sat in the chair fifteen years, two months, twenty-five days; and by his death the see was vacant twenty-two days.

ZOSIMUS.

A.D. 417-418.

ZOSIMUS, a Grecian, his father's name Abraham, lived during the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, who succeeded their father Theodosius, in the Empire.

These divided the government between them, Arcadius ruling in the east, and Honorius in the west, though Theodosius had left them to the tuition of three of his generals, who, as their guardians and protectors, were to manage affairs in their minority; Ruffinus in the east, Stilico in the west, and Gildo in Africa. But they, moved with ambition and a thirst after greatness, and not doubting to get the advantage of the young princes, set up every one for him-

[1] Cyril of Jerusalem died in 386. During the pontificate of Innocent I. died St Chrysostom, A.D. 407. Platina places him in the next popedom. The sacking of Rome by Alaric took place in the pontificate of Innocent I.—ED.

self. Against Gildo, who was engaged in a rebellion in Africa, his injured and incensed brother, Mascezel, is sent with an army, and soon defeats and puts him to flight, who not long after died, either through grief or by poison. And Mascezel himself, being so puffed up with this success, that he falls into a great contempt of God and cruelty towards men, is killed by his own soldiers. Ruffinus also, who endeavoured to possess himself of the empire of the east, is surprised and punished by Arcadius. At this time Rhadaguisus, King of the Goths, invaded Italy, and laid all waste with fire and sword wherever he came; but, by the Roman army, under the command of Stilico, he was vanquished and slain on the mountains of Fiesoli. Him Alaricus succeeded, whom Stilico, to work his own ambitious designs, very much countenanced and assisted, when he might have conquered him. But in the end, Alaricus being now at Polentia, on his way to Gaul, part of which Honorius had granted to him and his followers to inhabit, had disturbance given him by one Saul, a Hebrew by birth and religion, whom Stilico to the foul breach of articles had sent with a party for that purpose. It was an easy matter to surprise and disorder the Goths, who little suspected any such practices, and were peaceably celebrating the feast of Easter. But the day following, Alaricus engaging with them slew Saul, and made a universal slaughter of his men, and then changing his former course towards Gaul, moves against Stilico and the Roman army. These he overcame, and then after a long and grievous siege, takes the city of Rome itself, A.U.C. 1163, A.D. 411. Notwithstanding this success, Alaricus exercised so much moderation and clemency, that he commanded his soldiers to put as few to the sword as might be, and particularly to spare all that should fly for refuge to the churches of St Peter and St Paul. After three days' plunder he leaves the city (which had suffered less damage than was thought, very little of it being burnt), and marches against the Lucani and Bruti, and having taken and sacked Cosenza, he there dies. Whereupon the Goths with one consent made his kinsman, Athaulphus, his successor; who, returning to Rome with his army, was so wrought upon by the Emperor Honorius's sister, Galla Placidia, whom he had married, that he restrained his soldiers from committing any further outrages, and left the city to its own government. He had it certainly once in his purpose to

have razed to the ground the then city of Rome, and to have built a new one which he would have called Gotthia, and have left to the ensuing emperors his own name, so that they should not any longer have had the title of Augusti, but Athaulphi. But Placidia not only brought his mind off from that project, but also prevailed with him to enter into a league with Honorius and Theodosius the Second, the son of Arcadius.

Zosimus, notwithstanding all these disturbances, made several ecclesiastical constitutions; allowed the blessing of wax-tapers on the Saturday before Easter in the several parishes; forbade the clergy to frequent public drinking-houses (though allowing them all innocent liberty among themselves), or any servant to be made a clergyman, because that order ought to consist of none but free and ingenuous persons. Whereas now, not only servants and bastards, but the vile off-spring of the most flagitious parents are admitted to that dignity, whose enormities will certainly at long-run prove fatal to the Church. It is said that Zosimus at this time sent Faustinus, a bishop, and two presbyters of the city, to the council of Carthage, by them declaring that no debates concerning ecclesiastical affairs ought to be managed anywhere without permission of the Church of Rome. During his pontificate lived Lucius, a bishop of the Arian faction, who wrote certain books upon several subjects. Diodorus also, Bishop of Tarsus, during his being a presbyter of Antioch, was a great writer; following the sense of Eusebius, but not able to reach his style for want of skill in secular learning. Tiberianus likewise, who had been accused together with Priscillian, wrote an apology to free himself from the suspicion of heresy. Evagrius, a man of smart and brisk parts, translated into Latin "The Life of St Anthony," written in Greek by Athanasius. Ambrosius of Alexandria, a scholar of Didymus, wrote a large volume against Apollinarius. At this time flourished those two famous bishops, Theophilus of Alexandria, and John of Constantinople, for the greatness of his eloquence deservedly surnamed Chrysostom,[1] who so far prevailed upon Theodorus and Maximus, two co-disciples of his, that they left their masters, Libanius the rhetorician, and Andragatius the philosopher, and became proselytes to Christianity. This Libanius, lying now at the point of death, being asked

[1] See note on p. 96.—Ed.

whom he would leave successor in his school, made answer, that he desired no other than Chrysostom, were he not a Christian. At this time the decrees of the council of Carthage, being sent to Zosimus, were by him confirmed, and thereby the Pelagian heresy condemned throughout the world. Some tell us that Petronius, Bishop of Bononia, and Possidonius, an African bishop, had now gained a mighty reputation for sanctity; that Primasius wrote largely against the heresies to Bishop Fortunatus; and that Proba, wife to Adelphus the proconsul, composed an historical poem of our Saviour's life, consisting wholly of Virgilian verse, though others attribute the honour of this performance to Eudoxia, Empress of Theodosius the younger. But certainly the most learned person of the age he lived in was Augustinus, St Ambrose's convert, Bishop of Hippo in Africa, a most strenuous defender of the Christian faith, both in discourse and writing. As for Zosimus, having ordained ten presbyters, three deacons, eight bishops, he died, and was buried in the Via Tiburtina, near the body of St Laurence the martyr, December 26th. He sat in the chair one year, three months, twelve days, and by his death the see was vacant eleven days.

BONIFACIUS I.

A.D. 419-422.

BONIFACE, a Roman, son of Jucundus, a presbyter, was bishop in the time of Honorius.

At this time a great dissension arose among the clergy, for though Boniface was chosen bishop in one church of the city by one party, yet Eulalius was elected and set up against him by a contrary faction in another. This, when Honorius, who was now at Milan, came to understand, at the solicitation of his sister Placidia, and her son Valentinian, they were both banished the city. But about seven months after Boniface was recalled, and confirmed in the pontifical dignity.

In the meantime, Athaulphus dying, Vallias was made king of the Goths, who, being terrified by the judgments inflicted on his people, restored Placidia, whom he had always used very honourably, to her brother Honorius, and entered into a league with him, giving very good hostages for the con-

firmation of it; as did also the Alanes, Vandals, and Suevians. This Placidia Honorius gave in marriage to Constantius, whom he had declared Cæsar, who had by her a son named Valentinian; but she being afterwards banished by her brother, went into the East with her sons Honorius and Valentinian.

Our Boniface ordained that no woman, though a nun, should touch the consecrated pall or incense: and that no servant or debtor should be admitted into the clergy. Moreover, he built an oratory upon the ground where St Felicitas the martyr was buried, and very much adorned her tomb. During his pontificate flourished divers famous men, especially Hierom, a presbyter, son of Eusebius, born at a town called Stridon, seated in the confines of Dalmatia and Hungaria, but demolished by the Goths. It is not to my purpose to rehearse how great benefit the Church of God reaped from his life and writings, since he is known to have been a person of extraordinary sanctity, and his works are had in so great honour and esteem, that no author is more read by learned men than he. He died at Bethlehem on the last day of September in the ninety-first year of his age. Besides him there were also Gelasius, successor to Euzoius in the bishopric of Cæsarea Palestinæ, a man of excellent parts; Dexter, son of Pacianus, who compiled an history inscribed to St Hierom; Amphilochius, who wrote concerning the Holy Ghost in an elegant style; and Sophronius, commended by St Hierom for his learned book of the "Destruction of Serapis." It is said also that at this time Lucianus, a presbyter, directed by a divine revelation, found out the sepulchres of St Stephen the protomartyr, and Gamaliel, St Paul's master, of which he gave an account to all the churches by an epistle in Greek, which was afterwards translated into Latin by Abundus, a Spaniard, and sent to Orosius. Some likewise tell us that John Cassianus and Maximine, two very learned men, lived in this age; but though it be doubtful of them, it is not so concerning Eutropius, St Austin's scholar, who, in a handsome style, epitomised the Roman history, from the building of the city to his own times; and who, moreover, wrote to his two sisters, recluses, concerning chastity, and the love of religion; to whom we may add Juvenal, the Bishop of Constantinople, and Heros, a disciple of St Martin, the wrongfully deposed Bishop of Arles, both men of great reputation for sanctity. As for

Boniface himself, having at one ordination made thirteen presbyters, three deacons, thirty-six bishops, he died October 25th, and was buried in the Via Salaria, near the body of St Felicitas the martyr. He sat in the chair three years, eight months, seven days. Boniface being dead, some of the clergy recalled Eulalius, but he either, through indignation at his former repulse, or from contempt of worldly greatness, disdained the revocation, and died the year following. The see was then vacant nine days.

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CÆLESTINUS I.

A.D. 422-432.

CÆLESTINE, a Campanian, lived in the times of Theodosius the younger. This Theodosius, upon the death of that excellent prince Honorius, creates the son of his aunt Placidia, Valentinian, Cæsar, and commits to his charge the Western Empire, who, being immediately, by the universal consent of all Italy acknowledged their emperor, and actually entering upon the government at Ravenna, was wonderfully prosperous in subduing the enemies of the Roman state, and particularly John the usurper. In the meantime the Vandals, Alemans and Goths, a barbarous and savage people, passing over out of Spain into Africa, under the conduct of their king Gensericus, not only miserably depopulated and harassed that province with fire and sword, but also corrupted the Catholic faith there with the mixture of Arianism, and banished some orthodox bishops; during which troubles St Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, died in the third month of the siege of that city, August 28th, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. The Vandals having taken Carthage, sailed to Sicily, and made the like havoc in that island; as also did the Picts and Scots in the island of Britain. In this extremity the Britains implored the aid of Aetius, a patrician and a famous soldier, but he not only denied them his assistance, but having other ambitious designs to carry on, solicited the Huns to invade Italy. The Britains being thus deserted by Aetius, call over the Saxons or English to their help, whom they soon found more their enemies than assistants; for being in a little time overrun by them, they lost both their country and their name. While

these things were transacting, Theodosius, dying at Constantinople in the twenty-seventh year of his and his uncle Honorius's reign, Bleda and Atilla, two brothers, kings of the Huns, invading Illyricum, laid waste and burned all places to which they came.

Notwithstanding our Cælestine ordained several rites appertaining to divine worship, as that, besides the epistle and gospel before the Mass, the Psalms of David should be sung by all alternately. Martinus Cassinas tells us, that the Psalm *Judica me Deus*, "Give sentence with me, O God, and defend my cause," &c., which is used at the beginning of the sacrifice, was introduced by him; as likewise the Gradual is ascribed to him. Many other ecclesiastical constitutions he made, to be seen in the archives of the Church. He also dedicated and enriched the Julian church. At this time Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, endeavoured to sow a new error in the Church, asserting that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary a mere man, and that the Divinity was conferred upon him of merit. To this impious doctrine Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, and our Cælestine, opposed themselves very strenuously. For in a synod of two hundred bishops, held at Ephesus, Nestorius himself, and the heresy denominated from him, together with the Pelagians, who were great favourers of the Nestorian party, were by universal consent condemned in thirteen canons levelled against their foolish opinions. Moreover, Cælestine sent Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, into England to oppose the Pelagian heresy, and reduce the inhabitants to the orthodox faith; and Palladius, whom he had made a bishop, to the Scots, who desired to be instructed in the Christian religion. And indeed it cannot be denied but that, by his endeavours and the industry of those whom he employed to that purpose, a great part of the west were converted to Christianity. It is said that at this time the devil assumed human shape, and pretended himself to be Moses, and imposed upon a multitude of Jews, by undertaking to conduct them out of the island of Crete into the land of promise through the sea, as upon dry land, in imitation of the ancient miracle wrought for that people at the Red Sea. Many of them followed this false Moses, and perished in the waters, those only being reported to have been saved who presently owned Christ to be the true God. Our Cælestine having, at three Decembrian ordinations, made thirty-two

presbyters, twelve deacons, sixty-two bishops, died, and was buried in the cemetery of Priscilla, in the Via Salaria, April 6th. He sat in the chair ten years, ten months, seventeen days, and by his death the see was vacant twenty-one days.

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SIXTUS III.

A.D. 432-440.

SIXTUS the Third, a Roman, son of Sixtus, lived in the time of Valentinian, who, being governor of the Western Empire, entered into a league with Gensericus, king of the Vandals, whom he permitted to inhabit part of Africa, confining themselves within certain boundaries agreed upon between them. Genseric being afterwards instigated by the Arians, became very zealous in propagating their errors, and violently persecuted the orthodox bishops. And Valentinian going to Constantinople, and there marrying Theodosius's daughter, the Vandals in the meantime, under Genseric's conduct, retook and sacked Carthage in the five hundred and eighty-fourth year since its first being in the hands of the Romans. While these things were transacting in Africa, Attila, King of the Huns, not contented to have invaded the two Hungaries, miserably harasses Macedonia, Mysia, Achaia, and the Thraces; and then, that he might have no sharer in the kingdom, puts to death his brother Bleda. Soon after, his growing ambition prompts him to endeavour the gaining of the western Empire; and therefore getting together in a very little time a great army, he begins his march upon that design. This Aetius having intelligence of, forthwith sends ambassadors to Toulouse to King Theodoric to strike up a peace, with whom so strict a league was concluded, that they both jointly engage in the war against Attila, at a common charge and with equal forces. The Romans and Theodoric had for their auxiliaries the Alanes, Burgundians, Franks, Saxons, and indeed almost all the people of the west. At length Attila comes upon them in the fields of Catalonia, and battle is joined with great valour and resolution on either side. The fight was long and sharp; a voice being overheard, none knowing from whence it came, was the occasion of putting an end to the dispute. In this engagement were slain on both sides eighteen thousand

men, neither army flying or giving ground. And yet it is said that Theodoric, Father of King Thurismond, was killed in this action.

Sixtus had not long enjoyed the pontificate before he was publicly accused by one Bassus; but in a synod of fifty-seven bishops he made such a defence of himself, that he was by them all with one consent acquitted. Bassus, his false accuser, was, with the consent of Valentinian and his mother Placidia, excommunicated and condemned to banishment, but with this compassionate provision, that at the point of death the Viaticum of the blessed sacrament should not be denied him; the forfeiture of his estate was adjudged, not to the Emperor, but the Church. It is said that in the third month of his exile he died, and that our Bishop Sixtus did with his own hands wrap up and embalm his corpse, and then bury it in St Peter's church. Moreover, Sixtus repaired and enlarged the church of the Blessed Virgin, which was anciently called by the name of Liberius, near the market place of Livia, then had the name of St Mary at the manger, and last of all was called St Maries the Great. That Sixtus did very much beautify and make great additions to it, appears from the inscription on the front of the first arch in these words, Xystus Episcopus Plebi Dei; for, according to the Greek orthography, the name begins with X and y, though by custom it is now written Sixtus with S and i. To this church this bishop was very liberal and munificent; among other instances adorning with porphyry stone the ambo or desk where the gospel and epistles are read. Besides what he did himself, at his persuasion the Emperor Valentinian also was very liberal in works of this nature. For over the Confessory of St Peter, which he richly adorned, he placed the image of our Saviour in gold set with jewels, and renewed those silver ornaments in the Cupola of the Lateran Church which the Goths had taken way. Some are of an opinion that in his time one Peter, a Roman presbyter, by nation a Sclavonian, built the Church of St Sabina upon the Aventine, not far from the monastery of St Boniface, where St Alexius is interred. But I rather think this to have been done in the pontificate of Cælestine the first, as appears from an inscription in heroic verse, yet remaining, which expresses as much. It is said also, that at this time flourished Eusebius of Cremona and Philip, two scholars of St Hierom, both very elegant writers, as also Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, a man of great learning and elo-

quence, and Hilarius, Bishop of Arles, a pious man, and of no mean parts. Our Sixtus having employed all his estate in the building and adorning of churches, and relieving the poor, and having made twenty-eight presbyters, twelve deacons, fifty-two bishops, died, and was buried in a vault in the Via Tiburtina, near the body of St Laurence. He was in the chair eight years, nine days, and by his death the see was vacant twenty-two days.

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LEO I. THE GREAT

A.D. 440-461.

LEO, a Tuscan, son of Quintianus, lived at the time when Attila, having returned into Hungary from the fight of Catalonia, and there recruited his army, invaded Italy, and first set down before Aquileia, a frontier city of that province, which held out a siege of three years. Despairing hereupon of success, he was just about to raise the leaguer, when observing the storks to carry their young ones out of the city into the fields, being encouraged by this omen, he renews his batteries, and making a fierce assault, at length takes the miserable city, sacks and burns it, sparing neither age nor sex, but acting agreeably to the title he assumed to himself of being God's scourge. The Huns having hereby gained an inlet into Italy, overrun all the country about Venice, possessing themselves of the cities, and demolishing Milan and Pavia. From hence Attila marching towards Rome, and being come to the place where the Menzo runs into the Po, ready to pass the river, the holy Bishop Leo, out of a tender sense of the calamitous state of Italy and of the city of Rome, and with the advice of Valentinian, goes forth and meets him, persuading him not to proceed any further, but to take warning by Alaricus, who, soon after his taking that city, was, by the judgment of God, removed out of the world. Attila takes the good bishop's counsel, being moved thereunto by a vision which he saw, while they were discoursing together, of two men (supposed to be St Peter and St Paul) brandishing their naked swords over his head, and threatening him with death, if he were refractory. Desisting therefore from his design, he returns into Hungary,

where not long after he was choked with his own blood violently breaking out at his nostrils, through excess of drinking.

Leo returning to the city, applies himself wholly to the defence of the Catholic faith, which was now violently opposed by several kinds of heretics, but especially by the Nestorians and Eutychians. Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, affirmed the blessed Virgin to be mother, not of God, but of man only, that so he might make the humanity and divinity of Christ to be two distinct persons, one the son of God, the other the son of man. But Eutyches, Abbot of Constantinople, that he might broach an heresy in contradiction to the former, utterly confounded the divine and human nature of Christ, asserting them to be one, and not at all to be distinguished. This heresy being condemned by Flavianus, bishop of Constantinople, with the consent of Theodosius, a synod is called at Ephesus,[1] in which Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, being president, Eutyches was restored, and Flavianus censured. But Theodosius dying, and his successor Marcianus, proving a friend to the orthodox doctrine, Leo calls a council at Chalcedon, wherein by the authority of six hundred and thirty bishops, it was decreed as an Article of Faith, that there are two natures in Christ, and that one and the same Christ is God and man; by which consequently, both Nestorius and Eutyches, the pestilent patron of the Manichees, were condemned. Moreover, the books of the Manichees were publicly burnt; and the pride and heretical opinions of Dioscorus discountenanced and suppressed. In the meantime, Valentinian being treacherously murdered, Maximus usurps the empire, and against her will marries Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinian. Upon this occasion, the Vandals being called out of Africa, Genseric being their leader, force their entrance into the city of Rome, throw the body of Maximus, who had keen killed in the tumult by one Ursus, a Roman soldier, into the river Tiber, plunder and burn the city, pillage the churches, and refuse to hearken to Bishop Leo begging them whatever spoils they carried away only to spare the city itself and the temples. However, on the fourteenth day from their entrance into Rome they left it, and taking away with them Eudoxia and her daughter, with a great number of other captives, they returned into Africa. Leo being now very intent upon making

[1] This is that known by the name of the Robber Council, from the violence used there.—Ed.

good the damages sustained from this people, prevailed upon Demetria, a pious virgin, to build upon her own ground in the Via Latina, three miles from the city, a church to St Stephen; and did the same himself in the Via Appia in honour of St Cornelius. The churches which had been in any part ruined, he repaired, and those of the sacred vessels belonging to them which had been bruised and broken, he caused to be mended, and those which had been taken away to be made anew; moreover, he built three apartments in the churches of St John, St Peter, and St Paul; appointed certain of the Roman clergy, whom he called Cubicularii, to keep and take charge of the sepulchres of the Apostles; built a monastery near St Peter's; introduced into the canon of the mass the clause *Hoc sanctum sacrificium*, this holy sacrifice, &c., and ordained that no recluse should be capable of receiving the consecrated veils, unless it did appear that she had preserved her chastity spotless for the space of forty years. But while the good man was employed in these things, there started up of a sudden the heresy of the Acephali, so-called because they were a company of foolish, undisciplined schismatics, or, if it be not a quibble, because they wanted both brains and head. These men decried the council of Chalcedon, denied the propriety of two substances in Christ, and asserted that there could be but one nature in one person. But our Leo abundantly confuted their absurd doctrines in his elegant and learned epistles written to the faithful upon that argument. Men of note in his time were Prosper of Aquitain, a learned man, and Mamertus, bishop of Vienne, who, as it is said, was the first that appointed processionary supplications, or litanies, upon the occasion of the frequent earthquakes with which Gaul was at that time very much afflicted. To conclude, Leo, having ordained eighty-one presbyters, thirty-one deacons, and eighty-one bishops, died, and was buried in the Vatican, near St Peter, April the 10th. He sat in the chair twenty-one years, one month, thirteen days, and by his death the see was vacant eight days.

HILARIUS I.

A.D. 461-468.

HILARIUS, a Sardinian, the son of Crispinus, continued in the chair till the time of the Emperor Leo, who being chosen Emperor upon the death of Marcianus, creates his son, of his own name, Augustus. During his reign the Roman State suffered very much by reason of certain ambitious men, who endeavoured to get the government into their own hands. And Genseric, the Vandal king, being tempted with so fair an opportunity, sails out of Africa into Italy with design to gain the empire for himself. Leo having intelligence hereof, sends Basilicus a patrician, with a mighty fleet, to the assistance of Anthemius, the emperor of the west. These two, with joint force and courage, meet Genseric near Populonia, and force him to an engagement at sea, in which being routed with a great slaughter of his men, he was glad to make an inglorious flight into Africa again. In the meantime, Ricimer, a Patrician, having on the mountains of Trent conquered Biorgus, king of the Alanes, and being puffed up with that victory, was purposed to attempt the city of Rome, had not Epiphanius, bishop of Pavia, made him and Anthemius friends.

Hilary, notwithstanding this confused state of things, did not neglect the care of ecclesiastical affairs, for he ordained that no bishop should choose his own successor (a constitution which belongs as well to all other ecclesiastical degrees as that of Episcopacy); he also made a decretal which he dispersed throughout Christendom; and wrote certain epistles concerning the Catholic faith, by which the three synods of Nice, Ephesus, and Chalcedon were confirmed, and the heretics Eutyches, Nestorius, and Dioscorus, with their adherents, condemned. In the baptistry of the Lateran church he built three oratories, which were adorned with gold and precious stones, their gates of brass covered with wrought silver; those he dedicated to St John Baptist, St John Evangelist, and St Cross. In the last of these was reposited some of the wood of the cross, enclosed in gold and set with jewels, and a golden agnus upon a pillar of onyx. He added moreover the oratory of St Stephen, built two libraries adjoining, and founded a monastery. I shall not here recite the almost

numberless donations which he made to several churches of gold, silver, marble, and jewels. Some tell us that Germanus, bishop of Auxerre,[1] and Lupus, bishop of Troys, lived in his time, both great supporters of the Christian cause, which was now very much undermined by the endeavours of the Gentiles and Pelagians. Gennadius, also bishop of Constantinople, did great service to the church by the integrity of his life and the excellency of his parts and learning. During the pontificate of our Hilary, Victorinus of Aquitain, a famous arithmetician, reduced the Easter account to the course of the moon, far out-doing Eusebius and Theophilus, who had attempted it before him. And among those that flourished at this time, by some is reckoned Merline, the famous English bard, concerning whom we are told more than enough. As for Hilary himself, having performed the duty of a good bishop, both in building and adorning of churches, and also in teaching, admonishing, censuring, and giving alms where need required, and having also ordained twenty-five presbyters, five deacons, twenty-two bishops, he died, and was buried in the sepulchre of St Laurence, near the body of Bishop Sixtus. He sat in the chair seven years, three months, ten days, and by his death the see was vacant ten days.

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SIMPLICIUS I.

A.D. 468-483.

SIMPLICIUS, son of Castinus, born at Tivoli, was bishop during the reigns of Leo the second, and Zeno.

For Leo the first falling sick, makes choice of Leo the second, son of Zeno Isauricus, and his own nephew by Ariadne, his sister, to be his successor, who, not long after being seized by a violent distemper, and apprehending himself to be at the point of death, leaves the empire to his father Zeno. In the meantime Odoacer, invading Italy with a great army of his Heruli and Turingians, conquers and takes prisoner, Orestes, a noble Roman, near Pavia, and then causes him to be put to death in the sight of his whole army at Placentia. Hereupon Zeno, pitying the calamitous state of

[1] He died in 348.—See under Celestine.—ED.

Italy, speedily sends Theodoric, king of the Goths, a man whom he had before very much esteemed, with a mighty force to oppose him, who, having in a pitched battle, not far from Aquileia, near the river Sontio, overcome Odoacer's captains, and having oftentimes the like success against Odoacer himself, at length he besieged him three years together in Ravenna, and reduced him to that extremity, that, with the advice of John, the bishop of that city, he consented to admit Theodoric as his partner in the empire. But the day following both Odoacer and his son were contrary to promise and agreement slain, by which means Theodoric possessed himself of the government of all Italy without any opposition.

In the meantime Simplicius dedicated the churches of St Stephen the protomartyr, on Mons Cœlius, and that of St Andrew the apostle, not far from St Maries the Great, in which there appear to this day some footsteps of antiquity, which I have many a time beheld with sorrow for their neglect, to whose charge such noble piles of building now ready to fall are committed. That this church was of his founding appears by certain verses wrought in mosaic work which I have seen in it. He dedicated also another church to St Stephen, near the Licinian Palace, where the Virgin's body had been buried. He also appointed the weekly waitings of the presbyters in their turns at the churches of St Peter, St Paul, and St Laurence the martyr, for the receiving of penitents, and baptising of proselytes. Moreover, he divided the city among the presbyters into five precincts or regions; the first of St Peter, second, St Paul, third, St Laurence, fourth, St John Lateran, fifth, St Maria Maggiore. He also ordained that no clergyman should hold a benefice of any layman, a constitution which was afterwards confirmed by Gregory and other Popes. At this time the Bishop of Rome's primacy was countenanced by the letters of Acacius, Bishop of Constantinople,[1] and Timothy, a learned man, in which they beg him to censure Peter Mongus ("the stammerer"), Bishop of Alexandria, an asserter of the Eutychian heresy. Which was accordingly done, but with proviso, that he should be received into the communion of the church again, if within a certain time prefixed he retracted his errors. Some say, that during his pontificate lived Remigius, Bishop of Reims, who (as history tells us) baptised Clodoveus, the French king. Now also Theodorus,

[1] See the next note, p. 112.—Ed.

Bishop of Syria wrote largely against Eutyches, and compiled ten books of ecclesiastical history in imitation of Eusebius Cæsariensis. At this time almost all Egypt was infected with the heretical doctrine of Dioscorus, concerning whom we have already spoken; and Huneric, King of the Vandals, a zealot for the Arian faction, raised a persecution against the orthodox Christians in Africa. Upon this, Eudoxia, niece to Theodosius, a Catholic lady, and wife to Huneric, left her heretical husband upon pretence of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to perform a vow which she had made; but upon so long a journey, the effect of which proved intolerable to the tenderness of her sex she there soon died. It is said that at this time were found the bones of the prophet Elisha, which were carried into Alexandria, as also the body of St Barnabas the apostle, together with the gospel of St Matthew, written with his own hand. As for Simplicius himself, having by his constitutions and donations very much promoted the interest of the Church of Rome, and having at several ordinations made fifty-eight presbyters, eleven deacons, eighty-six bishops, he died, and was buried in St Peter's church on the second day of March. He was in the chair fifteen years, one month, seven days, and by his death the see was vacant twenty-six days.

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FELIX III.

A.D. 483-492.

FELIX, by birth a Roman, son of Felix a presbyter, was bishop from the time of Odoacer, whose power in Italy lasted fourteen years, till the reign of Theodoric, who, though he made Ravenna the seat of the empire, yet the city of Rome was much indebted to his bounty. For he rebuilt the sepulchre of Octavius, exhibited shows to the people according to ancient custom, repaired the public building and churches, and indeed neglected nothing that became a good and generous prince. And to confirm and establish the empire, he married Andefleda, daughter of Clodoveus, King of France, and gave in marriage his sister to Huneric, king of the Vandals, and one of his daughters to Alaric, king of the Visigoths, and the other to King Gondibate.

Felix, now fully understanding that Peter the Stammerer, the

Eutychian, who had been banished for his heretical opinions upon the complaint and at the desire of Acacius, was by the same Acacius recalled from exile, suspected that there was a private agreement between them, and therefore excommunicated them both by the authority of the Apostolic see, which was confirmed in a Synod of the orthodox.[1] But three years after, the emperor Zeno testifying that they were penitent, Felix sends two bishops, Messenus and Vitalis, with full power, upon enquiry into the truth of their repentance, to absolve them. These legates arriving at the city Heraclea, were soon corrupted with bribes, and neglected to act

[1] This is not very accurately stated. The emperor Zeno, with the assistance of Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, put forth in the year 482 the *Henoticon* ("bond of Union"), a document intended, by comprehensiveness of statement, to reconcile the various parties that were dividing the church. But it did not satisfy the Nestorians or Eutychians, and Pope Felix III., who succeeded to the Roman Popedom next year, indignantly repudiated it, declaring that the emperor was taking upon him to make articles of faith. He further wrote to Acacius charging him with having expelled the lawful bishop of Alexandria, John Palaia, in order to put the Eutychian Peter in his place. Acacius replied that Felix had been misinformed by John, and that Peter was both duly chosen and orthodox. There is no evidence of Zeno's certificate of his "penitence." Thereupon Felix sent his two legates, and they were induced, whether by fair or foul means, to assent to Acacius's action. This was a very critical moment between the east and west. The primacy of the Roman Pontiffs had come to be recognised, as the bishops of the chief city of the world, and they had begun since the days of Innocent I. to rest their claims on the purely religious ground of their succession from St Peter. But the Bishops of Constantinople had not admitted such a claim, and Acacius, who was watching the gradual downfall of the western empire, saw, in imagination, Constantinople rising to the foremost place, and himself as Primal Pontiff. Hence he assumed the title for Constantinople of "Mother of all Christians and of the Orthodox Religion." Pope Simplicius had protested, but his protest is lost. There was therefore a good deal of bitterness already existing when this new quarrel arose. Felix on the return of Messenus and Vitalis not only excommunicated them, but Acacius. He was encouraged thus to flout the imperial authority by the successes of Odoacer in the west, though he did not venture to include Zeno, the prime mover, in his ban, but instead even addressed him in terms of adulation. One of the monks of Constantinople who was on the Roman side, audaciously pinned the Pope's sentence upon the robe of Acacius as he was proceeding to the altar to celebrate holy communion. Acacius calmly proceeded with the service until the due moment arrived, when he suddenly turned, and in a calm but ringing voice uttered a counter ban against Felix. The schism lasted forty years; neither party would give way; the great eastern patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, continued in communion with Acacius, and he held his see until his death.—ED.

according to their commission. Whereupon Felix, out of a just indignation, having first called a council upon that occasion, excommunicates them too, as Simoniacs and betrayers of the trust reposed in them, though Messenus, who confessed his fault, and begged time to evince the sincerity of his repentance, had it accordingly granted him. The same Felix also built the church of St Agapetus, near that of St Laurence, and ordained that churches should be consecrated by none but bishops. It is said that at this time Theodorus, a Greek presbyter, wrote against the heretics a book of the Harmony of the Old and New Testaments; and some reckon among the men of note in this age, the learned and famous divine John Damascene, who wrote the Book of Sentences, imitating therein Gregory Nazianzene, Gregory Nyssene, and Didymus of Alexandria, and compiled also certain treatises of medicine, in which he gives an account of the causes and cure of diseases. Our Felix, having at two Decembrian ordinations made twenty-eight presbyters, five deacons, thirty bishops, died, and was buried in the church of St Paul. He sat in the chair eight years, eleven months, seventeen days; and by his death the see was vacant five days.

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GELASIUS I.

A.D. 492-496.

GELASIUS, an African, son of Valerius, was bishop of Rome at the time when Theodoric made war upon his wife's father, Clodoveus, the French king, for that he had slain his daughter's husband, Alaric, king of the Visigoths, and seized Gascoigne. They were both allied to him by marriage; but the cause of Alaric seemed to him the more just, and therefore he preferred his son-in-law before his father-in-law. And gaining the victory over the French in a very important battle, he recovers Gascoigne, and undertakes the present government of it till Almaric, the son of Alaric, should come to age. The same Theodoric to his conquest of Italy added that of Sicily, Dalmatia, Liburnia, Illyricum, Gallia Narbonensis, and Burgundy. He also walled round the city of Trent, and to secure Italy from a foreign invasion, upon the frontiers

of it, near Aosta, placed the Heruli, whose king, being yet a minor, he made his adopted son.

Gelasius in the meantime condemns to banishment all the Manichees that should be found in the city, and causes their books to be publicly burnt near St Mary's Church. And being satisfied of the repentance of Messenus, who had given in his retractation in writing, at the request of the synod he absolved him, and restored him to his bishopric. But having intelligence that several murders and other notorious outrages were committed in the Greek churches by the factious followers of Peter Mongus and Acacius, he forthwith sends his legates thither, with commission to excommunicate for ever all those who did not immediately recant their errors; a new and unusual severity, whereas the primitive church was wont to wait long in hopes that separatists would at length return to her bosom. At this time John, Bishop of Alexandria, an orthodox prelate, and who had been very much persecuted by these seditious people, fled for refuge to the Bishop of Rome, who very kindly and courteously received him. The churches which Gelasius consecrated were, that of St Euphemia the martyr in Tivoli, that of St Nicander and Eleutherius in the Via Labicana, and that of St Mary in the Via Laurentina, twenty miles from Rome. He had a great love and honour for the clergy, and was very liberal and charitable to the poor. He delivered the city of Rome from many dangers, and particularly from that of dearth and scarcity. He composed hymns in imitation of St Ambrose, published five books against Eutyches and Nestorius, and two against Arius, made very elegant and grave orations, and wrote weighty and learned epistles to his friends of the household of faith; all which works of his are at this time to be seen in the public libraries. Some tell us that he excommunicated Anastasius, successor to Zeno in the eastern empire, for favouring Acacius and other heretics; which is an argument as clear as the sun, that the Bishop of Rome has power to excommunicate any prince who is erroneous in the faith, if he continue refractory after admonition. The same course likewise he took with the Vandals and their king, who, being infected with the Arian heresy, proved now very cruel and barbarous persecutors of the orthodox. At the beginning of his pontificate lived Germanus and Epiphanius, the latter Bishop of Pavia, the former of Capua; men who by the authority which the sanctity their lives had gained them, and by their

humble and obliging deportment, wrought so much upon the minds of the barbarous invaders, that afflicted Italy fared the better for their sakes. At the same time also, Lannociatus, Abbot of Chartres, with Aurelianus and Mezentius of Poictiers, persons of great piety and learning, gained so much ground in Gaul, that they persuaded Clodoveus the French king, and his queen, Crocildis, to become Christians, and to undertake the protection of the Catholic faith throughout their dominions; though some attribute this honour to Remigius, as hath been already said. Gelasius, having ordained thirty-two presbyters, two deacons, sixty-seven bishops, died, and was buried in St Peter's Church, November 21st. He was in the chair four years, eight months, seventeen days; and by his death the see was vacant seven days

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ANASTASIUS II.

A.D. 496-498.

ANASTASIUS the Second, a Roman, son of Fortunatus, was contemporary with the Emperor Anastasius. At which time Thorismund, king of the Vandals, shut up the churches of the orthodox clergy, and banished one hundred and twenty bishops into the Island of Sardinia. It is reported also that one Olympius, an Arian bishop, having publicly in the baths at Carthage declared his detestation of the doctrine of the Trinity, was immediately smitten, and his body burnt with three flashes of lightning. And when Barbas, another bishop of the same faction, was going to baptize a certain person in this form of words: "Barbas baptizeth thee in the name of the Father, by the Son, and in the Holy Ghost," it is said the water disappeared; which miracle so wrought upon the man who was to be baptized, that he immediately came over to the orthodox.

It was this Bishop Anastasius, as some writers tell us, who excommunicated the Emperor Anastasius for favouring Acacius; though afterwards being himself seduced by the same heretic, and endeavouring privately to recall him from exile, he thereby very much alienated the minds of his clergy, who for that reason, and also because, without the consent of the Catholics, he communicated with Photinus, a

deacon of Thessalonica, and an assertor of the Acacian heresy, withdrew themselves from him. It is generally reported that, the Divine vengeance pursuing him for this apostasy, he died suddenly; and some say that the particular manner of his death was that, going to ease nature, he purged out his bowels into the privy. In his time Fulgentius an African, Bishop of Ruspæ, though he were among the other orthodox bishops of Africa banished into Sardinia by Thorismund, yet neglected nothing that might contribute to the propagating of the Catholic faith, whether by exhortation, preaching, or admonition. He likewise published several books of the Trinity, of free-will, and the rule of faith; and, besides the several elegant and grave homilies he made to the people, he wrote against the Pelagian heresy. The learned Hegesippus also, who composed monastical constitutions, and in an elegant style wrote the life of St Severinus the abbot, was at this time very serviceable to the Church. Moreover, Faustus, a Gallican bishop, was now a considerable writer; but among all his works, the most in esteem was his tract against Arius, wherein he maintains the persons in the Trinity to be co-essential. He wrote also against those who asserted any created being to be incorporeal, demonstrating both by the judgment of the fathers, and from the testimonies of holy writ, that God only is purely and properly incorporeal. But I shall here conclude the pontificate of Anastasius, who, at one Decembrian ordination, having made twelve presbyters and sixteen bishops, was buried in St Peter's Church, November 19th. He sat in the chair one year, ten months, twenty-four days; and by his death the see was vacant four days.

SYMMACHUS I.

A.D. 498-514.

SYMMACHUS, a Sardinian, son of Fortunatus, succeeded Anastasius, though not without great controversy, and after a long bandying of two contrary factions. For, while one part of the clergy choose Symmachus in the Church of St John Lateran, another part of them in St Maria Maggiore make choice of one Laurence; whereupon the senate and people of Rome, being divided into two parties, the dissension

rose to such a height that, to compromise the business, a council was by mutual consent called at Ravenna, where the whole matter being discussed in the presence of Theodoric, he at length determined on the side of Symmachus, and confirmed him in the pontificate, who by a singular act of grace made his very competitor, Laurence, Bishop of Nocera. Yet, about four years after, some busy and factious clergymen, being countenanced and assisted by Festus and Probinus, two of the senatorian order, set up for Laurence again; upon which King Theodoric was so highly displeased, that he sends Peter, Bishop of Altino, to Rome, to depose them both and possess himself of the chair. But Symmachus called a synod of a hundred and twenty bishops, wherein, with great presence of mind, he purged himself of all things laid to his charge, and by a general suffrage obtained the banishment of Laurence and Peter, who had occasioned all this mischief. Hereupon, so great a sedition arose in the city that multitudes both of the clergy and laity were slain in all parts, not so much as the monastic virgins escaping. In this tumult Gordianus, a presbyter, and a very good man, was killed in the Church of St Peter ad Vincula; nor had an end been put to slaughter here, had not Faustus, the consul, in compassion to the clergy, appeared in arms against Probinus, the author of so great a calamity.

After this, the Christians having some small respite, Clodoveus, banishing the Arian heretics, restores the orthodox, and constitutes Paris the capital city of his kingdom.

Symmachus at this time expelled the Manichees out of the city, and caused their books to be burned before the gates of St John Lateran. Several churches he built from the ground, and several others he repaired and beautified. That of St Andrew the apostle, near St Peter's, he entirely built, enriching it with divers ornaments of silver and gold; and he adorned St Peter's itself and its portico, with chequered marble, making the steps of ascent into it more and larger than they were before. Moreover, he erected Episcopal palaces. He built also the church of St Agatha, the martyr, in the Via Aurelia, and that of St Pancrace. He repaired and adorned with painting the cupola of St Paul's, and built from the foundations the church of St Sylvester and St Martin, the altars of which he very richly adorned. He made also the steps that lead into the church of St John and St Paul, and

enlarged St Michael's. He built from the ground the oratories of Cosmus and Damianus, being assisted in that work by Albinus and Glaphyras, two men of principal note. Besides this, near the churches of St Peter and St Paul, he built two hospitals, making provision of all things necessary for the poor who should dwell in them. For he was in all respects very charitable, and sent supplies of money and clothes to the bishops and other clergy in Africa and Sardinia, who had suffered banishment for the profession of the true religion. He repaired the church of St Felicitas, and the cupola of that of St Agnes, which was decayed and almost ready to fall. He also at his own charge redeemed multitudes of captives in several provinces. He ordained that on Sundays, and the birthdays[1] of the martyrs, the hymn, "Glory be to God on High," should be sung, and, indeed, left nothing undone which he thought might tend to the glory of Almighty God. In his time Gennadius, Bishop of Marseilles, a great imitator of St Augustine, did good service to the Church. He wrote one book against heresies, wherein he shows what is necessary to every man in order to his salvation, and another *de viris illustribus*, in imitation of St Hierom. As for Symmachus, having at several ordinations made ninety presbyters, sixteen deacons, one hundred and twenty-two bishops, he died, and was buried in St Peter's Church, July the 19th. He sat in the chair fifteen years, six months, twenty-two days; and by his death the see was vacant seven days.

HORMISDA I.

A.D. 514-523.

HORMISDA, the son of Justus, born at Frusino, lived in the time of Theodoric and Anastasius, as far as to the consulship of Boethius and Symmachus.

These two, upon suspicion of designing against his government, were by Theodoric at first banished, and afterwards imprisoned. Boethius, during his confinement, wrote several things extant to this day, and translated and made commentaries upon the greatest part of Aristotle's works. He

[1] The days on which they suffered were anciently so called.—ED.

was thoroughly skilled in the mathematics, as his books of music and arithmetic clearly demonstrate. But at length both he and Symmachus were put to death by the order of Theodoric. Some tell us that the cause of Boethius's sufferings was the zeal he showed in opposing the Arians, who were favoured by Theodoric, but I think the former opinion to be more probable.

Hormisda, with the advice of Theodoric, held now a provincial synod at Rome, in which the Eutychians were again condemned by universal consent. He also sent letters and messengers to John, Bishop of Constantinople, admonishing him to renounce that heresy, and to believe there are two natures in Christ, the divine and human. But John continued refractory, trusting to the interest he had with the Emperor Anastasius, who not long after was struck dead by a thunderbolt, which was believed to be a just judgment upon him, both for his patronising so pernicious a heresy, and especially for his ill-usage of the legates sent to him by Hormisda, whom, contrary to the law of nations, he treated very contumeliously, and sent them home in a shattered leaky vessel, ordering them to return directly into Italy without touching at any shore in Greece. It is said that he bid them tell the bishop that he must know it to be the part of an emperor to command, not to obey the dictates of the Bishop of Rome or any other. These legates were Euodius, Bishop of Pavia; Fortunatus, Bishop of Catina; Venantius, a presbyter of Rome; and Vitalis, a deacon. Anastasius, dying in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, Justin, a patron of the Catholic faith, succeeds him, who forthwith sends ambassadors to the Bishop of Rome, to acknowledge the authority of the apostolic see, and to desire the bishop to interpose his ecclesiastical power for the settling the peace of the Church. Whereupon Hormisda, with the consent of Theodoric, sends Germanus, Bishop of Capua; John and Blandus, presbyters; and Felix and Dioscorus, deacons, his legates to Justin, by whom they were received with all imaginable expressions and testimonies of honour and respect—John, the Bishop of Constantinople, with multitudes of the orthodox clergy, and other persons of principal note, going forth, in compliment to meet them and congratulate their arrival. But the followers of Acacius, dreading their coming, had shut themselves up in a very strong church, and upon consultation what to do, sent

messengers to the emperor, declaring that they would by no means subscribe to the determination of the apostolic see, unless an account were first given them why Acacius was excommunicated. But Justin soon forced them out of the church and city, too; and Hormisda dealt in the same manner with the Manichees, who began to spring up afresh in Rome, whose books he caused to be burned before the gates of St John Lateran.

About this time Thorismund, king of the Vandals, dying in Africa, his son Hilderic, whom he had by the captive daughter of Valentinian, succeeded him in the kingdom. He inherited none of his father's errors, but following the counsel of his religious mother, recalled all the Catholics whom Thorismund had banished, and permitted them the free exercise of their religion. At this time also several rich presents were sent to Rome for the ornament of the churches there by Clodoveus, king of France, and Justin, the emperor. King Theodoric also richly adorned the church of St Peter; nor was Hormisda himself behind these princes in bounty and munificence to the Church. Having settled things according to his mind, and ordained twenty-one presbyters, fifty-five bishops, he died, and was buried in St Peter's Church, August the 6th, in the consulship of Maximus. He sat in the chair nine years, eighteen days; and by his death the see was vacant six days.

JOHN I.

A.D. 523-526.

JOHN, by birth a Tuscan, son of Constantius, was in the chair from the consulship of Maximus to that of Olybrius, in the time of King Theodoric and the Emperor Justin, who, out of his great zeal for the orthodox faith, and that he might utterly extinguish the name of heretics, banished the Arians, and gave their churches to the Catholics. This was so highly resented by Theodoric, that he sends John himself with Theodorus and the two Agapeti, his ambassadors to Justin, to advise him to restore the Arians, or upon his refusal to let him know that he would pull down all the Catholic churches in Italy. These ambassadors were at first very kindly and honourably received. But having given an

account of their embassy, and finding Justin wholly averse to grant what they desired, they betook themselves to tears and prayers, humbly beseeching him to prevent the ruin of Italy and all the orthodox Christians in it; by which means the good prince was prevailed upon to recall the Arians, and to grant them a toleration. Some write that it was in this bishop's time that Symmachus and Boethius were brought back from exile, imprisoned, and slain by the cruelty and rage of Theodoric. However, certain it is that they were put to death by Theodoric's order; and it matters not much whether it were in the pontificate of Hormisda or John. Which John, returning from Constantinople, Theodoric was so highly incensed against him for his agreement with the Emperor Justin both in faith and manners, that it was a chance that he had not taken away his life immediately; but throw him into prison he did at Ravenna, where, through stench and nastiness and want of necessary provision, the good man at length died—a cruelty for which the Divine vengeance sorely punished Theodoric not long after, for he died suddenly of a fit of an apoplexy, and his soul (if you will take the word of a devout hermit who reported it) was cast into the flames of the Island Lipara.

Theodoric was succeeded in the kingdom by his daughter, Amalasuntha, with her son, Athalaric, whom she had by her husband, Eucherius; a woman who with a prudence above her sex, rectified her father's ill decrees, restored the confiscated estates of Boethius and Symmachus to their children, and caused her son to be instructed in all kinds of good literature, though she were herein opposed by the Goths, who cried out that their king was not to be bred a scholar but a soldier. Much about this time died Justin, being very aged, leaving the empire to his sister's son, Justinian; and Clodoveus, king of France, leaving four sons his successors in that kingdom. Persons of note and esteem at this time were Benedict of Nursia, who settled among the Italians the rules and canons of the monastic life; and Bridget, a devout virgin of Scotland, and John, presbyter of Antioch, who wrote much against those that held that Christ should be worshipped in one nature only. To these Isidore adds one Cyprignius, a Spanish bishop, who wrote elegantly upon the Apocalypse.

Our John, before he went to Constantinople, had repaired three cemeteries—namely, that of Nereus and Achilleus in

the Via Ardeatina, that of the martyrs St Felix and St Adauctus, and that of Priscilla. He also adorned the altar of St Peter's with gold and jewels. He likewise brought with him from Constantinople, a paten of gold, and a chalice of gold set with precious stones, the presents of the Emperor Justin; but these I suppose to have been lost together with his life. At several ordinations he consecrated fifteen bishops. It is said that his body was brought from Ravenna to Rome, and buried in St Peter's Church, July the 27th, Olybrius being then consul. He sat in the chair two years, eight months; and by his death the see was vacant fifty-eight days.

FELIX IV.

A.D. 526-530.

FELIX the Fourth, a Sammite, the son of Castorius, lived in the time of the Emperor Justinian, whose General Belisarius was victorious over the Persians, and passing into Africa, by his singular courage and conduct subdued and almost quite rooted out the Vandals, whose King Gelimer he took prisoner, and brought him home with him in triumph. About this time Amalasuntha, having a long time lived very uneasily with her malcontented Goths, and having buried her wayward and unruly son, Athalaric, associates her kinsman Theodatus in the government. This Theodatus was so great a proficient in Greek and Latin learning, that he wrote an elegant history of his own times, and was thoroughly skilled in the Platonic philosophy. And though he were not naturally of an active martial temper, yet at the desire of Amalasuntha he undertook a war against the Burgundians and Alemanni, and managed it very successfully.

Felix, in the meanwhile being careful of the affairs of the Church, excommunicated the Patriarch of Constantinople for heresy, and built in the Via Sacra, near the Forum Romanum, the church of St Cosmus and Damianus, as appears from the verses yet remaining, wrought in mosaic work. He also re-built the church of St Saturninus in the Via Salaria, which had been consumed by fire. Some write that in this age lived Cassiodorus, who while he was a senator wrote several things in politics, and when he became a monk

composed a comment upon the psalms. It is said also that Priscian of Cesarea, the famous grammarian, now wrote his book of grammar. Arator, likewise a sub-deacon of Rome, translated the gospels into hexameter verse; and Justinian, Bishop of Valence, was had in great esteem for what he preached and wrote concerning the Christian faith. As for Felix himself, having ordained fifty-five presbyters, four deacons, twenty-nine bishops, he died, and was buried in St Peter's Church, October the 12th. He was in the chair four years, two months, thirteen days; and by his death the see was vacant three days.

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BONIFACE II.

A.D. 530-532.

BONIFACE the Second, a Roman, son of Sigismund, was also in the time of Justinian, a prince whose vast parts and learning qualified him for that great work which, for the public good, he undertook, of collecting and methodising the scattered Roman laws, and retrenching those which were useless and superfluous. Yet herein he made use of the advice and assistance of John, a patrician, Trebonianus, Theophilus, and Dorotheus, men of great learning and authority. With their help an immense number of near two thousand volumes of decrees, made from the building of the city to this time, confusedly heaped together, were digested under their respective titles into fifty books, which are sometimes called Digests, and sometimes Pandects, because they contain the whole civil law. He made also an epitome of the laws in four books, which go under the name of Institutes, or Justinian's Code. Moreover, some tell us that Justinian wrote certain books concerning the incarnation of our Lord, and that at his own charge he built the temple of St Sophia, than which there is not a more noble and magnificent pile of buildings in the world.

In his reign Boniface was made bishop of Rome, though not without some opposition; for the clergy being divided, one party of them chose Dioscorus into the place of Felix deceased. The contention about this matter lasted twenty-eight days, but the death of Dioscorus put an end to the

controversy. Things being quiet, Boniface applied himself to the settling of the Church, and decreed that no bishop should appoint his own successor, which was afterwards confirmed by several following bishops of Rome. He decreed also, that upon the decease of any bishop of Rome, another should be chosen to succeed him, if it might be, within three days, to prevent any bandying or dissension which might be occasioned by delay.[1] He ordained likewise, that the clergy should be separated and placed distinct from the laity at the time of celebration. At the same time many of the Roman nobility were so wrought upon by the sanctity of Benedict, that they retired to Mount Cassino and became monks there; among whom the more eminent were Maurus and Placidius. Other men of note and esteem were Dionysius Exiguus, famous for the extraordinary skill and judgment which he showed in his Paschal Cycle; Facundus, whose writings against certain Eutychians then springing up, were very much commended; and Martin, who by his preaching and writings converted the people of Soissons from the Arian heresy to the truth. But Boniface having sat in the pontifical chair two years, two days, died, and was buried in St Peter's Church. The see was then vacant two months.

JOHN II.

A.D. 532-535.

JOHN the Second, a Roman, son of Projectus, lived in the time of Justinian, and soon after his entrance upon the pontificate condemned Anthemius, an Arian bishop; some say that he had been Bishop of Constantinople. Justinian, to show his respect to the Roman see, sent Hypatius and Demetrius, two bishops, to Rome, both to compliment John in his name, and to make to St Peter's Church several rich presents. During this embassy, Mundus, Justinian's general, took the strong city of Salona, and gained a victory over the Goths, though not without great loss on the conquering side. For Mundus himself, together with his son, a valiant and

[1] He went further, and arranged that each Pope, during his lifetime, should nominate his successor, and he carried out his extraordinary measure, for his successor was his nominee.—ED.

brave young gentleman, was slain in that engagement; the news of which misfortune was extremely laid to heart by Justinian, he having always had a great value for that leader's courage and fidelity. Our bishop John, of whom historians say very little, having at one ordination made fifteen presbyters, twenty-one bishops, died, and was buried in St Peter's Church, May 27th. He sat in the chair two years, four months; and by his death the see was vacant six days.

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AGAPETUS I.

A.D. 535-536.

AGAPETUS, a Roman, son of Gordianus, a presbyter of the church of St John and St Paul, being created bishop by Theodatus, was by him forthwith sent to the Emperor Justinian, who was highly incensed against that king for his having first banished Amalasuntha, the mother of Athalaric, into the island of the Lake of Bolsena, and afterwards caused her to be put to death there. For she was a woman so well acquainted with Greek and Latin learning, that she durst engage in disputation with any professed scholar. Moreover, she was so thoroughly skilled in the languages of all the barbarous invaders of the Roman empire, that she could discourse any of them without an interpreter. Her death Justinian so highly resented, that he threatened to make war upon Theodatus for that reason. Hereupon Agapetus was sent to him, who being received with great honour and affection, and having obtained the peace he was sent to sue for, he was then practised with to confirm the Eutychian opinions. But Justinian finding that the good man utterly detested any such proposal, from desiring and requesting he fell to threats and menaces. Upon which Agapetus told him, that he should have been glad to be sent to Justinian, a Christian prince, but that he found a Diocletian, an enemy and persecutor of Christians. By this boldness of speech, and God's appointment, Justinian was so wrought upon that he embraced the Catholic faith, and having deposed Anthemius, Bishop of Constantinople, who patronised the Eutychian heresy, put into his place Menas, one of the orthodox, who was consecrated by Agapetus himself.

But not long after Agapetus died at Constantinople, and his body being wrapped up in lead was conveyed to Rome, and buried in St Peter's Church. He sat in the chair eleven months, twenty-one days; and by his death the see was vacant one month, twenty-nine days.

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SYLVERIUS.

A.D. 536-537.

SYLVERIUS, a Campanian, son of Bishop Hormisda, was chosen Bishop of Rome at the command of Theodatus, though till this time the emperors only, not the kings, had interposed their authority in that matter. But the menaces of Theodatus prevailed, who had threatened to put to death every man of the clergy who would not subscribe his name to the choice of Sylverius.

For this reason, and that he might also revenge the death of Amalasuntha, Justinian sends Belisarius, a patrician, with an army into Italy. In his passage thither he first put in at Sicily, and brought that island to the emperor's devotion. In the meantime Theodatus dying, and the Goths having chosen themselves a king against the will of Justinian, Belisarius quits Sicily that he might deliver Italy from the tyranny of the Goths. Coming into Campania, and the city of Naples refusing to obey the emperor's summons, he took it by storm and plundered it, putting to the sword all the Goths that were in garrison there, and a great part of the citizens, carrying away their children and what other spoil they could lay their hands on. The soldiers pillaged the very churches, violated the chastity of cloistered virgins, and committed all the outrages which are wont to be acted by an enraged victorious enemy. Marching hastily from thence with his army to Rome, and entering the city by night, he struck such a terror into the Goths who defended it, that they all left the gates and the walls and fled to Ravenna. But Belisarius apprehending that Vitiges might surprise him with a mighty force, which he should not be able to fight in open field, with all possible despatch fortified the city with trenches and bulwarks where occasion was for them. Soon after Vitiges, according to his expectation, coming towards him with a

mighty army, for it consisted of a hundred thousand men, Belisarius, who had not above five thousand, thought it best to keep within the city. Vitiges encamped between two aqueducts, the one of which ran towards the Via Latina, the other towards the Via Prænestina, and both met five miles from the city. And that the city might not be supplied with water, he cut off all the conduits and conveyances, which were fourteen. Moreover, he sent part of his army who possessed themselves of the port, and thereby reduced the Romans to the double calamity of war and famine.

In the meantime, at the motion of Vigilius, a deacon and surrogate of Rome, the Empress Theodora laid her commands, joined with threatenings, upon Sylverius, to banish Menas from Constantinople, and to restore Anthemius, who, as we have said, had been deposed for patronising the Eutychian heresy. Which, when he refused to do, she writes to Belisarius, ordering him to depose Sylverius, and to put Vigilius into his place. But Belisarius being wholly taken up with the defence of the city, left that affair to the management of his wife, Antonina, who, upon the depositions of certain witnesses suborned by Vigilius, attesting that Sylverius had a design to betray the city into the hands of the Goths, not only compelled him to quit the pontificate and to enter into a monastic life, but also banished him to the Island Pandataria, where he died, not without the reputation of having been a very holy man. It is said that at this time the Gauls despatched messengers to Benedict, desiring him to send to them any one of his disciples to instruct them in the rules of the monastic life. Upon which Benedict sent Maurus, who, by his own example, instructed them in a good and happy course of living, and also set up several monasteries among them. Vigilius, at the desire of the Roman clergy, in pursuance of Antonina's determination, was created Bishop of Rome. Sylverius, after his possession of the chair one year, five months, and twelve days, died, as we have already said, in Pandataria, and was buried June the 20th.[1] Upon his death the see was vacant six days.

[1] There was a strong suspicion that he was murdered.—Ed.

VIGILIUS I.

A.D. 537-555.

VIGILIUS, a Roman, his father a man of consular dignity, was likewise in Justinian's reign created Bishop of Rome, in whose time a fifth synod was held at Constantinople against Theodorus and other heretics, who held that the Blessed Virgin brought forth man only, not God-man; in this synod therefore it was decreed that the Blessed Virgin should be styled Θεοτόκος, *i.e.*, the mother of God.

Belisarius had now defended the city one whole year and nine days, and having in this time received fresh supplies of men, he resolved to march out and to engage the enemy in a pitched battle. But Vitiges, distrusting his own force, sets fire to his tents, and hastens by great marches to Ravenna. Belisarius with all possible speed follows him, and entering the city, takes Vitiges himself prisoner with all his family and a great part of his nobles; and having recovered almost all Italy, in the fifth year from his arrival there, he carries them with him to Constantinople. The same Belisarius, with incredible expedition, quelled the Moors, who were harassing Africa, and out of the spoils of that victory he made two very rich presents to St Peter's Church in Rome. He built also two hospitals for strangers at his own charge, one in the Via Lata, the other in the Via Flaminia; and founded the monastery of St Juvenalis at a town called Orta, endowing it with an estate in land for the maintenance of the monks in it.

At this time Theodora was earnest with Vigilius to come to Constantinople, and according to his promise, to restore Anthemius. But Vigilius denies the doing it, for that unjust promises are not to be performed, and he was of opinion that the proceedings of Agapetus and Sylverius against that heretic were legal, and that therefore their acts were by no means to be made void by him. Theodora being hereat enraged, with the assistance of some of her creatures at Rome, causes Vigilius to be impleaded upon two accusations: one, that he had fraudulently procured the banishment of Sylverius; the other, that by his order a certain youth had been beaten to death by his nephew Vigilius, son of Asterius, the consul. And that he might not escape with impunity she sends one Anthemius to Rome, with instructions to bring Vigilius by force to her, if he

refused to make his appearance. He, coming to Rome, in pursuance of his commission, seized the bishop in the church of St Cecilia, as he was, according to custom, distributing gifts to the people upon his birthday; and being assisted by some Romans, conveys him to Constantinople. It is said that at Vigilius's passage down the River Tiber, the people followed him with curses, pelting him with sticks and stones, and particularly using this exprobration, "Mischievous hast thou been to the city of Rome, and may mischief go along with thee." Being arrived at Sicily, by the permission of those who had him in custody, he ordained several persons, and among them Ampliatus a priest, and Valentinus a bishop, who were to have the inspection of the clergy and Church of Rome in his absence. Coming near Constantinople, Justinian with a great retinue went out to meet him, and they both entered the city together, the clergy going before them, as far as the temple of St Sophia. Theodora had now opportunity to tamper with Vigilius, and persuade him to the performance of his promise. But he told her that he had rather suffer the greatest punishment in the world than change his resolution in the case. She, therefore, and her attendants, beginning to menace him, and he saying that he was come to a Diocletian, not as he thought to Justinian, was thereupon so roughly handled and beaten that it almost cost him his life. And flying from their rage to the church of St Euphemia, not far distant, he was from thence dragged by certain rude people, who put a halter about his neck, and led him like a common rogue publicly through the city till the evening. After this he was imprisoned, and forced for some time to live upon nothing but bread and water, which yet he bore with so much patience and temper, that he would often say that he had deserved worse than all this, and was not yet punished according to his demerits. Those of the clergy who had accompanied him from Rome were some of them banished, others condemned to dig in the mines. But at the request of the Romans, who had now a better opinion of him, and upon the importunity of Narses, whom Justinian had sent to Rome to oppose the Goths, Vigilius, and all the others who were confined, had liberty granted them to return into Italy. But in their passage thither, being come as far as Syracuse in Sicily, Vigilius, who had outlived so many calamities and troubles, died there of the stone, and his body was carried to Rome, and buried in the church of St Marcellus, in the Via

Salaria. He lived in the pontificate at Rome and elsewhere seventeen years, six months, twenty-six days; and by his death the see was vacant three months, five days.

PELAGIUS I.

A.D. 555-560.

PELAGIUS, a Roman, lived in the time when Totilas, King of the Goths, advancing with a great army from Treviso, overran and spoiled Italy in such a manner, that from his savage cruelty he was called God's Scourge. Coming as far as Mount Cassino, in his way to Campania, though he were in the habit of a common soldier, yet he was discovered by St Benedict, who spared not by threatening of Divine vengeance to terrify him from raging so furiously against the Christians. Moving thence towards Abruzzo he dismantled Beneventum, besieged Naples, took Cumæ, where yet he exercised an extraordinary respect and civility towards the Roman women whom he found in it, permitting them to go to Rome to their friends without any violence or rudeness offered to them. After this having taken Naples, and made himself master of all that part of Italy which lies towards Sicily, he marches to Rome; and having first seized the port, by which supplies should come to the city, he reduced them to such extremity for want of provisions, that some were forced to feed upon man's flesh. At length, forcing his entrance at the gate which leads to Ostia, he possessed himself of the city, which, having plundered, he set on fire. Some tell us that Totilas designed to save the buildings of the city, and sent messengers about by night to publish his pleasure in that particular, but his orders therein were not obeyed. Justinian having intelligence of these proceedings, speedily despatches Narses, the eunuch, with a great army into Italy. It is said that this Narses was at first a bookseller, but being advanced to an office near the Emperor's person, Justinian, finding him to be a man of great merit, raised him to the dignity of a patrician. And, indeed, in all the accomplishments of religion, and virtue, and clemency, and generosity, and sweetness of temper, he was a most exemplary and extraordinary person. Narses, with the addition of some auxiliary forces from Alboinus, King of the Lombards, advances

against the Goths, routes them, and makes a great slaughter in the pursuit of them. Totilas lost his life ingloriously at Brissillo, and Theias, who was chosen king in his stead, though he behaved himself bravely, yet was slain by Narses not far from Nocera. And thus both the name and power of the Goths were extinct together, in the seventy-second year after that their King Theodoric first entered Italy. Not long after died Justinian, in the fortieth year of his reign ; a prince worthy to have his memory perpetuated to all posterity, and who, according to the custom of preceding emperors, deserves the additional titles of Alemanicus, Gotthicus, Vandalicus, Persicus, Africanus, though he only advised, but did not act, in the successful expeditions made against those nations.

Pelagius, in the midst of these disturbances not neglecting the affairs of the Church, ordained that heretics and schismatics might be suppressed by the secular power, when they would not be reclaimed by reason and argument. Being accused that he was the occasion of the calamities that befell Vigilius, as having a greater interest with Justinian than Vigilius had, in the sight of the clergy and people, he laid his hand upon the Cross and the Gospel, and by a solemn oath purged himself from that charge. Narses, coming to Rome, made a procession from the church of St Pancras to St Peter's, with thanksgiving for his late success ; and set himself with all possible application to repair the damage which the city had received by the Goths. In conjunction with Pelagius, he ordained that no person should be admitted to any holy orders or ecclesiastical dignity by the way of canvassing or bribery. Pelagius, making his notary, Valentinus, a very religious person, treasurer of the Church, begins the building of the church of St Philip and St James. Some tell us that the learned monk, Cassiodorus, who had been first consul, then a senator, and afterwards renouncing all human greatness, embraced a monastic life, lived to this time ; and that Victor, Bishop of Capua, now wrote a book concerning Easter, in which he particularly discovered the mistakes of Dionysius, the Roman abbot, who had, with little care and skill, com posed a Paschal Cycle. Moreover, Sabinus, Bishop of Canosa, and Gregory, Bishop of Langres, and Vedastus, a scholar of St Remigius, and Bishop of Arras, were ornaments to the Pontificate of Pelagius ; and Herculanus, Bishop of Perugia, who had been put to death by Totilas, was canonised. Pelagius,

having at two Decembrian ordinations made twenty-six presbyters, eleven deacons, thirty-nine bishops, died, and was buried in St Peter's. He was in the chair five years, ten months, twenty-eight days. The see was then vacant twenty-six days.

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JOHN III.

A.D. 560-573.

JOHN the Third, the son of Anastasius, descended of a noble family, lived in the time of Justin, who succeeded Justinian, but was in nothing like him. For he was covetous, lewd, rapacious, a contemner of God and men to such a degree, that his vices made him frantic; so that his wife Sophia managed all affairs till the time of Tiberius the Second. This woman, being prompted thereto by some envious persons who hated Narses, recalls him out of Italy in these reproachful words, "That she would have the eunuch come home and spin." This he very highly resenting, as well he might, returns answer, "That he would spin such a web, as none of his enemies should ever be able to unweave." And he was as good as his word; for he presently sends and invites Alboinus, King of the Lombards, with all his people, then possessed of Pannonia, to come and seat themselves in the more plentiful country of Italy. Alboinus, complying with the proposal of Narses, and entering Italy with a vast number of men with their wives and children, first possesses himself of Friuli and Marca Trivigiana; thence passing into Insubria, he takes and sacks Milan, and at length makes himself master of Pavia, after it had held out a siege of three years. Being thus flushed with victory, he goes to Verona, which he constitutes the capital city of his kingdom, where, being once at an entertainment over-heated with wine, he compelled his wife, Rosamund, to drink out of a cup which he had made out of her own father's skull, whom he himself had slain. Now, there was in Alboinus's army one Helmechild, a very handsome young gentleman, and an excellent soldier; and who was Rosamund's particular favourite. Him she discourses privately, and by proposing to him the hopes of succeeding in the kingdom, prevailed with him to murder

Alboinus. But they were both so hated for the fact by the Lombards, that they not only failed of their hopes, but were glad to fly for protection to Longinus, the Exarch of Ravenna, where, not long after, they poisoned each other, and died together. At this time Italy, by reason of the incursions which the barbarous nations made into it, was in a very calamitous state, which had been portended by prodigies and apparitions of flaming armies in the air, and also by an extraordinary inundation of the river Tiber, which had very much damaged the city of Rome.

In the meantime our John repaired the cemeteries of the saints, and finished the church of St Philip and St James which had been begun by Vigilius, and drew Narses, who had been an avowed enemy to the Romans for their ill opinion of him and their misrepresenting him to the Empress Sophia, from Naples to Rome, where he not long after died, and his body was conveyed in a coffin of lead to Constantinople. In such a confusion of things, the State of Italy must needs certainly have been utterly ruined, if some eminently holy men had not supported and propped up the tottering nation. Among others, Paul, Patriarch of Aquileia, and Felix, Bishop of Treviso, interceded successfully with Alboinus, when he first entered Italy, in the behalf of the inhabitants. Moreover, Fortunatus, a person of extraordinary learning and eloquence, very much civilised and polished the Gauls by his books and example, compiling a treatise of government, inscribed to their king, Childebert, and writing in an elegant style the "Life of St Martin." Some write that at this time lived Germanus, Bishop of Paris, a person of wonderful piety, who kept the kings of France within the bounds of their duty to such a degree, that each strove to excel the other in religion and piety, in goodness and clemency. So prevalent is the example of a good pastor, such an one as Germanus was, in whom they saw nothing but what was worthy of their imitation. After this one further remark,—that in our John's time, the Armenians were converted to Christianity,—I shall say no more of him, but that having been in the chair twelve years, eleven months, twenty-six days, he died, and was buried in St Peter's. Upon his death the see was vacant ten months and three days.

BENEDICT I.

A.D. 574-578.

BENEDICT, a Roman, the son of Boniface, lived in the time of Tiberius the Second, whom Justin had adopted, and appointed his heir to the empire—an honour which he well deserved, as being a person adorned with all the princely accomplishments of clemency, justice, piety, religion, wisdom, resolution, and unshaken fortitude. Among his other virtues he was eminent for his bounty and liberality towards all, especially the poor, and God supplied him in an extraordinary manner for it. For walking once hastily in his palace, and spying the figure of the cross upon one of the marble stones in the pavement, that it might not be trampled under foot, he devoutly caused it to be removed from thence, and laid up in a more decent and honourable place. At its taking up there was found under it another stone with the same figure on it, and then a third, under which he discovered such a vast heap of gold and silver as was requisite to furnish and maintain his large bounty, a great part of which treasure he distributed to the poor. It is said also that he had brought to him out of Italy a great estate which Narses had got there, which in like manner he employed in liberality and munificence. To Childebert, the French king, who had sent ambassadors to him, besides the other presents that he made, which were very considerable, he sent certain medals of gold, of very great weight, on the one side of which were the effigies of the Emperor, with this inscription, "Tiberii Constantini perpetuo Augusti;" on the other side was a chariot with its driver, and this inscription, "Romanorum Gloria." And to complete his successes, the army which he had sent against the Persians, returning victoriously, brought away with twenty elephants so vast a booty as no army had ever done in any expedition before. Thus signally was he rewarded for his good services to mankind in general, for his religion towards God our Saviour, and for his beneficence, particularly to the people of Rome, whom he not only protected and defended from their enemies as much as could be by his arms, but also at the prayers and intercession of our bishop, Benedict, whom he had a wonderful love and esteem for, he delivered them from dearth and famine by sending a supply of corn out of Egypt. For

the Lombards, by a long and tedious war, had so harassed Italy far and wide that from their devastations there arose a great want and scarcity of all things. While things went thus in Italy, John, Bishop of Constantinople, by reading, disputing, writing, admonishing, and teaching, kept the Oriental Church as much as might be right in the faith, though he met with many opposers therein. The same did also the equally learned and eloquent Leander, Bishop of Toledo, or as others think, of Seville, who wrote several treatises both to confirm the orthodox doctrine and to confute the Arian heresy, which, like a contagious pestilence, the Vandals, driven out of Africa by Belisarius, had brought with them into Spain. As for Benedict, some write that he, laying sadly to heart the calamities which now befel Rome and all Italy, died of grief, after he had been in the chair four years, one month, twenty-eight days. The see was then vacant two months. ten days.

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PELAGIUS II.

A.D. 578-590.

PELAGIUS, a Roman, son of Vinigildus, was from the time of Tiberius to that of his son-in-law, the Emperor Mauritius, to whom, though he were a Cappadocian, yet the empire was committed, upon the account of his great courage and ability in the management of affairs. At this time the Lombards having, after the death of Alboinus, for twenty years been governed by dukes, make Autharis their king, whom they also called Flavius, a name which was afterwards used by all the kings of Lombardy. But Mauritius, endeavouring to drive the Lombards out of Italy, hires Childebert, the French king, to engage in a war against them ; who forthwith raising a great army of Gauls and Germans, fights Autharis, but with great loss is discomfited. The Lombards being flushed and heightened by this victory, marched on as far as to the Straits of Sicily, possessing themselves all along of the cities of Italy, and at length besieging for a long time Rome itself, of which certainly they had made themselves masters, had they not been driven from its walls by the great rains which fell so violently and incessantly, and made such an

inundation, that men looked upon it as a second Noah's flood.

This was the only cause why Pelagius was made Bishop of Rome without the consent of the Emperor, the city being so closely besieged that none could pass to know his pleasure therein. For at this time the Roman clergy's election of a bishop was not valid unless they had the Emperor's approbation. Hereupon Gregory, a deacon, a man of great piety and learning, was sent to Constantinople to appease the Emperor; where, having effected what he came for, he neglected not to employ his time and parts, but both wrote books of morals upon Job, and also at a disputation in the presence of the Emperor himself, he so baffled Eutychius, Bishop of Constantinople, that he was forced to retract what he had written in a book of his concerning the Resurrection, in which he asserted that our bodies in that glory of the Resurrection should become more thin and subtle than the wind or air, and so not tangible. Which is contrary to that of our Saviour, "Handle Me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as you see Me have" (Luke xxiv.). As for Pelagius, having, at the request of the citizens of Rome, recalled Gregory, turned his father's house into an hospital for poor old men, and entirely built the cemetery of Hermes the martyr, and the church of Laurence the martyr, he died of the pestilence, which at that time was very epidemical throughout Europe, after he had been in the chair twelve years, two months, ten days, and was buried in St Peter's in the Vatican. The see was then vacant six months, twenty-eight days.

GREGORY I. THE GREAT.

A.D. 590-604.

GREGORY, a Roman, son of Gordianus, one of the senatorian order, was against his will unanimously chosen Bishop of Rome, A.D. 590. Now because, as I have already said, the consent of the Emperor was required herein, he despatches messengers with letters, beseeching Mauritius that he would not suffer this election of the clergy and people of Rome to stand good. These letters were intercepted and torn by the city prefect, and others written, by which the

Emperor was requested to confirm him who was by universal suffrage thus chosen. There could nothing be more pleasing and acceptable to the Emperor than the news of this choice, for the conversation of Gregory, while he was at Constantinople, had been very grateful to him, and moreover he had christened his son. Mauritius therefore speedily sends word back to Rome, that he did confirm the election of Gregory, and that in such a fluctuating state of things they should compel that holy man to undertake the government of the Church. He therefore, not consulting his own inclination, but the benefit of mankind, and the honour of God, which, as he was a most devout and religious man, he had ever preferred before all other things, without any regard to riches, or pleasures, or ambition, or power, takes the burden of the pontificate upon him. And he behaved himself so well in it, that no one of his successors down to our times has been his equal, much less his superior, either for sanctity of life or for diligence in managing affairs, or for his learning and writings. He composed a book of the sacraments; wrote commentaries upon Ezekiel, and, as I have already said, upon Job, and homilies upon the gospels; four books in dialogue, and that which he called the "Pastoral," to John, Bishop of Ravenna, concerning the way of governing the Church. Moreover, he introduced several rites, and made several additions to the offices of the Roman Church; and particularly he first instituted the greater Litanies or Processions, and appointed a great part of the Stations.[1] And that the good man might not in anything be wanting to the Church, he held in St Peter's a synod of twenty-four bishops, wherein he took away many things which might prove pernicious, and added many which might be beneficial to religion. He also sent into England, Augustine, Melitus, and John, and with these divers other monks, all persons of approved lives, by whose preaching the English were then first entirely converted to Christianity. By his means likewise the Goths returned to the union of the Catholic Church. We are told by some writers, that Gregory sent his dialogues concerning morals to

[1] Our author does not mention his labours for the emancipation of slaves, nor his great improvements in music, which have caused his name to be perpetuated till the present day in the title "Gregorian Chant." Nor does he allude to the unfavourable feature in the great Pontiff's life, his base praise of the Emperor Phocas for his brutality to his predecessor, Maurice. —Ed.

Theudelinda, Queen of the Lombards, by the reading of which she might smooth and polish the rugged temper of her husband, Autharis, and bring him to a better sense of religion and morality. She was an excellent lady, and a zealous Christian, and not only built the church of St John Baptist at Monza, a town ten miles distant from Milan, but also furnished it with vessels of gold, and liberally endowed it.

It is said that at the time when Hermenigild was put to death by his father, Leovigild, King of the Goths, because he professed the Catholic faith, the seamless coat of Christ, which fell by lot to one of the soldiers, was found in the city Zaphat, laid up in a marble chest there; Thomas being then Bishop of Jerusalem, John Bishop of Constantinople, and Gregory Bishop of Antioch. In the meantime Mauritius, having in Tuscany and Terra di Lavoro, by his General, Romanus the Exarch, gained the better of the Lombards, who from a confidence grounded upon their former successes were now degenerated into all manner of vice, makes a law, that no person who had listed himself in the Roman army should be at liberty to withdraw and take upon him a religious life till either the war were ended or the man himself maimed or disabled. Gregory being moved hereat, admonishes him not to oppose the religion of that God by whose bounty he had been raised from a very mean condition to the highest degree of dignity. Moreover, John, Bishop of Constantinople, having in a synod which he held, procured himself to be styled the Ecumenical, *i.e.*, universal bishop, and Mauritius hereupon requiring Gregory to yield obedience to John; he, being a person of great courage and constancy, returns answer, that the power of binding and loosing was committed to Peter and his successors, not to the bishops of Constantinople, and therefore warns him to desist from provoking the wrath of God against himself, by being too busy in sowing dissension in the Church. But Mauritius, not content with the mischief he had done already, recalls his soldiers who were in Italy, and encourages the Lombards to assault the Romans, without any regard to the league they had entered into with them. Hereupon Agilulphus, moving from Lombardy, and laying waste all Tuscany through which he passed, infests and very much annoys the city of Rome one whole year; in which time Severus, Bishop of Aquileia, becoming heretical, was the occasion of many evils. For, after his death, the patriarchate

of Aquileia was divided into two: Agilulphus, King of the Lombards, constituting John of Aquileia, and our Gregory, Candianus of Grado, bishops to the people of Friuli. But Agilulphus, quitting all hopes of gaining the city, raises the siege, and returns to Milan. Mauritius now began to treat Gregory more respectfully, but it proceeded not from a voluntary but forced repentance; he having heard that a certain person in the habit of a monk, with a drawn sword in his hand, had proclaimed aloud in the market-place of Constantinople, that the Emperor should in a short time die by the sword. The same was confirmed to him by a dream of his own, in which he saw himself, his empress, and their children murdered. And accordingly, not long after, the soldiers, being discontented for want of pay, create Phocas, who was a centurion in the army, emperor, and assassinate Mauritius, in the nineteenth year of his reign. But Gregory, having added what ornaments he could to the churches in Rome, and dedicated by the name of St Agatha the martyr, the church of the Goths in Suburra, built by Fl. Ricimerius, a man of consular dignity, converted his father's house into a monastery, wherein he received and entertained strangers, and supplied with meat and drink the poor which from all parts flocked to it. He was certainly a person every way praiseworthy, whether we regard his life and conversation, or his learning, or his abilities in things both divine and human. Nor ought we to suffer him to be censured by a few ignorant men, as if the ancient stately buildings were demolished by his order, upon this pretence which they make for him, lest strangers coming out of devotion to Rome should less regard the consecrated places, and spend all their gaze upon triumphal arches and monuments of antiquity. No such reproach can justly be fastened upon this great bishop, especially considering that he was a native of the city, and one to whom, next after God, his country was most dear, even above his life. It is certain that many of those ruined structures were devoured by time, and many might, as we daily see, be pulled down to build new houses; and for the rest, it is probable that for the sake of the brass used in the concavity of the arches, and the conjunctures of the marble or other square stones, they might be battered and defaced not only by the barbarous nations, but by the Romans too, if Epirotes, Dalmatians,

Pannonians, and other sorry people, who from all parts of the world resorted hither, may be called Romans. Now, Gregory having used all means to establish the Church of God, died in the second year of the Emperor Phocas, having been in the chair thirteen years, six months, ten days; and, the loss of him being lamented by all men, was buried in St Peter's, March 12. By his death the see was vacant five months, nineteen days.

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SABINIAN I.

A.D. 604-606.

SABINIAN, Gregory's successor, deserved not to have the place of his nativity remembered, being a person of mean birth and meaner reputation, and one who violently opposed the great things which his predecessor had done. Particularly, there being a great scarcity during his pontificate, and the poor pressing him hard to imitate the pious charity of Gregory, he made them no other answer but this, that Gregory was a man who designed to make himself popular, and to that end had profusely wasted the revenues of the Church. Nay, the ill-natured wretch arrived to such a degree of rage and envy against Gregory, that he was within a very little of causing his books to be burned. Some tell us that Sabinian was, at the instigation of some Romans, thus highly incensed against Gregory because he had mutilated and thrown down the statues of the ancients which had been set up throughout the city; but this is a charge as dissonant from truth as that of his demolishing the old fabrics, concerning which we have spoken in his life; and considering the antiquity of these statues, and the casualties which might befall them, and the designs which men's covetousness or curiosity might have upon them, it is fairly probable that they might be mangled or lost, without Gregory's being at all concerned therein. But to go on with Sabinian, it was he who instituted the distinction of canonical hours for prayer in the church, and who ordained that tapers should be kept continually burning, especially in the church of St Peter. Some tell us that, with the consent of Phocas, a peace was now made with the Lombards, and their king Agilulphus's daughter who had been taken captive

in the war, restored to him. At this time appeared divers prodigies portending the calamities which ensued. A bright comet was seen in the air; at Constantinople a child was born with four feet; and at the Island Delos were seen two sea-monsters in human shape. Some write that in the pontificate of Sabinian, John, Patriarch of Alexandria, and Latinianus, Bishop of Carthage, both persons famous for piety and learning, did wonderfully improve the dignity of those churches. Moreover, Severus, a very learned man and an intimate friend of Latinianus, wrote very much against Vincent, Bishop of Saragossa, who had fallen off to the Arian heresy; he also wrote to his sister a book concerning virginity, entitled "Aureolus." But Sabinian, having been in the chair one year, five months, nine days, died, and was buried in the church of St Peter. By his death the see was vacant eleven months, twenty-six days.

BONIFACE III.

A.D. 607-608.

BONIFACE the Third, a Roman, with much ado obtained of the Emperor Phocas, that the see of St Peter the apostle should by all be acknowledged and styled the head of all the churches; a title which had been stickled for by the Church of Constantinople, through the encouragement of some former princes, who asserted that the supremacy ought to reside there, where the seat of the empire was. But the Roman bishops alleged that Rome, of which Constantinople was but a colony, ought to be accounted the chief city of the empire, since the Greeks themselves in their writings styled their prince τῶν Ῥωμάιων Αὐτοκράτορα—*i.e.*, the Emperor of the Romans; and the Constantinopolitans, even in that age, were called Romans, not Greeks. Not to mention that Peter, the chief of the apostles, bequeathed the keys of the kingdom of heaven to his successors, the bishops of Rome, and left the power which God had given him not to Constantinople, but to Rome. This only I say, that several princes, and particularly Constantine, had granted to the Roman see only, the privilege of calling and dissolving councils, and of rejecting or confirming their decrees. And

does not a Church which has with so much integrity and constancy baffled and exploded all manner of heresies, as the Roman see hath done, deserve, think you, the preference of others? The same Boniface, in a synod of seventy-two bishops, thirty presbyters, and three deacons, ordained that, upon pain of excommunication, no person should succeed in the place of any deceased pope or other bishop till at least the third day after the death of his predecessor; and that whoever should by bribes, or by making of parties and interests, endeavour to raise themselves to the popedom or any other bishopric should undergo the same penalty. He decreed likewise that the choice of any bishop should be by the clergy and people, and that the election should then stand good when it were approved by the civil magistrate, and when the pope had interposed his authority in these words, "We will and command,"—an institution in part very necessary, for our times especially, so many corruptions daily creeping in. For it is probable that, the election being free, the clergy and people will choose, and the magistrate approve of no other than such an one as deserves and is fit to be governor in the Church. Though (if I may speak it without offence to any that are good) the truth is, multitudes do now aspire to the dignity of bishops, not as they ought to do for the sake of the public good, but that they may satisfy their own covetousness and ambition. For the great question is, what any bishopric is worth—not how great a flock there is to take the charge of. But enough of this: I return to Boniface, whose decrees, as it appears, were extinct with his life. He died in the ninth month of his pontificate, and was buried in the church of St Peter. The see was then vacant one month, six days.

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BONIFACE IV.

A.D 608-615.

BONIFACE the Fourth, born in Valeria, a city of the Marsi, the son of John a physician, obtained of the Emperor Phocas, the Pantheon, a temple so called because it was dedicated to Cybele and all the gods, and having cast out all the heathen images that were in it, he consecrated it on

May the 12th, in honour of the blessed Virgin and all the martyrs; whereupon it was afterwards called St Maria Rotunda, and *Virgo ad Martyres.*

At this time the Persians, under the conduct of their king, Chosroës, making an irruption into the Roman provinces, and having routed Phocas's army, possess themselves of Jerusalem, profane and pillage the churches of the Christians, carry away the wood of our Saviour's cross, and take captive Zacharias, the holy patriarch of that city. Hereupon Phocas, falling into contempt with all men, but especially the senate, was deprived of his empire and life by Heraclius, general of the forces and governor of the provinces of Africa. Now also Caganus, King of the Avares, forcing his entrance through Pannonia and Illyricum into Italy, was so much too hard for the Lombards, that he was very near making himself master of the province itself, and through the treachery of Romilda, who was enamoured of him, he did actually take Friuli, and sacked it in such a manner that scarce any footsteps of it were left remaining. While things went thus in Italy, John, Bishop of Girone, proved a great defence to Christianity, both by his preaching and writings. He, being a Goth, born at Portugal, so soon as he came to the years of discretion travelled to Constantinople, and parted thence so well skilled in Greek and Latin learning that, at his return into Portugal, he was able easily to baffle the Arian heresy which very much prevailed there. For this reason he was by the heretics confined in Barcelona. But afterwards, upon the death of King Lemungildus, who countenanced those heretics, he came back into his own country, and both wrote very much concerning the Christian religion, and also founded a monastery, and prescribed rules of living, which the monks thereof were to guide themselves by. Eutropius, also Bishop of Valentia, was now by his learning and example very instrumental to keep the Spaniards sound in the faith. Moreover, Columbanus, an abbot, a very holy man, by descent a Goth, coming first out of Scotland into Burgundy, built there the stately monastery of Luxeuil; and thence passing into Italy, built another fair one at Bobbio. Pope Boniface, that he might not be behindhand in this matter with either of them, converted his father's house into a monastery, and gave his estate for the maintenance of the monks in it. But not long after he died, having been the chair six years, eight months,

seventeen days, and was buried in the church of St Peter, in a time of dearth, pestilence, and great inundation of waters. By his death the see was vacant seven months, twenty-five days.

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DEUS-DEDIT I.

A.D. 615-618.

DEUS-DEDIT, a Roman, son of Stephen a sub-deacon, being unanimously chosen to the pontificate, proved a great lover and encourager of the clergy. It is reported that he was a person of so great sanctity, that meeting with a man who had a leprosy, he cured him of that disease with a kiss. He ordained that the son should not marry any woman to whom his father had been godfather.

At this time Heraclius with a great army recovered several provinces which the Persians had possessed themselves of, dismounted and slew their general in a single combat, vanquished their king, Chosroës, and took his son prisoner, whom having first christened, he released and sent home again. Entering Persia, he took a strong tower in which Chosroës's treasure lay, part of which he distributed among his soldiers, and assigned another part for the repairing of the churches which the Persians had pillaged and spoiled. Returning to Jerusalem with seven elephants loaded with other great booty, he brought along with him the cross of our blessed Saviour, which the Persians had taken away, and laid it up in the place where it was before. Those of the Persians whom he had taken prisoners, he suffered to return into their own country. After this, being arrived at Constantinople, and taking delight in study, he applied himself to astrology. But yet this great emperor, against all law both divine and human, married his own sister's daughter, and to add one crime to another, as is usual when men once become guilty, he falls off to the Eutychian heresy. This happened at the time when Anastasius, a Persian, being converted to Christianity, and having entered upon a monastic life, was seized by his own countrymen, and suffered martyrdom for the sake of his religion; whose body was afterwards conveyed to Rome and deposited in the monastery of St Paul. It is said that at

this time Sisebert, King of the Goths, reduced several cities of Spain which had revolted to the Romans, and that by torment he forced all the Jews which he discovered in his kingdom to profess the belief of Christianity. This, it is reported, he did at the request of Heraclius, who had been forewarned to beware of the circumcised; but yet afterwards, he being not sufficiently careful to prevent his fate, was crushed by the Saracens, who observed circumcision. Thus things went in the East, nor did the West want its assertors of the Christian faith. For Arnulphus, Bishop of Metz, by his piety and prudence, kept Dagobert, the French king, within the bounds of his duty; being therein assisted by Amandus, an excellent person, and a vigorous defender of the Christian religion. Among the Spaniards, Isidore, Bishop of Seville, successor to Leander, wrote several things very beneficial to the state of Christianity; particularly, of the Chief Good, of Famous Men, of Grammar and Etymology, a History from Adam to the times of Heraclius, the Lives of several saints, the History of the Lombards, and a short Cosmography. Some say that this Isidore was a German, though the Spaniards lay claim to him; but whatever countryman he were, it is certain that he was a most excellent person, both for his great learning and his greater sanctity.

As for Deus-dedit, the time of whose pontificate, besides what we have already mentioned, was rendered remarkable by an earthquake, and a scab so near approaching to a leprosy, that it deformed men beyond each other's knowledge, he died in the third year and twenty-third day of his being in the chair, and was buried in the church of St Peter, November the 8th. By his death the see was vacant one month, sixteen days.

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BONIFACE V.

A.D. 618-625.

BONIFACE the Fifth, a Campanian, his father's name John, was chosen Pope at the time when Eleutherius, a patrician, being sent by Heraclius to Rome, and having revenged the death of John, the late Exarch of Ravenna, usurped the kingdom of Italy. But on his way to Rome he was put to death by his own soldiers, and his head sent to Constantinople;

upon which Isaac of Constantinople, another patrician, was made exarch in his stead. Theudelinda now, after the death of her husband Agilulphus, governing together with her son the kingdom of the Lombards very prudently and justly, maintained a peace between her people and the Italians for ten years together, made several presents and donations to several churches, and endowed them with lands for the better maintenance of the clergy belonging to them. In the twelfth year of Heraclius, Mahomet, an Arabian, as some will have him, or as others, a Persian, descended of a noble family, his father a Gentile, his mother a Jewess, was the author of so much mischief to the Christian state, that I am afraid lest his sect should utterly extinguish the remains of Christianity, especially in our age, wherein we are grown listless and inactive, and stand still tamely expecting our own ruin. His sect prevails and increases now more than ever; all Asia and Africa, and a great part of Europe is subject to Mahometan princes; the Turks press hard upon us by sea and land, that they may ferret us like coneys out of these burrows in Europe. In the meantime we sit idly, looking upon one another, as if the whole state of Christianity were not at all in danger. The clergy expect that so important and necessary a war should be undertaken by the laity. The laity expect that the clergy should expend their money to bear the charge of a war for the defence of religion, and not put it to worse uses, as most of them are wont to do, laying out their stock gotten by alms and martyrs' blood upon huge, large vessels of massive gold and silver, while themselves in the meantime carry it arrogantly towards men, are contemners of God, whom they serve only for gain, and are not at all solicitous for the time to come. But I return to Mahomet, a man of so wily a temper and so sharp a wit, that having long conversed among the Christians, and acquainted himself with all the sects that had been before him, he introduced a new kind of superstition, which has, as we see, almost rooted out Christianity. Moreover, having got together a great army of Arabians, he was so hardy as to encroach upon the borders of the Roman empire, but Heraclius soon put a stop to his motion, having by promises and bribes prevailed with his soldiers to make a revolt from him.

As for Pope Boniface, he was a person of singular humanity, clemency, and obliging deportment towards all men, and neglected no part of the duty of a good bishop. He ordained,

that criminals who fled for refuge to churches, should not be taken thence by force; that the acolythi should not meddle with the relics of the martyrs, that belonging to presbyters and sub-deacons; and that in every place those who were guilty of sacrilege should be excommunicated. He built and dedicated the cemetery of St Nicomedes, and was in an extraordinary manner liberal and munificent towards those of the clergy who led exemplary lives. At this time Gallus, a scholar of St Columbanus, lived so devoutly, that he deserved to be canonised a saint even in his lifetime. Eustachius, the abbot, followed his example, and so did St Aurea, in honour to whom Eligius built a nunnery. It is said also, that at this time one Basilius was very famous for his life and learning, and in both equal to Isidore himself. Our Boniface having been in the chair seven years, ten days, died, and was buried in the church of St Peter. By his death the see was vacant thirteen days.

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HONORIUS I.

A.D. 625-638.

HONORIUS, a Campanian, son of Petronius, a man of consular dignity, entered upon the pontificate at the time when Theudelinda died, and her son Adalwaldus was deposed, Ariwaldus being made king in his stead. At which time Heraclius, who had been victorious over the Persians, was very urgent to have all the Jews who were subjects to the empire baptized. Hereupon the Saracens and Arabians taking up arms, A.D. 623, gained such a victory over Heraclius's army, that they rendered that successful man the most unfortunate. This was done under the conduct of Mahomet, who pretending himself to be the great prophet of God, and deluding the Asians and Africans by magical arts, put such vigour into the people who embraced his new religion, that he was very near to have ruined the empire; having taken Alexandria and several important cities of Syria and Cilicia. He had for his followers the Saracens, so called from Sarah,[1]

[1] This is the derivation of the word adopted by mediæval authors, but it is probably erroneous. It seems to be now agreed that the word is from *Sharkeya* (Arab.): "eastern people," corrupted by the Greeks into *Sarakenoi*.—ED.

Abraham's lawful wife, as if they were the only legitimate successors and heirs of the Divine promise. The crafty man herein followed the example of Jeroboam, who prescribed distinct rules of worship to his tribes, that they might not be subject to the Jewish Government. The same also afterwards did the Greeks who dissented from the Catholics, not only for the sake of religion but empire, upon the score of which they followed the errors of the Nestorians, Jacobites, and Ebionites. But in the end their pertinacity reduced them to that pass, that their religion and government were dissolved together, and they brought into the vilest servitude. But Mahomet (as we see in the Koran), that he might separate his disciples as far as possible from Christianity, in composing his laws followed the example of several heretics, and especially the Nestorians; collecting here and there, and reducing into one body, many things repugnant to the law of Moses and the Gospel. It is said that at this time Heraclius, distrusting his own strength, struck up an inglorious peace with the Saracens, and that being imposed upon by the arts of Pyrrhus, patriarch of Constantinople, and Cyrus, bishop of Alexandria, he fell off to the heresy of the Monothelites, a sect so called from their asserting one Will only in Christ. But these seducers, at the instance of Honorius, who was very diligent to reclaim Heraclius, were afterwards banished.[1] And Honorius having now some respite from other cares, by his learning and example proved a great reformer of the clergy. The church of St Peter he covered with brass taken out of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; repaired that of St Agnes in

[1] Our author has passed lightly over a very awkward and difficult fact in the Papal history, namely, that Pope Honorius distinctly pronounced himself in favour of the Monothelite heresy, in his *Ecthesis*, or "Exposition of the Faith," issued in 639. His successor, John IV., condemned it, and it was finally anathematised at the sixth General Council held at Constantinople in 680. The difficulty of reconciling this fact with the Vatican decree (1870) of Papal infallibility is admitted by Roman writers. See Robertson's learned note (Ch. Hist., ii. 54), and a very candid discussion of the question in Addis and Arnold's "Catholic Dictionary," s.v. "*Honorius*." The writers, after discussing the various attempts which have been made to explain the discrepancy, come to the conclusion, though with a good deal of hesitation, that if Honorius had enforced his own belief on the Church and threatened excommunication on those who rejected it, it would be impossible to reconcile this with the Vatican decree, but that as he did not do so, he cannot be held to have spoken *ex cathedra*.—ED.

the Via Nomentana, as appears by an inscription in verse therein, and likewise that of St Pancras in the Via Aurelia; built those of St Anastasius, St Cyriacus, seven miles from Rome in the Via Ostiensis, and St Severinus in Tivoli; all which he made very stately, and adorned with gold, silver, porphyry, marble, and all manner of ornamental workmanship. He repaired also the cemetery of St Marcellinus and St Peter in the Via Labicana, and was at the charge of building other churches besides those before mentioned. Moreover, he ordained that every Saturday a procession with litanies should be made from St Apollinaris to St Peter's. But having been in the chair twelve years, eleven months, seventeen days, he died, and was buried in the church of St Peter, October the 12th. By his death the see was vacant one year, seven months, eighteen days.

SEVERINUS I.

A.D. 640.

SEVERINUS, a Roman, son of Labienus, being chosen in the place of Honorius deceased, was confirmed therein by Isaac, Exarch of Italy, the election of the clergy and people being at this time reckoned null and void without the assent of the emperors or their exarchs. Now Isaac having made a journey to Rome upon the occasion of confirming this Pope, that he might not lose his labour, fairly sets himself to plunder the Lateran treasury, being assisted in that attempt by several citizens, though he were resisted for a time, but in vain, by the clergy of that church, the principal of which he afterwards banished. The ground of this action was Isaac's resentment that the clergy alone should grow rich, without contributing to the charge of the wars, especially at a time when the soldiers were reduced to the greatest want and extremity. Part of the spoil he distributed among the soldiers, part he carried away with him to Ravenna, and of the rest he made a present to the emperor. Those of the Saracens who had been listed by Heraclius being discontented for want of pay, marched into Syria, and made themselves masters of Damascus, a city subject to the empire. Then joining with the other Arabians, and being furnished with provisions and

arms, and heated by Mahomet's zeal, they overran Phœnicia and Egypt, and put to the sword all those who refused to subscribe to their government and Mahomet's religion. Advancing thence against the Persians, and having slain Hormisda, the Persian king, they ceased not to commit all manner of outrages upon that people, till they had entirely reduced them to subjection. But Heraclius, having intelligence of what work these Saracens made, especially upon their taking of Antioch, and fearing that they might possess themselves of Jerusalem itself (which they not long after did), took care to have the cross of our Saviour conveyed to Constantinople, that it might not again come into the hands of the Agarens (for so the Greeks in contempt call the Arabians, as descending from Agar, Abraham's servant). Mahomet dying at Mecca in 632, was succeeded by rulers called *Caliphs*, *i.e.*, successors. The first was Abu-bekr. The fourth, Ali, was disowned by some, and thus the Caliphate became divided. It is said also, that to complete the calamities of the Roman empire, Sisebert, king of the Goths, did at this time recover out of the hands of the Romans all the cities of Spain; and so a period was put to the Roman government in that country.

As for Severinus, who was a person of extraordinary piety and religion, a lover of the poor, kind to those in affliction, liberal to all, and in adorning of churches very munificent, having been in the chair two months, he died, and was buried in St Peter's Church, August the 2nd. The see was then vacant four months, twenty days.

JOHN IV.

A.D. 640-642.

JOHN the Fourth, a Dalmatian, son of Venantius, entering upon the pontificate, forthwith expressed a wonderful compassion, in employing the remainder of the treasury of the Church which Isaac had left behind him, for the redemption of a multitude of Istrians and Dalmatians who had been taken captive. In the meantime, Rhotaris, who succeeded Ariwaldus in the kingdom of Lombardy, though he were a person eminent for justice and piety, yet became a

favourer of the Arians, and permitted that in every city of his kingdom there should be at the same time two bishops of equal authority, the one a Catholic, and the other an Arian. He was a prince of great parts, and reduced the laws, which memory and use alone had before retained, methodically into a book which he ordered to be called the Edict. His excellence in military skill appeared in that he made himself master of all Tuscany and Liguria, with the sea-coast as far as Marseilles. But in the sixth year of his reign he died, and left the kingdom to his son Rhodoaldus. It is reported that a certain priest entering by night into the church of St John Baptist, and there opening the tomb in which the body of Rhotaris lay, robbed it of all the things of value with which the bodies of kings are wont to be interred. Hereupon John Baptist, a saint to whom Rhotaris had been in his lifetime very much devoted, appeared to the priest, and threatened him with death if he ever entered his church again. The like happened even in our times to Cardinal Luigi, Patriarch of Aquileia, whose sepulchre was broken open and pillaged by those very men whom he himself had enriched and raised from a mean condition to the sacerdotal dignity. Rhodoaldus, entering upon the government of the kingdom, marries Gundiberga, the daughter of Queen Theudelinda, who, imitating her mother's devotion, built and richly adorned a church in honour to St John Baptist at Terracina, in like manner as Theudelinda had done at Monza. But Rhodoaldus being taken in adultery, was slain by the husband of the adultress. Successor to him was Aribertus, son of Gudualdus, and brother of Queen Theudelinda. He built our Saviour's chapel at Pavia, and very much beautified and plentifully endowed it.

Pope John fearing now lest the bodies of Vincentius and Anastasius might sometime or other be violated by the barbarous nations, took care to have them safely conveyed to Rome, and with great solemnity deposited them in the oratory of St John Baptist, near the baptistery of the Lateran. We are told that in his pontificate Vincentius, Bishop of Beauvais, and Muardus, Archbishop of Rheims, were in great esteem for their learning and sanctity. Moreover, Reginulpha, a French lady, was very eminent for piety, and Renaldus, Bishop of Trajetto, famous for his life and miracles. Jodocus also was not inferior to any of these, who though he were the son of a king of the Britons, yet despising worldly

greatness, became for some time a hermit, and died at length in an obscure village. Pope John having been in the chair one year, nine months, nine days, died, and was buried in the church of St Peter, October the 12th. The see was then vacant one month, thirteen days.

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THEODORUS I.

A.D. 642-649.

THEODORUS, a Grecian, son of Theodorus, a bishop, born at Jerusalem, was no sooner in the chair but he applied himself like a good bishop to all those things which he thought might tend to the advancement of the Christian religion; being a person obliging to all men, but extraordinarily bountiful to the poor.

At this time Heraclius died of a dropsy in the thirtieth year of his reign, having a little before made Theodorus, surnamed Calliopa, his exarch in Italy, in the place of Plato deceased. Heraclius was succeeded by his son Constantine, who in the fourth month after his coming to the empire was poisoned by the procurement of his step-mother Martina and her son Heracleon, whom, it is said, Pyrrhus the patriarch prompted to commit that villany. Heracleon, upon the death of his brother, takes upon him the government, at that time particularly when Cyrus, Sergius, and Pyrrhus reviving the heresy of the Acephali, maintained the opinion of one only nature in Christ, one operation, and one will. Among these, Pyrrhus, hearing of the death of Heraclius, and being very desirous to return out of Africa, whither he had been banished, into his own country, coming to Rome and making a hypocritical retractation of his errors, was restored by Theodorus, and received from him a form of belief. But he lost his life before he could accomplish the end which he sought to compass by such ill means. For the senate and people of Constantinople, being acquainted with the cause of Constantine's death, first seized Martina and Heracleon, and having cut off his nose, and cut out her tongue, banished them both; then apprehending Pyrrhus, who endeavoured to make his escape, they put him to death. Constantius, the son of Constantine who had been thus treacherously murdered, they create emperor;

and instead of Pyrrhus make Paul their bishop; whom yet Theodorus deprived for being in the like kind heretical, his pertinacity therein being favoured by Constantius, who was unadvisedly fallen into the same heresy. But the Pope laying aside this controversy, and applying himself to other cares, caused the bones of the martyrs Primus and Felicianus to be removed out of a sandy grotto in the Via Nomentana to Rome, where he deposited them in the church of St Stephen the proto-martyr, sparing no cost in ornaments both of silver and gold upon their tomb. He also built and adorned a church in the Via Flaminia, as likewise two oratories, one near the Lateran Church dedicated to St Sebastian, the other in the Via Ostiensis to Eupolus the martyr. Having finished these things, and been in the chair six years, five months, eighteen days, he died, and was buried in St Peter's, May the 14th. The see was then vacant fifty-two days.

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MARTIN I.

A.D. 649-655.

MARTIN the First, born at Todi, son of Fabricius, succeeding Theodorus, forthwith despatches his legates to Constantinople, to admonish Paul to quit his errors, and at length to return into the way of truth. But he not only disobeyed the Pope's commands, but also, being countenanced therein by Constantius, offered great indignities to those legates, and then banished them into several islands. Martin, highly resenting this usage, calls a synod of a hundred and five bishops at Rome, wherein he renews the condemnation of Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius, and Pyrrhus, and excommunicates and deprives Paul the patriarch with the bitterest anathemas imaginable.

While these things were transacting, the peace of Italy, which had lasted between the Romans and the Lombards thirty years, began now to be disturbed. For the Lombards took mightily upon them, and imposed such unjust conditions upon the Romans as they could not submit to; particularly Rhotaris, being himself an Arian, and scarce any city over which he did not set up an Arian as well as a Catholic bishop. This was an evil which both Theodorus and Martin had often

endeavoured to remedy, but in vain. For this reason, and also at the instance of Theodorus the exarch, a war was proclaimed with the Lombards, whereupon they take up arms, and near Scultenna, a river of Modena, a sharp engagement there was on both sides. But in the end Theodorus was vanquished and routed, and lost in the fight near seven thousand of his men. Rhotaris, being flushed with this victory, in a short time easily made himself master of all Liguria. Now Constantius, hoping that the change of his general might change his fortune too, recalls Theodorus, and sends Olympius, his exarch, into Italy, with instructions, both to propagate the sect of the Monothelites throughout Italy, and also either to put Pope Martin to death, or else to take care to have him sent prisoner to Constantinople. Olympius coming to Rome, where there had been already a synod held against this and other the errors of the Oriental Church, and finding that he could not disperse the contagion as he thought to do, sends one of his officers to seize Martin in the church of St Maria Maggiore, and either to bring him to him, or else to kill him if he refused and made resistance. The officer, being just ready to execute this order, was by miracle suddenly struck with blindness; and so by Divine providence Martine escaped the danger. The Saracens taking heart upon this great dissension between the Eastern and Western Church, set sail from Alexandria with a great fleet, and arriving at Rhodes, and taking the city, they destroyed the famous and celebrated colossus there, with the brass of which it is said they loaded nine hundred camels; this colossus being seventy feet high, the workmanship of Chares, the scholar of Lysippus. Afterwards having possessed themselves of several islands in the Archipelago, and thence sailing to Sicily, they very much infested the inhabitants of that island. Hereupon Olympius, at the entreaty of Pope Martin, makes an expedition and forces them thence; though not without the loss of many of his ships and men, and even that of his own life too, for he fell sick in Sicily, and died there. But Constantius, who was not in the least bettered by all these calamities, commands Theodorus Calliopa again into Italy, with express order that he should forthwith send Pope Martin bound to him; and to assist him in that affair, he joins Paulus Pellarius with him, who was to take care to see it done. Theodorus, having been honourably received by the Romans, and going upon pretence of making a visit to the Pope, seizes

and puts him in fetters, and so sends him to Constantinople, from whence he was afterwards banished to the Chersonese, the place where Clemens Romanus had formerly been an exile. Now Martin, being thus compassed with calamities, and pinched with extreme want, at length dies in banishment, after he had been in the chair six years, one month, twenty-six days. And because it was long before there came certain intelligence of his death, the see was vacant fourteen months.

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EUGENIUS I.

A.D. 655-657.

EUGENIUS, a Roman, son of Ruffinianus, succeeded Martin about the time that in the place of Paul the heretic, Peter was made patriarch of Constantinople, who, though he were a little more orthodox than Paul, yet did not in all things agree in doctrine with the Roman Church. His letters sent to Rome, in which he denied two operations and wills in Christ, were so exploded, that the clergy took upon them to interdict the Pope's celebrating mass in St Maria Maggiore, till he had first publicly declared his dislike of them.

In the meantime, Grimoaldus, duke of Beneventum, leaving his son to govern at home, and marching with a great army into Lombardy, forced Pertheri and Gundibert, the two sons of Aribertus, to quit Pavia and Milan. Of which Clodoveus, the French king, having intelligence, he, out of compassion to the young princes, immediately sends a considerable force into Italy, to recover their right for them. Beyond the Po battle is joined, and the dispute managed very briskly on both sides, the young princes being eager to retrieve their paternal possessions, and he endeavouring as much to keep what he had gained by war. At length fortune inclined to Grimoaldus's side, and the French were routed, and driven out of Italy. We are told by some, that the French were out-witted by the enemy after this manner: the Lombards dissembled a flight, leaving their tents furnished with plenty of all manner of provisions, and especially of wine, but not far off they made a halt, watching their opportunity; the French, entering their tents, and thinking they had been really fled, fall to feasting,

and eat and drink to such excess, that the enemy coming upon them, and finding them dead asleep, and lying about like beasts, they made such a slaughter of them, that there was scarce one left alive to carry the news to Clodoveus. Grimoaldus, growing confident upon this victory, quickly makes himself master of the whole province. As for Pope Eugenius, who was a person of very great piety, religion, meekness, humanity, and munificence, having been in the chair two years, nine months, he died, and was buried in the church of St Peter, June the 2nd. The see was then vacant one month, twenty eight days.

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VITALIANUS I.

A.D. 657-672.

VITALIANUS, born at Segna, a town of the Volsci, the son of Anastasius, entered upon the pontificate at the time when Cesarea, the Persian Queen, attended only with a few of her confidants, and without the knowledge of her husband, came to Constantinople in the year 663. She was very honourably received by the emperor, and not long after baptized, for the sake of which it was that she came thither. The Persian King, having intelligence hereof, forthwith sends ambassadors to Constantinople to demand his wife of the emperor. To them the emperor answered, that it was in the queen's choice to stay or go, and therefore they should enquire of her pleasure. The queen being asked, made answer, that she would never return into her country, unless the king would become a Christian. Who being acquainted herewith, comes forthwith in a peaceable manner with forty thousand men to Constantinople; where, being received by the emperor with all expression of kindness, he, together with his soldiers, were baptized, and then he returned with his queen into his own kingdom. After this Constantius, having associated to himself in the government his son Constantine, and prepared a great fleet, setting sail from Constantinople, arrives at Tarentum, bringing with him in ships of burden a great force of land soldiers. From thence he advanced by land into Abruzzo, with design to besiege Beneventum. But understanding that that city was very strongly garrisoned, and plentifully furnished with

provisions by the care of Rhomoaldus, he marched to Lucera, which he took, and plundered, and then levelled with the ground. Passing from hence to Acherontia, and not being able to make himself master of so well-fortified a place, he again attempts the siege of Beneventum, but soon raises it, upon intelligence that Grimoaldus would suddenly be there with a great army to assist his son Rhomoaldus. Hereupon Constantius, moving first towards Naples, though very much incommoded in his passage, and having left Saburrus, a Roman citizen, with twenty thousand men at Formiæ to oppose the enemy, at length he comes to Rome, the Pope and clergy and people, in honour to him, going six miles out of the city to meet him. And being conducted through the city with great acclamations to the church of St Peter, he there made a very rich present. In the meantime Rhomoaldus, presuming upon the supplies he received from his father, joins battle with Saburrus, conquers him, and puts to the sword a great number of the Greeks. Constantius, being enraged and growing almost desperate upon this misfortune, on the fifth day after his entrance into the city, falls a-plundering, takes away all the statues of brass and marble set up in the principal parts of the city, and the rich ornaments of the churches, and lades his ships with them; and in seven days did more damage to Rome than the barbarous nations had done before in two hundred and fifty-eight years; so that ill men, ignorant of history, have no reason to say that the statues and monuments of antiquity were demolished by Pope Gregory's order. On the twel th day the vile and perfidious paltry Greek leaving Rome, with a vengeance to him, goes towards Naples, thence to Sicily, being so severe in his exaction of tribute wherever he came, as to take away children out of the embraces of their parents who could not pay him. But the covetous wretch, staying some time in Sicily, as he was bathing for pleasure at Syracuse, was slain; and Mecezius, who is thought to have been the contriver of his death, was by the soldiers made emperor in his stead. This Constantius was a person of a strange variety and inconstancy of mind. For at first, hearing that Vitalianus was chosen Pope, he sent his ambassadors to congratulate him, and to make a present of the Gospels written in letters of gold and set with jewels, to St Peter. Whereas afterwards his mind being changed, he cast off all regard to God and man, and turned all things both Divine and human topsy-turvy,

But Vitalianus, being intent upon sacred things, composed ecclesiastical canons, and regulated singing in the church, introducing organs to be used with the vocal music. He also sent, with ample power of binding and loosing, Theodorus, as Archbishop of Canterbury, and Adrian, an abbot, two very learned and pious men into England, that by their preaching and example they might keep that people steadfast in the faith, which the good men did what they could to perform. This Theodorus also wrote a book, showing by what penance every sin may be washed off; though some ascribe that work to Pope Theodorus. Now Vitalianus, having governed the Church as well as lay in his power fourteen years, six months, died, and was buried in St Peter's, January the 27th. The see was then vacant four months, fifteen days.

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ADEODATUS I.

A.D. 672-676.

ADEODATUS, a Roman, son of Jovinian, was of a monk created Pope, at the time when Lupus, Duke of Friuli, endeavoured to possess himself of the kingdom of Italy. For Grimoaldus, being (as we have said) called by his son Rhomoaldus, Duke of Beneventum, to aid him against Constantius the emperor, at his departure commended his people to the care of Lupus, and so, according to the proverb, left the sheep to the keeping of the wolf.[1] For Lupus, taking the advantage of Grimoaldus's absence, involves all Tuscany, Romandiola, and a great part of Lombardy in tumult and confusion. Hereupon Grimoaldus, by gifts and promises, prevails with Coganus to advance with his Avares against Lupus; which he did, and in the first engagement had the worst of it. But the next day, renewing the fight, he overcame and slew Lupus, and then sacked and laid waste all Friuli. Grimoaldus, upon Constantius's leaving Italy, returns into Lombardy, and in his way, on the Saturday before Easter, takes Forlimpopoli, puts all the inhabitants of it to the sword, plunders it, and then levels it to the ground, upon the score of an injury which he had received there from the people of Ravenna, in his

[1] The author's play upon the name of the tyrant, Lupus being the Latin word for a wolf.

passage to the aid of his son. Now, Arnesites, the son of Lupus, being assisted by the Dalmatians, endeavoured to recover his father's dukedom; but near the river Natisone, he was vanquished and slain by the Lombards. The inhabitants of Uderzo had a share in his misfortune, being forced to quit their country for having countenanced him in his pretensions. At this time Sicily also was in a bad condition; for soldiers were sent thither out of all the provinces of Italy to make head against Mecezius, by whose treachery Constantius had been murdered—who, being overcome and slain, and the soldiers again dispersed, the Saracens, arriving with a great fleet, surprise Syracuse and possess themselves of the whole island. After some time they return to Alexandria loaded with spoil, and carry away with them those ornaments of the city of Rome which Constantius had brought to Syracuse with design to transmit them to Constantinople. These miseries and calamities had been portended by a comet which appeared three months together, by great rains and frequent thunders, such as had not been at any time known before. But such is the blindness of mankind, that though they be warned of future evils, yet they do not as they ought provide against them. It is reported that all the standing corn which had been lodged by the continued rains, grew yet up again, and came to maturity, especially in Lombardy. In the meantime, Adeodatus, being a person of great piety and humanity, merciful towards offenders, bountiful to the poor, hospitable towards strangers, and compassionate towards all in calamity, repaired and dedicated the church of St Peter in the Via Portuensis. He also added to the building and revenues of the monastery of St Erasmus on Mons Cœlius, wherein himself had been a monk. Moreover, he appointed frequent litanies upon the account of those prodigies which we have said appeared at that time. At length, having been in the chair four years, two months, five days, he died, and was, with general lamentation, buried in St Peter's, June the 26th. The see was then vacant four months, twenty days.

DONUS I.

A.D. 676-678.

DONUS, a Roman, son of Mauritius, was made Pope at the time when Grimoaldus, King of the Lombards, drawing a bow high to shoot at a pigeon, and thereby straining his nerves and veins, though it were nine days after he had been let blood in the arm, yet thereupon it fell a-bleeding afresh, and could not be stanched till he died. There were in this king several excellent endowments both of body and mind. He was a person of great wisdom and prudence in all affairs, and added several things very useful to Rhotaris's edict, which afterwards received the form of a law. He was of a middle stature, strong constitution, had a bald head and long beard, and was every way fitted for action. He was buried at Pavia in the church of St Ambrose, which he had built at his own charge. Pertharis, son of King Aribertus, who, as we have said, had been deprived of his right by Grimoaldus, passing now during his exile out of France into Britain, was prompted by a voice which he knew not from whence it came, that Grimoaldus being dead, he should seek to recover his paternal inheritance. Encouraged by this voice, though the author of it were uncertain, he returned into Italy, and within three months after Grimoaldus's death became repossessed of his father's kingdom without any opposition. About the same time died Dagobert, the French king, a subtle and crafty prince, and who was equally fitted for counsel and action; whose soul, when it had been carried by devils almost as far as the island of Lipara, is reported to have been delivered out of their clutches by Dennis and Maurice, the martyrs, and Martin the Confessor, saints for whom, as his patrons, he had all his lifetime a great veneration, and had been very liberal in beautifying and enriching their churches. Now, Pope Donus, consulting the honour of the Church, paved the porch of St Peter's, called Paradise, with marble, which he took, as I suppose, from the pyramid over against Castel St Angelo. Moreover, he repaired and dedicated in the Via Ostiensis the church of the Apostles, and in the Via Appia that of St Euphemia. He also appointed the several degrees of honour and distance to be yielded to the several orders of the clergy. And discovering in the Boethian monastery a company of

Syrian monks, who were of the Nestorian heresy, them he censured and dispersed into divers other monasteries, assigning their own to Roman monks. By his eminent learning and piety, and through the submission of Theodorus, Bishop of Ravenna, he reduced to obedience to the apostolic see the Church of Ravenna, which had for a considerable time separated itself from that of Rome, and upon that account had got the name of Allocephalis. Some tell us that in his time, Projectus, a bishop, underwent the torment, and acquired the glory of martyrdom for the cause of Christianity; and that Mezelindis, a woman of incomparable chastity, being solicited by her lover Ardenius, and upon her not yielding to his desires, put to divers torments by him, yet prayed so fervently even for her persecutor, whom God, for this crime, had struck with blindness, that upon her prayers his sight was restored to him. Our Donus having been in the chair two years, ten days, died, and was buried in St Peter's, April the 10th. The see was then vacant two months, sixteen days.

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AGATHO I.

A.D. 678-682.

AGATHO, a Sicilian, was of a monk made Pope, a person of great piety, and who cured a leper whom he chanced to meet with, only by a kiss. He was a man of so obliging a temper, that no person went away sad out of his presence. And being so happy as to have a contemporary emperor like himself, he designed to hold a council[1] upon the account of the Monothelites. Only he waited the time till Constantine had returned from the war, who had vanquished the Saracens, and made them tributary to the Roman empire. But the Bulgarians advancing out of Scythia into Thrace, and the emperor endeavouring to put a check to their motion, he was with great loss routed between Hungary and Mœsia. Hereupon he found himself obliged to strike up a peace with them upon disadvantageous terms, permitting them to inhabit Hungary and Mœsia; though that concession in the event proved a great benefit to the state of Christianity. For these are the men who for this seven hundred and seventy years

[1] 680, Council in Trullo.

since have maintained a continual war, and been the bulwark of Christendom against the Turks. Well, a peace being upon these conditions concluded, Pope Agatho sends to Constantinople his legates, John, Bishop of Porto, and John, a deacon of Rome. Constantine received them with all expressions of respect, and very affectionately advised them to lay aside all cavils and sophistical wranglings and controversies, and sincerely to endeavour to unite the two churches. There were present at this synod two hundred and eighty-nine bishops; and by the command of the emperor there were brought out of the library of Constantinople those books, from whence the opinions and determinations of the ancients might be collected. Gregory, Patriarch of Constantinople, and Macarius, Bishop of Antioch, perverting the sense of the Fathers, maintained only one will and operation in Christ. But the orthodox pressing hard with their reasons and authorities, they thereby reclaimed Gregory; and Macarius adhering obstinately to his opinion, they excommunicated him and his followers, and made Theophanes, an orthodox abbot, Bishop of Antioch in his stead. This affair being thus successfully managed, that thanks might be returned to God for this union of the two churches in heart and mind, John, Bishop of Porto, on the octave of Easter, in the presence of the emperor, patriarch, and the people of Constantinople, in the Church of St Sophia, celebrates the Mass in Latin, all that were present approving that way, and condemning those that thought otherwise. This was the sixth general Council, consisting of two hundred and eighty-nine bishops, held at Constantinople, wherein, upon the authority of Cyril, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory, Dionysius, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, and Hierom, it was concluded that there were two wills and operations in Christ, and their pertinacity was exploded who asserted one will only, from whence they were called Monothelites. The first general Council of three hundred and eighteen bishops was, as we have already said, held at Nice, in the Pontificate of Julius and the reign of Constantine, against Arius, who asserted several substances in the Trinity. The second at Constantinople, of an hundred and fifty bishops, in the reign of Gratian and the Pontificate of Damasus, against Macedonius and Eudoxus, who denied the Holy Ghost to be God. The third in Ephesus, of two hundred bishops, in the reign of Theodosius the Second, and the Pontificate of

Celestine, against Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, who denied the Blessed Virgin to be the mother of God, and made Christ's humanity and divinity two persons, asserting separately one to be the Son of God, the other the son of man. The fourth at Chalcedon, a city over against Constantinople, of six hundred and thirty prelates, in the Pontificate of Leo and the reign of Martian, against Eutyches, abbot of Constantinople, who durst affirm that our Saviour, after His incarnation, had but one nature. The fifth at Constantinople, against Theodorus and all other heretics, who asserted the Virgin Mary to have brought forth man only, not God-man; in which synod it was concluded, that the Blessed Virgin should be styled Θεοτόκος, or the mother of God. Concerning the sixth synod we have spoken already, in which the letters of Damianus, Bishop of Pavia, and Mansuetus, Archbishop of Milan, were very prevalent; the principal contents of them these, viz.: The true faith concerning Christ, God and Man, is, that we believe two wills and two operations in him; our Saviour says with respect to His divinity, "I and My Father are one;"[1] but with relation to His humanity, "My Father is greater than I."[2] Moreover, as man He was found asleep in the ship; as God He commanded the winds and the sea. As for our Agatho (in whose time, after two eclipses, one of the moon, another of the sun, there followed a grievous pestilence), having been in the chair two years, six months, fifteen days, he died, and was buried in St Peter's, January the 10th. The see was then vacant one year, five months.

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LEO II.

A.D. 682-683.

LEO the Second, a Sicilian, son of Paul, was, as appears by his writings, a person thoroughly learned in the Latin and Greek languages. Having also good skill in music, he composed notes upon the Psalms, and very much improved all church music. He ordained likewise, that at the celebration of the mass, the pax should be given to the people. Moreover, he so vigorously maintained and asserted the sixth synod, of which we have spoken in the life of Agatho, that he

[1] John x. 30. [2] John xiv. 28.

excommunicated all those whom, in the presence of Constantine, that synod had condemned. He also repressed the pride of the bishops of Ravenna, a matter before attempted by Pope Agatho, and ordained that the election of the clergy of Ravenna should be invalid, unless it were confirmed by the authority of the Roman see; whereas before, they presuming upon the power of their exarchs, managed all things arbitrarily, owning no subjection to any, but mating even the popes themselves. He likewise solemnly decreed, that no person promoted to the dignity of an archbishop should pay anything for the use of the pall, or upon any other score, a decree which I could wish it were observed at this day, seeing how many evils have arisen through bribery. While Leo was busied in these matters, Rhomoaldus, Duke of Beneventum, having raised a great army, possessed himself of Taranto, Brindisi, and all Apuglia, and his wife, Theodata, a devout lady, out of the spoils of the war, built a church in honour to St Peter, not far from Beneventum, and a nunnery. Rhomoaldus dying, was succeeded by his son, Grimoaldus, who deceasing without issue male, left the dukedom to his brother, Gisulphus.

Our Leo, who besides his great learning and eloquence was also an extraordinary person for devotion and charity, and by his doctrine and example very much promoted justice, fortitude, clemency, and good will among all men, having been in the chair only ten months, died, and, June the 28th, was accompanied to his burial in the church of St Peter with the tears of all men, who deplored the loss of him as of a common father. After his death the see was vacant eleven months, twenty-one days. The time of his pontificate was short, but the reputation he gained therein so great, that one would think he had lived longer than he did, by the celebrated name which he had deservedly acquired in so little time.

BENEDICT II.

A.D. 683-685.

BENEDICT the Second, a Roman, his father's name John, being from his youth brought up to the clergy, was so intent upon the study of holy writ, that he became an extra-

ordinary proficient in divinity. He was likewise a person of great compassion, charity, and good will towards all, especially the poor; virtues by which he so won the hearts of men, that he was pitched upon as the only person who by general consent was fit to succeed in the place of Leo deceased. The Emperor Constantine, out of the veneration he had for this man's sanctity, sent him a decree, in which it was established that for the time to come he whom the clergy and people of Rome should choose Pope, should be forthwith acknowledged Christ's true vicar, without expecting the authority of the emperor or his exarchs, according to former usage, when the confirmation of the emperor or his vicegerent in Italy was necessary to the creation of a Pope. Pertheris, now king of the Lombards, in imitation of the religion and charity of Benedict, built a monastery in honour to St Agatha at Pavia; and his wife, Rhodelinda, prompted by the example of her husband, built the church of St Mary ad Perticas without the walls of Pavia. This they did out of a principle of emulation, understanding that Pope Benedict had with vast expense repaired, beautified, and enriched the churches of St Peter at Rome, that of St Laurence in Lucina, that of St Valentine in the Via Flaminia, and that of St Mary ad Martyres. Pertheris had designed greater things of this nature, but he was diverted by Alalchis, Duke of Trent, who being puffed up by a great victory which he had gained over the Bavarians, turned his arms against his king. But Pertheris, raising an army, at the first engagement routs him, besieges Trent, whither he had fled for refuge, and though Alalchis had first made his escape thence by night, takes the city. However, Pertheris was a prince of so great clemency as to receive him again into favour upon his submission, and to make him Duke of Brescia. Some tell us that in Benedict's time an extraordinary star was seen near the Vergiliæ several nights together in a clear sky between Christmas and Epiphany. I deny not but that a comet then appeared, and portended something; but its neighbourhood to this constellation is incoherent, unless we make that prodigious too. For the Vergiliæ rise at the vernal equinox, when the sun enters the sign Aries, about the 24th of March, and begin to set at the autumnal equinox. But that out of Vesuvius, a mountain in Campania, so great a fire did at this time burst forth, that it burnt up all the places round about it, may seem less wonderful,

considering that Pliny, the natural historian, leaving the ships which he commanded under Trajan, and approaching too near it out of curiosity to find out the causes of its burning, lost his life by that means. However, it is certain that not long after these things there followed slaughters, rapines, fires, the death of great men, and particularly of Pope Benedict, who, as he was universally beloved in his life-time, so after his death he was famous for his piety and the good offices he had done to mankind. He was in the chair only ten months, twelve days, and was buried in St Peter's, May the 15th. By his death the see was vacant two months, fifteen days.

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JOHN V.

A.D. 685-686.

JOHN the Fifth, by nation a Syrian, born at Antioch, his father's name Cyriacus, was created Pope about the time when the Emperor Constantine died, in the seventeenth year of his reign and left the Empire to his son Justinian the Second. The Saracens now invaded Lybia and Africa, and possessed themselves easily of all the places that lay towards the sea. But Justinian, having in some measure settled the affairs of his Empire and raised a competent army, advancing against these Saracens, struck such a terror into Abimelech, their chief, that without engaging, he sued for a peace, and was glad to restore all his conquests in Africa. And a peace, it is said by some, was granted them for ten years, but upon condition that they should pay a thousand pieces of gold, and a slave of their own nation on horseback every day to the Emperor. At this time John, a person of great piety and goodness, being by general suffrage chosen Pope in the Constantinian Church, was consecrated in the same manner with Leo the Second by the three Bishops of Ostia, Porto, and Veletri, a precedent which so obtained, that it was afterwards constantly practised. His pontificate was rendered remarkable by two extraordinary persons, Felix, the uncle of Flavianus, and John, Bishop of Bergamo, men of such eminent learning and sanctity, that they received from princes themselves marks of the highest respect and veneration. Pope John, who both before

and during his pontificate was a sickly man, having written a book concerning the dignity of the pall, died in the first year after his coming to the chair, and was buried in St Peter's, August the 2nd. By his death the see was vacant two months, nineteen days.

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CONON I.

A.D. 686-687.

CONON, by birth a Thracian, educated in Sicily, and thence entering into orders at Rome, was of a presbyter made Pope. For there happening a controversy about the election, the citizens being for Peter, an Archbishop, and the soldiers for one Theodorus, a priest, at length, after a long contention, both parties agreed in the choice of Conon. And indeed he did every way deserve so great a dignity; being a man of great learning and very good life, pious and devout, of a comely person, and most venerable, or as some called it, angelical aspect; of wonderful simplicity and sincerity, modesty and justice, resolution and prudence. For these excellent endowments of his all persons concerned with mighty acclamations of applause immediately confirmed his election; as did also Theodorus, Exarch of Ravenna, who, being deceased, was not long after succeeded in the Exarchate by John Platina, whom I believe to have given the name to the place of my nativity, called Platina, within the territory of Cremona. For there being frequent wars between the exarchs and the kings of Lombardy, it is not improbable, considering that that place was situated almost in the midway between Ravenna and Pavia, one of which was the seat of the Lombard kings, the other of the exarchs, there might at some time be a battle fought or a camp pitched there, from whence we know that names are oftentimes given to places, as particularly in the same country there is Vitelliana, a town so called from Vitellius's encamping there, and Bebrignano, not far from Babriacum, famous for the defeat which Otho there received. I return to Conon, who, presently after his entrance upon the pontificate, falling sick, Paschal, an archdeacon and manager of the church stock, endeavours to bribe John, the exarch, to procure him to be chosen Pope upon the death of Conon. The

exarch took the money, though he afterwards performed none of the promises he had made upon that account. And indeed such a covetous and ambitious wretch deserved to be frustrated in his designs, who made a bribe of that treasure of the Church, which, according to Conon's will, should have been laid out in relieving the poor and repairing of churches—a crime to be abhorred in all men, but most detestable in an ecclesiastic. Such a breach of trust would not have been committed by Hubert, who was now a bishop in Bretagne, of great note for his learning and piety; nor Leodegarius, the martyr bishop of Autun, who was put to death by Theodoric, King of France, for his frequent and free reproofs; nor by Audoenus, Bishop of Rouen, a man who was second to none for knowledge and sanctity. These were men removed from ambition and avarice, fixing all their trust in God and religion, and gaining thereby reputation among men in this world, and eternal happiness from God in the other. As for Conon, having been in the chair only eleven months and three days, he died, and was buried in St Peter's, September the 21st. The see was then vacant two months, twenty-three days.

SERGIUS I.

A.D. 687-701.

SERGIUS, a Syrian, born at Antioch, son of Tiberius, coming to Rome in the time of Pope Adeodatus, was admitted into the number of the Roman clergy. Afterwards, through his industry and improvements in Divine knowledge, advancing gradually he was ordained parish priest of the Church of St Susanna. He thereupon beginning more and more to frequent the cemeteries, and there to perform sacred offices, by this means he gained so great a reputation, that upon the decease of Conon he was chosen his successor, though, indeed, after a long debate. For the people being divided into two parties, one stood up for Theodorus, and the other for Paschal, the archdeacon. Theodorus with his party had forced his entrance into the inner part of the Lateran palace; the outer, from the oratory of St Sylvester to the church of the house of Julia, was possessed by Paschal. But the contention and debate growing so high that every one thought

they would come to blows, each party resolving not to give place to the other unless by force compelled thereunto, the principal citizens, clergy, and soldiery assembled together to consult what was best to be done to lay this tumult. At length, having duly considered the whole matter, and judging it not fit to commit the Popedom to either of those who, to satisfy their own ambition, had been the cause of so great disorders, by Divine direction they make choice of Sergius, without the least opposition, and taking him out of the midst of the crowd upon their shoulders, they carry him first into the oratory of St Cæsarius the martyr, then into the Lateran Palace, breaking open the doors by force, and driving out those who were in it before. Theodorus seeing how all agreed in the choice, salutes Sergius by the name of Pope, and kisses him. Paschal, the other competitor, did the same, though sorely against his will, and being only awed thereunto by the armed multitude. For secretly and underhand he did by letters, messengers, and promises, so strongly solicit John, Exarch of Ravenna, to perform at length what he had promised him for his money, that the said John comes forthwith to Rome, without sending any advice before, that so he might have the advantage of coming upon them unprovided, and while they were off their guard. But when he understood that Sergius was by universal consent declared Pope, and urged the performance of what Paschal had promised him, upon Sergius expressing a high dislike and detestation of any such bribery, he violently seizes and carries away several things of value from the church of St Peter. As for Paschal, the occasion of this mischief, he being accused and convicted of sorcery, was deprived of his archdeaconry, and for penance was confined to a monastery, wherein, after his having continued obstinate for five years, he died. In the meantime Justinian, being strangely inconstant towards God and men, both attacks the Saracens and Bulgarians, contrary to the articles of peace he had concluded with them, from whom yet it is certain he received more damage than he did to them; and also returning to Constantinople, being generally hated by the citizens for his not restraining the cruelty of the city prefect, he held a synod, wherein some decrees passed not agreeing with the orthodox faith; which also Sergius's Apocrisiary, or Nuncio, then residing at Constantinople, very foolishly confirmed by his subscription. But these decrees

being afterwards brought to Rome, and there exploded by Sergius, who held that there were two natures in Christ, and that the Blessed Virgin was the mother of God, Justinian, enraged thereat, sends Zacharias Protospatharius (which we may render the captain of the guards) to Rome, to bring Sergius bound to him, which, when the soldiers of the Exarchate of Italy understood, they immediately took up their arms, and not only defended the Pope from violence, but were very near having slain Zachary, had he not saved himself by flying for refuge to the Pope, who kept him for some time in his bedchamber, and afterwards sent him back privately to the emperor. While these things were transacted at Rome, Leontius, encouraged by Callinicus the patriarch, having excited the people of Constantinople to take up arms, and broke open all the prisons of the city, whereby multitudes of prisoners were set at liberty, deposes Justinian, and cutting off his nose, banishes him to the Chersonese of Pontus. Abimelech, Admiral of the Saracens, having intelligence hereof, and hoping to make his advantage of these tumults, presently invades Africa, whither Leontius, with all expedition, sends his army to check their motion. But not long after, a mutiny arising among the soldiers, they create one Tiberius, a citizen of Constantinople, Emperor, who, immediately returning with the army to Constantinople, seizes Leontius, and having retaliated upon him what we have said he did to Justinian, throws him into prison, reserving him there for future greater ignominy. Moreover, he banished Philip, the son of Nicephorus, a Patrician, and one who had been assistant to him in getting the Empire, only because he had told his companions how he dreamt that he saw an eagle covering his head with her wings, which Tiberius feared might be a presage of the young man's coming to the Empire. While things went thus at Constantinople, Pipin, Duke of Austrasia, laid the foundation of gaining the kingdom of France. For, understanding that one Bertarius, a mean fellow whom King Theodoric made use of as his chief minister, was generally hated by all people, he marches with a vast army into France, and being encountered in his passage by Theodoric and Bertarius, he engages in battle with them and defeats them. Bertarius saved himself by flight, but Theodoric retreating, by agreement upon a truce, constitutes the victorious Pipin mayor of the palace, and principal administrator of his kingdom. After this Pipin re-

turned to Austrasia upon intelligence that the Germans and Suevi infested his people; and having quelled them, he sets forward towards France again, upon the news that Theodoric being dead, the kingdom had fallen to his brother, Childepert. Arriving there, and being very kindly received by the king, after he had put his son into the place of mayor of the palace, he again returns enraged at the Suevi and Germans, who were now the second time in arms.

At this time Sergius having, since the banishment of Justinian, enjoyed peace and tranquillity, repaired the Church of St Peter, and restored it to its ancient beauty. The front of it he adorned with mosaic work, made the candlesticks and other ornaments of it of gold and silver, found a part of our Saviour's cross in a little brass coffer, and because the body of St Leo had hitherto lain less regarded than his merits required, he reposited it in a more honourable and celebrated place. The statues of the apostles defaced with age he renewed, and either repaired or made wholly new the ornaments of many churches, which it would be tedious to enumerate. Moreover, he ordained that at the breaking of the body of our Lord, should be sung "O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us"; and that on the day of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, and of St Simon, there should be yearly a procession with Litanies through the city, setting out at St Hadrian. He made Damianus Archbishop of Ravenna, and Berflauardus Archbishop of Bretagne. By his learning and authority he brought over to the truth the Church of Aquileia, which before consented not wholly to the fifth synod. Some tell us, that at this time Lambertus, a person of great sanctity, suffered martyrdom at Liege, because he was so hardy as to reprove Pipin for slighting his wife's bed and keeping Alpais, a whore. The author of his death is said to have been her own brother, who afterwards died of the lousy disease. It is written also that by the exemplary sanctity of Sergius, the Saxons were now first wrought upon to embrace Christianity. The good man having by these means gained a great reputation; and having been in the chair thirteen years, eight months, twenty-three days, he died, and was with the lamentation of all men, who wept as at the loss of a common father, with great solemnity buried in the church of St Peter, September the 8th. The see was then vacant one month, twenty days.

JOHN VI.

A.D. 702-705.

JOHN the Sixth, a Grecian, was elected Pope at the time when Theophylact, the exarch, in his passage to Italy, arrived first at Sicily, which, being known to the Italian soldiers, who having of late times usually sided more with the popes than the emperors, were afraid that his coming might betoken some ill, they resolved to kill him at his entrance into Rome. But by the authority of Pope John, who made himself umpire between them, Theophylact was protected, and all things being made up and accommodated, he goes for Ravenna. In the meantime Gisulphus, Duke of Beneventum, taking heart upon this disagreement of the exarch and soldiers, invades Terra di Lavoro, possesses himself of Sora and Arpino, burns villages, makes the villagers his prisoners, and drives away their cattle. The Pope being deeply sensible of this calamity, sends his ambassadors to Gisulphus, to admonish him to quit those places which he had no right to, and to return into Abruzzo; which, if he refused to do, he should soon feel the vengeance of Almighty God upon him. Gisulphus being terrified hereby, restores the towns he had taken, and returns to Beneventum. Of those which were carried away captive, Pope John redeemed all he could find out, as far as the treasure of the Church would reach for their ransom.

At this time Justinian, who, as we have said, had been banished by Leontius to the Chersonese of Pontus, making his escape, thence comes to Cacanus, King of the Avares, who at first treated him with the greatest respect and kindness, and promised him his daughter in marriage; but afterwards being corrupted with bribes by Tiberius, he designed to betray his guest and son-in-law into his hands. Justinian having notice hereof, flees to Trebellius, Prince of the Bulgarians, by whose aid he was in a little time after restored to the Empire. While these things were transacted in Europe, the Saracens being possessed of Libya and Africa, set sail from Septa, and passing over into Spain, made themselves masters of it all, except that part inhabited by the Asturians and Biscains; who, as they had been the last people of Spain who were subdued to the Roman Empire, and the last who

revolted from it, and the only people who shook off the yoke of the Visigoths, so now having received the Christian faith, they were the men who continued steadfastly with the greatest resolution to defend themselves by arms against the perfidious Saracens. So then, Africa, which being recovered by Belisarius, general to Justinian the First, had been subject to the Roman Empire a hundred and seventy years, and also Granada in Hispania Bœtica, being at this time seized by the Saracens, have been obedient to their laws and customs now this seven hundred and forty years, to the great reproach of Christianity; the Spaniards, who are wont to boast of their wit and valour, not being able to drive them out of Europe. Some tell us that Bede, who lived in these times, by letters written to several Christian princes, did very much bewail this calamity, that thereby he might excite them to enter into a war against these enemies of God and men. This Bede was not only extraordinarily well skilled in the Greek and Latin tongues, but also for his eminent piety and modesty, gained the surname of Venerable. He wrote many things upon the Acts of the Apostles, and upon St Luke; he published a book of chronology, and several homilies, which are much used by the Gallican clergy. Moreover, of Strabo and Haymo, two very learned men, said to be Bede's brethren, one composed divers elegant homilies, and the other commented upon Genesis. As for Pope John, having repaired the church of St Andrew in the Vatican, and the roof of that of St Mark, and adorned with pillars on each hand the altar of St Peter's, in the third year and third month of his pontificate he died, as some think, a martyr, but by whom he suffered martyrdom does not sufficiently appear. It is said he was buried in the cemetery of St Sebastian in the Via Appia. By his death the see was vacant one month, nineteen days.

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JOHN VII.

A.D. 705-707.

JOHN the Seventh, a Grecian, son of Plato, entered upon the pontificate at the time when Justinian, being returned to Constantinople, caused Tiberius and Leontius, by whom he had been deposed, to be publicly put to death. Many

of his enemies he cut off by sundry kinds of death, and many he imprisoned; some one or other of which he would every day order to be killed, when the wiping of his nose put him in mind of the injury that had been done him. Moreover, having caused the eyes of Callinicus, the patriarch of Constantinople, to be put out, he banished him to Rome, and made Cyrus an abbot, who had maintained him in Pontus, patriarch in his stead. Being acted by the same foolish humour as he had been before his loss of the Empire in the time of Pope Sergius, he sends to Rome two metropolitans, to persuade Pope John to hold a synod, wherein they of the Western Church might confirm the truth of what those of the East believed concerning the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, sending to him the articles to which he would have him subscribe. The Pope sends the men back to the emperor without doing anything in the matter; but yet he did not by his censures and interdicts correct the erroneous opinions concerning God, as it was fit he should, and as it would have become a steady and resolute Pope to have done. Some write, though without good authority, that Arithpertus, King of the Lombards, from a religious principle, gave the Cottian Alps, and all the tract that reaches from Piedmont to the coast of Genoa, to the Church of Rome. Others say that this donation was only confirmed by Arithpertus. But since there is no certainty concerning the donation itself, and the lawyers call it the chaff, because it yields no corn, and it appears in no respect to have been the gift of Constantine, how can there be any evidence of its confirmation? I return to Pope John, a person who spake and lived very well, and who built an oratory in the church of St Peter, in honour to the Blessed Virgin, upon the walls of which, on each hand, were wrought in mosaic work the effigies of several of the holy fathers. Moreover, he repaired the church of St Eugenia, which had long before been decayed through age. He adorned also the cemeteries of the martyrs, Marcellinus and Marcus, and Pope Damasus. Finally, he beautified divers other churches with the pictures and statues of the saints, wherein the painters and statuaries had so well imitated the gravity and majesty of his own aspect, that whosoever looked upon them thought they saw the Pope himself. Having been in the chair two years, seven months, seventeen days, he died, and was buried October the 18th, in the

church of St Peter, before the altar of the Blessed Virgin, which himself had built. The see was then vacant three months.

SISINNIUS.

A.D. 708.

SISINNIUS, or (as others call him) Sozimus, a Syrian, his father's name John, lived in the pontificate no more than twenty days, in which time it is said the body of St Benedict was by stealth conveyed away from Mount Cassino, by reason of the solitude of the place, and carried into France. Now Sisinnius, though he was so afflicted with the gout, both in his hands and feet, that he could neither walk nor feed himself, yet he took such care both of the city and Church of Rome, as to leave nothing undone which became a good Pope. He had already prepared all materials for raising the decayed walls of the city, and the repairing and beautifying of the old ruined churches; but he died suddenly, and was buried in St Peter's, February the 6th. The see was then vacant one month, eighteen days

CONSTANTINE I.

A.D. 708-716.

CONSTANTINE, another Syrian, his father's name likewise John, was created Pope at the time when there happened to be a famine at Rome, which lasted three years; in which exigence he was so charitable to all, but especially the poorer sort, that men thought him to have been sent down from heaven for their relief. In the meantime Justinian, out of the hatred he bore to the name of Pontus, sends Mauritius, one of the patrician order, and Helias, one of his guards, with a fleet to the Chersonese, where he had been in exile, with commission to put all above the age of fourteen to the sword; which, to glut the emperor's rage, they accordingly put in execution. And that we may not think that cruelty was his only vice, he became guilty of so great ingratitude as in an

hostile manner to surprise King Trebellius, by the aid of whose forces he had been restored to the Empire, at a time when he was engaged in a war with the Thracians; but Trebellius not only bore the check, but also forced him to retreat with loss. There was no alteration from his former course of life, wrought in him by the calamities he had undergone, in anything save in this, that he now venerated and defended the apostolic see contrary to what he had formerly used to do. For when Felix, having been consecrated Archbishop of Ravenna by the Pope, was required, according to custom, to send in writing his acknowledgment of the papal authority and money to Rome, which he stiffly refused to do, Justinian, upon knowledge of the matter, presently sends order to Theodorus, a patrician, his admiral, with the first opportunity to leave Sicily and go against the Ravennates. He obeying the emperor's order, and having in battle gained a victory over them, exercises the greatest cruelty towards them, and sends Felix bound in chains to Constantinople; whom Justinian afterwards banished into Pontus, having first deprived him of his sight, after this manner, he caused him to fix his eyes long upon a red-hot concave vessel of brass, out of which there issued a fiery pyramid, which easily overcame his eyes and blinded him. Yet Constantine did by no means approve of this cruelty, being more desirous of his reformation than his punishment.

While the Pope and emperor were thus employed, Ansprandus, endeavouring, with the aid of the Bavarians, to recover the kingdom of his ancestors, comes into Italy, and engaging in a pitched battle with Arithpertus, vanquishes him, and gains the kingdom of the Lombards, Arithpertus himself by a too fearful and hasty flight being drowned in a swift river. But Ansprandus, not long after dying, did with general approbation leave his son Luithprandus successor to his kingdom.

Justinian being now very desirous to see Pope Constantine, having sent ships to convey him safely, makes it his request that he would come to him. Constantine, yielding thereunto, and approaching now near to Constantinople, Tiberius, Justinian's son, with a princely retinue, and Cyrus, the patriarch, with all the clergy, in honour to him go out eight miles to meet him; and being dressed in his pontificalibus, they conduct him with solemn pomp into the city, and lead him into the palace. Going from thence to Nicomedia, whither also the

emperor was to come from Nice, he was received there after the same manner as at Constantinople. Justinian entering the city soon after, not only embraced the Pope, but also kissed his feet in sign of honour. Having on the days following discoursed of several affairs between themselves, and Justinian having confirmed the Pope's decrees, Constantine, at his taking leave, advises him not to proceed too severely against Philippicus, then an exile in Pontus, apprehending some mischief might arise thereupon, because he understood that Philippicus was a person of great fortitude and prudence. But Justinian not following the Pope's good counsel, sends a fleet to Pontus with design to despatch Philippicus, who, upon a revolt of the soldiers to him, with the same fleet makes towards Constantinople, and at twelve miles distance from the city engaging with Justinian and Tiberius, got the victory and slew them, and with universal acclamation was declared emperor. This Philippicus afterwards banishing Cyrus, the patriarch, into Pontus, for his consenting in belief with the Pope, puts one John, a monk and an arch-heretic into his place; whose opinions he forthwith sent in writing to Rome, requiring all to subscribe their assent to them. But Constantine, holding a synod, not only condemned the opinions of Philippicus and John the monk, but also appointed the images of those holy fathers, who had been present at the councils universally approved of, to be painted in the Portico of St Peter's, upon intelligence that in a way of contempt they had been rubbed off from the walls of St Sophia by Philippicus' order. Moreover, the same Pope ordained that the name of no heretical emperor should be inserted in any public or private writings, or impressed upon brass or silver or lead. But Anastasius, surnamed Arthemius, by force of arms deposes Philippicus, in the first year and sixth month of his Empire, and seizing him puts out his eyes. This Anastasius sends letters to Pope Constantine, in which he promises to be a zealous defender of the Catholic faith and the sixth synod. But he also, within three years, being slighted by the soldiers, was deposed, and compelled by Theodosius, who succeeded him, to take holy orders, that so he might never afterwards pretend or aspire to the Empire. Theodosius, a Catholic Emperor, forthwith gave order for the restoring of the images of the Holy Fathers, which, as we have said, had been destroyed by Philippicus. And Felix, who had been banished into Pontus, quitting his former obstinacy, returned home and

was restored to his see, of which he had been deprived. At this time also it was declared that the Bishop of Pavia was subject only to the see of Rome, and not to the Archbishop of Milan; concerning which matter there had been a great and long controversy between the two prelates. Some write that two kings of the Saxons, under the obligations of a religious vow, came now to Rome, and that they there died, as I think, of the pestilence. Not long after them died Constantine, having been in the chair seven years, twenty days, and was buried in St Peter's, February the 11th. The see was then vacant one month, eleven days.

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GREGORY II.

A.D. 716-731.

GREGORY the Second, a Roman, son of Marcellus, entering into holy orders in the time of Sergius, was, upon the reputation of his great fidelity and integrity, made the Pope's almoner and library-keeper. Being afterwards ordained deacon, he attended Pope Constantine to Constantinople, where there being a warm debate concerning some articles of religion, he disputed so smartly, that all men admired his learning, wit, and eloquence, by which he easily confuted those who held any erroneous opinions. Soon after his being created Pope, he rebuilt the walls of the city, which in several places were fallen down through age, and repaired the decayed churches of St Peter and St Laurence without the walls, laying in the water anew, by mending the battered and disjoined pipes, which formerly had conveyed it into them. He repaired also, and enriched with presents of gold and silver, divers other churches, which it would be tedious to enumerate. Yet I will not pass by in silence his reviving a monastery in the Via Ostiensis, not far from St Paul's, whose ruins are yet to be seen, and also that of St Andrew, settling monks therein, who were to be continually employed in the exercise of devotion. Moreover, it was the peculiar commendation of this Pope, that through his means the Germans were converted to Christianity; he having sent among them Boniface, a monk, to bring them out of darkness by

setting up the light of the truth. Of these Germans a great number came to Rome, and were baptized with the Pope's own hands. He also by his authority compelled Luithprandus, who at first refused it, to confirm the donation of Arithpertus, of which we have spoken before ; which Luithprandus did at the beginning of his reign both possess himself of a great part of Bavaria, and also besiege and take Ravenna. In the time of this Pope there was such an inundation of the river Tiber, which flowed into the city through the Porta del Popolo, that in the Via Lata the water was almost a man's height, and from Ponte Molle to the steps of St Peter's, men rowed about in large boats. This inundation continued seven days, to the great loss and damage of the citizens, it having borne down houses, and rooted up trees, corn, plants, and herbs. The moon also being now in an eclipse, appeared of a bloody colour till midnight ; and there was seen a comet, with its tail extending towards the north, betokening some future calamity. Whereupon Gregory, that he might avert the displeasure of Almighty God from the Christians, ordered frequent litanies in procession through the whole city. While the Pope was thus employed at Rome, there came advice that the Lombards under the Duke of Beneventum had surprised the fort of Cuma ; at which Gregory, being very much disturbed, sends to admonish them to restore this fort, which contrary to the articles of peace they had unjustly possessed themselves of, or otherwise they would soon feel the indignation of Almighty God upon them. But after several messages of the like nature, they not quitting it, he encourages the Neapolitans, upon th promise of a sum of money, and the sending some Roman soldiers for their assistance, to recover it by force. Theodunus the arch-deacon, having the management of this affair, the Neapolitans set briskly to the work, and re-take the fort, killing three hundred of those who were in garrison therein, and taking five hundred prisoners, whom they carried to Naples, where the soldiers forthwith received the reward which had been promised them. Gregory now enjoying peace, applied himself to church work. For he repaired the church of St Cross in Jerusalem, which had long lain neglected, and new arched and roofed the porches on every side of it; he built from the foundations the oratory of St Susanna on Mount Cœlius ; and after the death of his mother, dedicated his father's house to the honour of St Agatha, building it into a

monastery, which he plentifully endowed for the maintenance of the monks therein.

The Saracens, now encouraged by the discord they observed among the Christians, setting sail from Septa in Africa, and arriving in Spain, ravage all the country except Granada, which was inhabited by those of their own nation already, and at length with their wives and children pass as far as Aquitain, designing to possess themselves of that province also. Charles Martel, the son of Pipin, was at this time famous throughout the world. This Pipin, after the death of Grimoald, had two other sons left, Carloman and Charles Martel; which Charles, this brother also dying, gained afterwards to himself the kingdom of France, though not without great opposition, especially of Eudo, Duke of Aquitain and Chilperic, whom some of the French, upon the death of Theodoric, had sent up to be their king. But Martel having passed the river Seine, and advanced to Orleans, at the first attack puts them to flight, and becomes sole possessor of the kingdom of France. After this he passed the Rhine, and conquered the Saxons, Alemans, Suevi, and Bavarians. But having intelligence that the Saracens had been invited by Eudo into France, by great marches he comes forth against them, and obliging them to fight, gains a mighty victory not far from Tours. Historians write that in this battle there were slain of the Saracens three hundred and sixty thousand, but of the French only one thousand, one hundred and fifty, and it is said, that Eudo hereupon came over to Martel's side. The Saracens being by this means through Martel's valour diverted from any further attempts upon the Spaniards and French, turn all the rage and indignation which upon so great an overthrow had been raised in them, upon the Constantinopolitans, whose city they besieged by sea and land in the space of three years. But suffering all the extremities of war, being pinched with hunger and cold, and a pestilence moreover raging among them, they raised the siege and returned home. It is said, that of this plague there died in Constantinople three hundred thousand. As for the affairs of Italy, the Lombards now under the conduct of Luithprandus after a long siege took and sacked Ravenna, carrying away from thence to Pavia all things of considerable value, and amongst the rest, as I believe, the famous statue on horseback in brass. Thus according to the usual vicissitude of human affairs, it so fell out, that what

Theodoric and other kings of the Goths, and after them the exarchs, had taken from Rome and carried to Ravenna, was by others afterwards scattered about and dispersed into several places. In the meantime there was at Rome a plot laid by some seditious people against the Pope, the heads of the conspiracy being Basilius, Jordanus a notary, John a subdeacon, surnamed Lurion, and Marinus, an officer of the guards, who at this time was Governor of Rome under the emperor. But upon the emperor's recalling Marinus, the business was deferred to another time. The conspirators tampered also with Paul the exarch, being willing in a matter of so great importance to have him to head them. The whole design being at length discovered by the people of Rome, they appear in arms, kill John Lurion, and dissipate the other conspirators. Basilius was confined to a monastery, where he died. The forementioned Paul being highly enraged at the Pope for prohibiting his levying new taxes, did by the emperor's orders seek all ways, both secret and open, of taking away the good man's life; but the Romans and Lombards taking up arms, defended him. The Emperor Leo hereupon publishes an edict, commanding all those who were subjects of the Roman Empire to rase out and take away all the pictures and images of saints, martyrs, and angels out of their churches, with design, as he professed, thereby to prevent idolatry; and declaring that whosoever refused so to do should be accounted a public enemy. But Gregory not only not obeyed this order, but also encouraged all Catholics to stand up stoutly against it. Whereupon the people of Italy were so animated, that they were near choosing another emperor, had not Gregory by his authority interposed to prevent it. Notwithstanding which there arose such a dissension at Ravenna, some pleading for obedience to the emperor, others to the Pope, that Paul the exarch, together with his son, was slain in the tumult, to succeed in whose place the emperor sends Eutychius, an eunuch, who by gifts and promises was to endeavour to break the friendship and alliance between the Lombards and the Pope. But that attempt having been often made in vain, was dropped for a time; and the Pope being freed of this trouble, began to visit the hospitals and churches, and to repair those of them which, through age or neglect, had fallen to decay. Moreover, he made a peace between the King of the Lombards and the Dukes of Spoleto and Beneventum, which that

king had intended to crush, but having marched in a peaceable manner as far as Rome to confer with the Pope about the matter, Gregory, by his Christian counsel, so mollified his mind, that, laying aside all thoughts of war, he offered up his sword and other arms in the church of St Peter. The Emperor Leo now, in another wild humour, commanded all the images, either of wood, brass, or marble, to be brought to him, which he forthwith caused to be burnt, and seized upon and put to death those who refused to bring them. Germanus, the patriarch, who vigorously opposed it, he banished, and put into his place Anastasius, an heretic, whom Gregory afterwards in a synod deprived, and interdicted the exercise of sacred offices if he refused to return to the Catholic faith. Furthermore, as became a pious prelate, he oftentimes by letters admonished the Emperor to quit the erroneous opinions into which some ill men had seduced him, and at length to embrace the truth, and to cease the destroying of the images of the saints, by whose example and memory men might be excited to the imitation of their virtues. Some write that in this Pope's time, Boniface came out of Britain to Rome, and for his sanctity was of a monk made a bishop, and sent into Germany, that by his preaching and example he might confirm that people in the faith, which he performed so well, that he was deservedly made Bishop of Mentz; but passing thence into Africa, he was for his preaching the Word of God put to death by the enemies of Christianity. It is said also that St Ægidius, a Grecian, was now famous for the holy life he led and the miracles he wrought; and that Petronax, a citizen of Brescia, did by vow repair at his own charge the monastery of St Benedict, which was almost quite left desolate. As for Gregory, who by his good example excited all men to the practice of piety and virtue, having been in the chair sixteen years, nine months, eleven days, he died, and was buried in St Peter's, February the 11th. By his death the see was vacant thirty-five days. He is said to have consecrated during his pontificate one hundred and forty-eight bishops.

GREGORY III.

A.D. 731-741.

GREGORY the Third, a Syrian, his father's name John, was unanimously elected Pope in the year seven hundred and fifty-nine. He was a person of singular learning, very well skilled in the Greek and Latin tongues, and of such an insight into the sense of holy writ, that no man was more ready at the expounding of the abstruse and difficult places in it. Nor did he work upon the people merely by his preaching and eloquence, but in all respects he gave them such a prevailing example that it is difficult to determine whether he spake or lived better. He was so valiant a defender of the Catholic faith that he thereby contracted the displeasure and hatred of the greatest Princes; but by no force or power or menace was removed one step from his resolution. Finally, his goodwill towards all men was such that he cherished and relieved the poor, redeemed captives, released insolvent debtors, and asserted the cause of widows and orphans against potent oppressors in such a manner that he deserved the name of a common father and pastor. Soon after his entrance upon the pontificate, with the consent of the clergy of Rome he excommunicated and deposed the Emperor Leo for his having rased the pictures of the saints out of the churches and destroyed their images, and also for not being orthodox in opinion concerning the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father. In the meantime Luithprandus, King of the Lombards, from an ambitious desire of enlarging his dominions, having possessed himself of all the towns round about, lays siege to Rome itself; whereupon Gregory forthwith dispatches messengers by sea, it not being safe for them to pass by land, to Charles, Prince of the French, to pray him that he would speedily aid the distressed city and Church of Rome. Indeed, formerly the Popes when they were in any great danger from abroad, had been wont to seek for succour from the Emperor of Constantinople; but Gregory now declined it, both for the causes we have just before mentioned, and also especially because Leo was now hard put to it to defend Constantinople itself against the Saracens, and therefore little able to protect others. By which means it came to pass that the Constantinopolitan Emperors being for the time to come unapplied to,

the protection of the church was from henceforward put into other hands. Upon Gregory's request, Charles undertaking the church's patronage, desires Luithprandus as his friend, and particularly upon the account of his son Pipin, his near ally, to quit his enterprise, and not give the Pope any disturbance, whereupon Luithprandus raises the siege. The affairs of Italy being thus composed, Charles turns his army with success against the Burgundians ; crushes the idolatrous Frisons ; takes Lyons, Arles, and Marseilles from the Visigoths, who thereupon invite to their aid Athimus, the King of the Saracens, who, passing the Rhone, takes Avignon by storm, intending to make use of the convenience of that place for a citadel. But Charles, upon intelligence hereof, hastens thither with his army, and retakes Avignon, putting to the sword all the Saracens who were in garrison in it. From thence he marched to Narbonne, whither he understood that Athimus had fled. But having advice that Amoreus, another Saracen, King of Spain, was coming with a great army to the aid of Athimus, he quitted the siege of Narbonne, and marched to the valley of Corbiere, not far off, wherein there was a fair plain very commodious to join battle in. Amoreus, thinking that Charles, having been routed, had fled thither, enters the valley, and prepares to engage, which Charles did not decline, though the number of the adversary's army was incredibly great. The dispute having continued for some time very warm, and Amoreus himself having been slain at the beginning of the engagement, at length the Saracens were forced to betake themselves to flight, and a great part of them were killed in the fens and marches thereabouts. Athimus, as good luck would have it, making his escape by sea towards the farther part of Spain, in rage and despair laid waste, by fire and sword, all the islands which he arrived at in his passage. Much about this time the body of St Augustine, which, two hundred and fifty years before, when the Vandals wasted Africa, had been carried away from Hippo into Sardinia, was by the care of Luithprandus translated thence to Pavia, and reposited in a very honourable place of interment. The Saracens being now pretty well tamed, kept themselves within the Pyrenean Hills, upon which all the Visigoths, who possessed the hither parts of Spain and part of France, being not able to defend themselves, were subdued by Charles ; and so that people, who had domineered for almost three hundred years, were utterly

extinguished, except some few who were saved by the people of Barcelona. Some write that Charles was in this war assisted by Luithprandus with men, who after the victory returned home laden with booty. In the meanwhile Pope Gregory, not neglecting to improve the time of peace he now enjoyed, applied himself to church work. The altar of St Peter's he made more stately, by erecting a row of six pillars of onyx on each hand of it, whereas many of the same magnitude and figure had formerly stood, but were now decayed through age. Upon these pillars were architraves, gilt with silver, on which he set up the images of our Saviour and the apostles at equal distances. He built also an oratory in the same church, in which he reposited some of the relics of almost all the saints, and ordered Mass to be therein daily performed, in the canon of which he added these words, which were engraven upon the marble round about the oratory: "*Quorum Solennitas in conspectu tuæ Majestatis celebratur, Domine Deus noster, toto in Orbe terrarum, &c.,*"—*i.e.*, Whose anniversaries are celebrated in the sight of Thy Majesty, O Lord our God, throughout all the world, &c.,—which clause is not in the general canon now used. Moreover, he gave to this church several vessels of silver, and caused to be made at his own charge the image of the Blessed Virgin with our Saviour in her arms, of gold, which he placed in the church of St Mary ad Præsepe. He also repaired the roof of the church of St Chrysogonus, appointing monks for the daily performance of Divine service therein, and settling an estate for their maintenance. Several monasteries he either repaired or built from the ground, to the recluses whereof he prescribed rules of strict and holy living. He rebuilt also the ruined walls of the city of Rome, and in like manner those of the almost desolate Civita Vecchia. Furthermore, he ordained the celebration of Mass in the church of St Peter, almost without intermission, both by the priests in weekly attendance and by the monks; upon which account we may observe the cells of the monks and the houses of the secular priests to be in several places contiguous, each of them striving to outdo the other in diligence at their devotion. Our Gregory, having well discharged his duty towards God and men, died in the tenth year, eighth month, and twenty-fourth day of his pontificate, and was, with general lamentation, buried in St Peter's, November the 28th. The see was then vacant only eight days.

ZACHARIAS I.

A.D. 741-752.

ZACHARIAS, a Grecian, the son of Polychronius, is reckoned in the number of the best Popes. For he was a person of a very mild disposition and wonderfully sweet conversation; every way deserving; a lover of the clergy and people of Rome; slow to anger, but very forward to exercise mercy and clemency; rendering to no man evil for evil, but in imitation of our Saviour, overcoming evil with good, and that to such a degree, that after his arriving to the papal dignity, he preferred and enriched those who had envied and hated him. At the beginning of his pontificate, finding Italy inflamed in war, in order to procure a peace he forthwith sends legates to Luithprandus, King of the Lombards, who now made war upon Transamundus, Duke of Spoleto. But these legates not effecting the design, he himself goes in person, accompanied with the Roman clergy, into Sabina; and it is said that, in sign of honour, the king met him eight miles from Narni, and alighting off his horse, accompanied him on foot into the city. The day following, while they were at Mass, the Pope made publicly an elegant oration, wherein he set forth the duty of a Christian king both in the time of peace and war; and it is reported that the king was so wrought upon by it, that he presently put the sole power of accommodating matters into the Pope's hands. The king had already deposed Transamund, and invested Agrandus, his nephew, in the dukedom. Yet, at the Pope's intercession, Transamund was received into favour; but he, quitting all pretensions to the dukedom, entered into holy orders. All the towns which had been taken in Sabina were restored; as also Narni and Ancona, and whatever places the Lombards had for thirty years past made themselves masters of in Tuscany. Moreover, all who had been made prisoners during the war were set at liberty. Luithprandus, having been treated by the Pope with all imaginable expressions of endearment and respect, marched thence peaceably with his army, and not long after died, in the thirty-second year of his reign. He was a person who deserved that kingdom, both for his extraordinary wisdom and prudence, and also for his valour and warlike temper, in which

no man excelled him; so eminent also for justice and clemency, that it is hard to judge whether of these two virtues were more conspicuous in him. His nephew Hildeprandus succeeded him in the kingdom, which having held only six months, he also died; and Duke Rachis, a prince whose piety and integrity deserve the highest praise, was unanimously chosen in his stead. By him also a league was renewed with the Pope, to whose legates the devout and religious king graciously granted whatever they desired. But having reigned four years, he quitted his government, and betook himself to a monastic life, encouraging his wife and his sons to do the like. His brother Aistulphus succeeded him, whose crafty and fierce temper threatened disturbance to all Italy, but especially to the Pope and the Romans, whom he designed by force to bring under his jurisdiction In the meantime Charles Martel, being seized with a violent sickness, at the persuasion of his friends divided his acquests between his two sons; of whom Carloman, the elder, had Austrasia and Suevia, and Pipin, Burgundy and part of France. And so that valiant and wise man died at Cressey sur Serre, in the thirty-fifth year of his office of Mayor of the Palace, and was buried at Paris in the Church of St Dennis. He had had by a former wife another son named Grypho, whose rapacious temper suited with his name; he prevailed with the warlike Saxons to assist him in making war upon his brethren. But Carloman and Pipin entering Saxony with an army, force their prince, Theodoric, to submission. After this expedition, Carloman comes to Rome, and there renouncing the Pope and glory of empire, he goes to Mount Cassino, and takes the habit of a monk of St Benedict. But Pipin, being of an aspiring mind, sends ambassadors to the Pope, desiring that by his authority he would confirm to him the kingdom of France. The Pope upon the score of former good services performed by his family, and the ancient friendship which had been between them and the Popes his predecessors, yields to his request, and accordingly confirms him, A.D. 751, and so from mayor of the palace, who was the first officer of the kingdom, Pipin was advanced to the kingdom of France itself, from whom the succeeding kings derive their original. It is reported that Carloman, who, as we have said, had taken the habit of a monk, came now with others of the same order, from Mount Cassino to Pope

Zachary, desiring that by his mediation they might gain leave to remove the body of St Benedict, which had by stealth been carried away to the Abbey of Fleury in the kingdom of France. The Pope granted their desire, and thereupon sent a message to King Pipin, who, upon information in the matter, freely gave way to it. Zachary, now enjoying peace on every side, set himself to the repairing of several decayed churches. The tower and portico before the Lateran Church he built from the ground, made the windows and gates of brass, and upon the frontispiece of the portico caused a map of the world to be delineated. He renewed the defaced images of the saints; enlarged and beautified the Lateran Palace; repaired the Palatine library, and assigned to every church a revenue for the maintenance of oil for their lamps. He gave to St Peter's an altar-cloth embroidered with gold and set with jewels, having the effigies of our blessed Saviour wrought upon it. He built the church of St George in Velabro, and reposited the head of that saint therein; as also the church of St Cecilia in the Via Tiburtina, six miles from the city, and in it an oratory in honour of St Cyrus the abbot, settling a maintenance for the priests that ministered in it. He rebuilt the roof of the church of St Eusebius, which happened in his time to tumble down. He also gave order that his servants should daily distribute and give out at the Lateran Palace alms to the poor of all sorts. Moreover, he forbade the Venetians, upon pain of excommunication, the selling of Christian slaves to Saracens and heathens, which those merchants were before wont to do. Finally, that we may not think that his advancement to so great a dignity made him neglect his studies, he translated out of Latin into Greek four books of Gregory in dialogue; that so the Grecians might be instructed in the rules of good living. But having with such integrity to the satisfaction of all men governed the Church ten years, three months, he died, and was buried in St Peter's, March the 15th. By his death the see was vacant twelve days.

STEPHEN II.

A.D. 752-757.

STEPHEN the Second, a Roman, son of Constantine, from one degree in the Church to another, ascended at length to the papal dignity; although upon the death of Zachary the people presently made choice of another Stephen, a priest, who on the third day of his pontificate awaking out of sleep, and beginning to settle his domestic affairs, was suddenly seized with a fit of an apoplexy, of which he died. After whom our Stephen the Second (for we reckon not his short-lived predecessor of that name in the list) was unanimously elected by the clergy and people in the Church of St Mary ad Præsepe, and being highly beloved by all, was carried upon men's shoulders to St Saviour's, called also the Constantinian Church, and from thence into the Lateran Palace. He was a person of extraordinary piety and prudence, a lover of the clergy, a repairer of churches, a diligent preacher and writer of the doctrine of Christianity, a father of the poor, a zealous defender of orphans and widows, and in going through with anything he undertook, hardy and resolute, but not obstinate. For Aistulphus now making inroads upon the borders of the Romans, he at first endeavoured by persuasions and presents to bring him off. But that covetous prince requiring the payment of a tribute of so much a head yearly from the people, the Pope thereupon was forced to seek for help from abroad, and accordingly he sent Nuncios to Constantine, the Emperor of Constantinople, to desire aid of him against Aistulphus, who gave disturbance to all Italy, and had already taken Ravenna, the seat of the Exarchate, and a great part of Romagna. But finding no hope of succours from him, he resolves to go to Pipin of France; and therefore sends to that king to desire that he would prevail with Aistulphus to permit him safe passage through his country, which Aistulphus at Pipin's request consented to. Stephen now reaching the borders of the kingdom of France, Pipin's son, Charles, who from his mighty achievements was afterwards surnamed the Great, in token of honour goes forth an hundred miles to meet him. Pipin himself met him three miles from the city, and alighting off his horse, kissed his feet, and led the horse upon which he rode by the

bridle till he had conducted him into the city, and brought him to his apartment. Aistulphus now fearing that the Pope was practising against him, sends Carloman a monk, to his brother Pipin, to persuade him not to make war upon the Lombards in Stephen's quarrel; which Pipin not only refused to grant, but also confined the monk to a monastery in Vienna, where not long after he died of grief. But it not being a fit season of the year to undertake an expedition, and Pipin allowing much to the ancient friendship there had been between them, he sends ambassadors to Aistulphus, to advise him to restore the places he had taken, or otherwise to let him know that he should be obliged in a short time to recover them by force of arms. Aistulphus hearkened not to this good counsel; whereupon Pipin, the spring now approaching, advances with an army against the Lombards;[1] and having sent before some light-harnessed soldiers to force Aistulphus's guards to quit the passes of the Alps, he marches down into the plain of the State of Milan, and having without any opposition sacked and harassed all places he came to, at length he invests Pavia, the seat-royal of the kings of Lombardy, which Aistulphus and those that were in garrison with him defended. But Stephen moved with compassion at the numerous calamities which this obstinate man had brought upon himself and his people, voluntarily offers Aistulphus a peace, upon condition he would restore what he had taken; which Aistulphus at length consented to, and promised upon oath more than was demanded. Pipin reckoning that the Pope had now satisfaction, raises the siege, and returns into France, leaving Varrenus the arbitrator of this peace between them. Stephen and Varrenus go to Rome, not doubting but that Aistulphus would in a little time perform his promise; instead of which he presently mustering up from all parts what forces he could, with a tumultuary rout rather than a just army, follows them, and besieges Rome, laying waste and burning the suburbs and places adjacent, insomuch that the people of Rome suffered more damage by the outrages he then committed, than they had received in three hundred and forty-four years before from the declining of the Empire. Hereupon Pipin

[1] Platina omits to record that the Pope, rendered desperate by the advance of Aistulphus, forged a letter from St Peter to Pipin, promising paradise or threatening hell, according as he hastened or retarded his movements. See Milman, ii. 180.—ED.

being again sued to by the Pope to aid the distressed city of Rome against the perfidiousness and cruelty of Aistulphus, he with all possible expedition raises an army for that purpose. In the meantime the Turks, willing to mend their quarters, over-run and conquer the Alanes first, then the Colchians and Armenians, after them the people of the lesser Asia, and lastly the Persians and Saracens, A.D. 755. Some writers tell us that these were of the race of those Scythians whom Alexander the Great kept within the Hyperborean Mountains with iron bars, meaning by that metaphor, that he had shut up that wild nation there as into a prison. But after much mischief done and received on both sides, a peace being concluded between the Saracens and Turks, it was agreed that the Turks which dwelt in Persia should be called Saracens; and by this means the Saracens did more patiently suffer the Turks to bear sway in Asia, especially apprehending, moreover, that they might soon be brought to embrace the Mahometan religion. But we return to Pipin, who coming again with his army into Italy, was met by Gregory, principal secretary to the Emperor Constantine the Fourth, who desired him in his master's name, that if he should prove victorious over the Lombards, he would not give the Exarchate of Ravenna to the Pope or the Romans, it belonging of right to the emperor. To which Pipin answered, that he came into Italy to do the Pope and people a kindness, and that he should consult their advantage to the utmost of his power. After this he marched to Pavia, and reduced Aistulphus to such extremity, that he was forced to accept of the former conditions of peace. Hereby the Exarchate was restored to the Romans, together with all the tract contained between the Po and Apennine, from Piacentino to the Gulf of Venice, and whatever lies between the river Isara, the Apennine and the Adriatic, with all that Aistulphus had taken in Tuscany and Sabina. Pipin stayed at the foot of the Alps till conditions should be performed, having left Holcadus, an abbot, with part of his army to oblige Aistulphus to perform what he had promised, and moved no farther till he understood that Aistulphus had died of an apoplexy while he was hunting, before the surrender was fully made. Upon his death, Desiderius, Duke of Tuscany, forthwith raises an army of Lombards, with design to possess himself of the kingdom. The same also did Rachis, Aistulphus's brother, who had

before, as we have already said, taken the habit of a monk; and, indeed, the Lombards generally, except those of Tuscany, were on his side. But Desiderius by making large promises to the Pope and the Romans, wrought them into a favour of his pretensions; and accordingly they with all speed sent ambassadors, and among them Holcadus, the abbot, to Rachis, to require him to lay down his arms, and submit to Desiderius. And so Faenza and Ferrara were at last delivered to the Pope, and the name of the Exarchate, which had continued from the time of Narses to the taking of Ravenna by Aistulphus an hundred and seventy years, was extinguished. Things being now peaceably settled, and the jurisdiction of the Church greatly increased, Stephen holding a synod, takes an account of his several flocks and their pastors, gently chastises those who had offended, directs such as had gone astray, teaches and instructs the ignorant, and finally sets before them the duty of a bishop, of a presbyter, and of all orders in the clergy. Moreover, he appointed litanies for the appeasing of the Divine anger; the procession on the first Saturday to be to St Marie's ad Præsepe, on the second to St Peter's in the Vatican, on the third to St Paul's in the Via Ostiensis. He also repaired several churches which had been damaged by Aistulphus while he lay siege to the city; yet he did not recover the reliques of the saints which that king had carried with him to Pavia, and there reposited not dishonourably in divers churches. The good man having by these means proved serviceable to God, his country, and the Church, died in the fifth year and first month of his pontificate, and was buried, April the 26th, with general lamentation as for the loss of a common father. The see was then vacant thirty-two days.

PAUL I.

A.D. 757-767.

PAUL, a Roman, son of Constantine, brother of Stephen the Second, became well skilled and practised in all things belonging to a churchman, by his having been educated in the Lateran Palace under Pope Gregory the Second and Pope Zachary, by which latter he was, together with his brother,

ordained deacon; and when upon the vacancy of the Popedom by the death of Stephen, some persons proposed Theophylact, the archdeacon, for his successor, yet others stood for Paul, as one who both for the integrity of his life and great learning, deserved to succeed his brother in that dignity. After a long dispute, therefore, Theophylact was rejected, and Paul by general suffrage chosen, in the time of Constantine and Leo. This Paul was a person of an extraordinary meek and merciful temper, and who, in imitation of our Saviour, never returned to any man evil for evil, but, on the contrary, by doing good to them, he overcame those ill men that had oftentimes injured him. He was of so kind and compassionate a nature, as that he would go about by night with only two or three attendants to the houses of poor sick people, assisting them with his counsel, and relieving them with his alms. He also frequently visited the prisons, and paying their creditors, discharged thence multitudes of poor debtors. The fatherless and widows that were over-reached by the tricks of lawyers, he defended by his authority and supported by his charity. Moreover, having assembled the clergy and people of Rome, he did with great solemnity translate the body of St Petronilla, St Peter's daughter, with her tomb of marble, upon which was this inscription, "*Petronillæ Filiæ dulcissimæ*," from the Via Appia into the Vatican, and placed it at the upper end of the church dedicated to her father. At this time the Emperor Constantine having in all places plucked down the images, and put to death Constantine, patriarch of Constantinople, for opposing him therein, and made Nicetas an eunuch, his abettor in the sacrilege, patriarch in his stead, the Pope, consulting by all means the interest of religion, sends Nuncios to Constantinople to advise the Emperor to restore and set up again the images he had taken away, or upon his refusal to do so, to threaten him with the censure of excommunication. But Constantine, persisting obstinately in what he had done, not only despised this good counsel, but also granted peace to Sabinus, King of the Bulgarians, because he also made the like havoc of images with himself, though he were before engaged in a war against him. Having also associated to himself into part of the empire his son Leo the Fourth, whom he had married to the most beautiful Athenian lady Irene, he enters into a league with the Saracens, thereby to despise and provoke the orthodox Christians. In

the meantime Pipin entirely subdued Taxillo, Duke of the Bavarians, and admits of a league with the Saxons, but upon this condition, that they should be obliged to send three hundred horsemen to his assistance as often as he should have occasion to make an expedition. Against the Aquitains he maintained a tedious war, which at length he committed to the management of his young son Charles, himself being so worn out with age that he could not be present at it. This war being ended, Charles takes by storm Bourbon, Clermont, and several other towns of Auvergne. But Pipin, who as we have said was now very old, not long after dies, leaving in the kingdom his two sons Charles and Carloman. Some tell us that Aistulphus, King of the Lombards, who, as is above declared, had carried away the bodies of divers saints from Rome to Pavia, died at this time; and that he had built chapels to those saints, and also a cloister for virgins, in which his own daughters became nuns. He was an extraordinary lover of the monks, and died in their arms, in the sixth year and fifth month of his reign. At the beginning of his government, he was fierce and rash, in the end moderate; and a person of such learning, that he reduced and formed the edicts of the Lombards into laws. He was, as has been said, succeeded by Duke Desiderius; the valour of the Lombards beginning now to dissolve and lose itself in luxury. Our Paul, having repaired some old decayed churches, died in St Paul's in the Via Ostiensis, in the tenth year and first month of his pontificate; and his body was with very great solemnity carried into the Vatican. The see was then vacant one year and one month.

STEPHEN IV.

A.D. 768-772.

STEPHEN the Fourth, a Sicilian, son of Olibrius, entered upon the pontificate, A.D. 768, a learned man, and in the management of affairs, especially those belonging to the Church, very active and steady. Coming to Rome very young, by appointment of Pope Gregory III., he took orders, and became a monk in the monastery of St Chrysogonus, where he was inured to the stricter way of living, and instructed

in ecclesiastical learning. Being afterwards called by Pope Zachary into the Lateran Palace, and his life and learning generally approved of, he was constituted parish priest of St Cæcilia; and for his great integrity and readiness in business both Zachary and his successors Stephen and Paul, would always have him near their persons. But upon the death of Paul, whom our Stephen never deserted to his last breath, Desiderius, who, as we have said, was by the assistance of Stephen II. made King of Lombardy, being by Pipin's death rid of all fear, encourages Toto, Duke of Nepi, to promote his brother Constantine to the pontificate by force of arms, if he could not compass it by canvassing and bribery. He accordingly marches to Rome with an army, and with the assistance of some whom he had corrupted and made his friends by gifts and promises, gets Constantine to be elected Pope. Indeed, there were those who set up one Philip against him, but he was presently forced to quit his pretensions, and Gregory, Bishop of Prænestе compelled to initiate Constantine, who at the time of his choice was a laic, into holy orders, and then to consecrate him bishop; the hands of which Gregory are said thereupon by miracle to have so withered that he could not reach them to his mouth. But Constantine having persisted to exercise the papal function for one year, was at length in great rage and disdain deposed by the people of Rome, and Stephen unanimously chosen in his stead. Upon which Constantine being brought into St Saviour's Church, and the sacred canons read, he was publicly and solemnly divested of the pontifical habit, and commanded to lead a private life in a monastery. After this, Stephen being consecrated by three bishops in the church of St Adrian, and saluted as the true Pope by all the clergy and people of Rome, applied himself to the censuring and suppressing of the practices of some ill men who endeavoured to break the unity of the Roman Church. Therefore calling a council, he writes to Charles desiring him to send to Rome, as soon as might be, some bishops of France, by their learning and integrity well qualified for the affair. The same also he writes to the other Christian princes; who all complying with him therein, a council is held in the Lateran Church, where the fathers having discoursed among themselves divers things tending to the settling of the Church, they ordered Constantine to be brought before them. For the underhand

dealings of Desiderius, King of the Lombards, and Paul Aphiarta having occasioned frequent tumults among the people; Desiderius endeavouring all he could to alienate the affections of the Romans from Charles to the emperor; hereupon several were killed on both sides, and Constantine, the occasion of all the mischief, had his eyes put out by the contrary faction, though Stephen declared against it, and did what he could to prevent it; but there is no opposing a furious, enraged multitude. Constantine appearing before the council, and being accused that he had usurped the Apostolic see, not being in any holy orders, lays all the fault upon the people, and especially upon some particular persons who forced him against his will to take the pontificate upon him. Then prostrating himself upon the floor, and humbly begging pardon, the persons present moved with compassion, ordered him to be dismissed, and put off the debate of his whole case to the next day, intending then more maturely to deliberate what ought to be done in the matter. But the next day Constantine returning to the council, was quite of another mind, and remonstrated that he had precedents of former prelates for what he had done; that Sergius, Archbishop of Ravenna, and Stephen of Naples, had been of laics consecrated bishops. The fathers resenting this impudence, caused him to be cast out with disgrace, and having nulled his decrees, applied themselves to the settling of the state of Christianity. Among other things it was unanimously decreed by them, that no laic, but such only as had passed through the several degrees in the clergy, should presume to take the popedom, upon pain of excommunication. It was ordained likewise, that those who had attained to the episcopal dignity in the time of Constantine, should renounce that character, and fall back into the same rank and order which they were of before, but with this reserve, that if their life and doctrine were approved by the people, it then pleased the council, that upon their application to the Apostolic see, they might be consecrated anew. The same was judged meet concerning presbyters and deacons; yet it was forbidden that any of them should arrive to the greater degrees, upon a jealousy, as I believe, lest some error or sect might thence arise, as from a seminary of discord and sedition. Moreover, it was decreed that all the sacred offices which Constantine had performed, should be deemed null, except only baptism and confirmation. Finally,

having made void the Constantinian synod, in which the Greek prelates had decreed that the pictures and statues of the saints should be defaced and thrown out of churches, it was ordained that those images should be in all places restored, and an anathema passed upon that execrable and pernicious synod, by which the condition of the immortal God was rendered worse than that of men; it being allowed us to erect the statues of men who have deserved well of the public, both for the expressing of our gratitude, and the raising our emulation of their brave deeds, but forbidden to set up the image of our Saviour, whom we ought if it were possible to have always before our eyes, whether we consider the mighty obligations He has laid upon mankind, or the dignity of His Divine nature. These things having thus passed according to the Pope's mind, it was decreed, that on the following day there should be a solemn procession, both to return thanks to God, and also in order to the averting of His displeasure. This procession was made from the Lateran Church to St Peter's, with universal great devotion, the Pope himself, with all that were present, walking bare-foot. But in our times piety and devotion are grown so cold, that such expressions of humility are not only laid aside, but men are so proud as scarcely to vouchsafe to pray at all. Even the more eminent and dignified persons, instead of weeping at procession or at mass, as these holy fathers were wont to do, are employed in indecent and shameless laughter, instead of singing hymns, which they disdain as a servile thing, they are breaking jests, and telling stories among themselves to make each other merry. What should I say further? the more petulant and full of buffoonery any one is, the more he is commended in such a corrupt age. Our present clergy does dread severe and grave men; as being more desirous to live thus licentiously, than to be obedient to good admonitions, and subject to wholesome restraints, by which means the Christian religion does daily suffer and decline. I return to Stephen, who, when the procession was over, forthwith caused the acts of the council to be first openly pronounced by his commissary, and then published in writing, threatening excommunication against any who should presume to oppose what the holy synod had decreed. But not long after, Sergius, Archbishop of Ravenna dying, Michael, registrar of that church, with the assistance of King Desiderius and Maurice, Duke of Rimini, whom he had corrupted with

bribes, though a mere laic, possesses himself of the see, in opposition to Leo the Archdeacon whom the clergy were very desirous to choose. Yea, these abettors of his presumed so far, as to send ambassadors to Pope Stephen to bribe him into the confirmation of this Michael. But Stephen not only refused their offers of money, but also published an excommunication against him, if he resigned not the see which he had against all right usurped. However, he forcibly kept possession of it so long as he had anything left, either of his own or belonging to the Church, whereof to make a bribe to greedy Desiderius. Upon which the Pope sending his nuncios and King Charles his ambassadors to Ravenna about that affair, who declared the Pope's pleasure therein, Michael was forthwith deposed, and Leo chosen and confirmed by the Pope, who being for that reason secretly despited and mischiefed by Desiderius, begs Charles to oblige Desiderius to cease injuring him any further. This Charles performed with great diligence, though he were not in a condition to restrain the Lombard by force, because upon the death of his brother, who had reigned jointly and amicably with him for two years, he was necessarily engaged in several wars at once. The Aquitains, against whom his father had begun a war, he brought into subjection, and subdued the Gascons inhabiting part of Aquitain. Then passing the Pyrenean Hills, he routed the Saracens, pursuing them to the river Betis, as far as Granada, the part of Spain wherein the Saracens are now seated. In the meantime Stephen, a most vigilant pastor, and true successor of Peter and imitator of Christ, having been in the chair three years, five months, twenty-seven days, died and was buried in St Peter's. The see was then vacant nine days.

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ADRIAN I.

A.D. 772-795.

ADRIAN the First, a Roman, son of Theodorus, one of the prime nobility, entering upon the pontificate, degenerated not at all from his ancestors; being a person, who, for his greatness of mind, prudence, learning, and sanctity, may be compared with the best of Popes; and of whose

interest and authority Desiderius, King of the Lombards, had such apprehensions, that he presently sent ambassadors to treat of a peace and alliance with him. But Adrian being acquainted with the extreme perfidiousness of that king, deferred the concluding anything therein to another time. Now, after the death of Carloman, his relict Bertha, out of envy towards the grandeur of Hildegarda, the great Charles's consort, by the advice of one Adoarius, flies with her sons into Italy to King Desiderius, who received her very kindly and honourably, both because he thought he should by this means be less in danger from the power of France, and also reckoned that the French upon setting up Carloman's sons would the sooner appear in arms against King Charles if he should give him any disturbance. But not being able by entreaties to prevail with Adrian to anoint these sons of Carloman kings, he applies himself to forcible means, and invading the State of Ravenna, which was under the Pope's jurisdiction, he takes Faenza and Comacchio. Ravenna was at this time under the government of its Archbishop and three tribunes, who forthwith desired aid of Adrian. The Pope at first sends to Desiderius, admonishing him to contain himself within his own territories, and not to invade the rights of the Church. But understanding afterwards that this king had also possessed himself of Urbino, Sinigaglia, and Eugubio, he then began to threaten him with the approach of Divine vengeance towards him for the violation of peace. To which the Lombard made no other reply, than that Adrian ought to quit the interest of the French King, and to be of his side. For it was his great design to make a breach between Charles and the Pope; which when he could not obtain by solicitations and promises, he threatened to besiege Rome itself within a little time. He was already come to Spoleto, with Aldagasius, Carloman's son, but intended to march from thence to Rome, though in a peaceable manner, and, as he pretended, out of devotion. But Adrian having caused the relics of all the churches without the walls to be brought into the city, sends three bishops to Desiderius to forbid him entering the confines of Rome upon pain of excommunication, who thereupon fearing lest he might incur the Divine displeasure, presently returned into Lombardy. In the meantime Charles receiving from Adrian intelligence of the injury which had been done him, sends ambassadors

to Desiderius to persuade him to restore what he had wrongfully taken from the Pope, or otherwise to let him know that he would soon visit him with such an army as should oblige him to it. Desiderius, notwithstanding all this, refuses it, and so on both sides great armies are prepared. But Charles having sent some part of his forces before to secure the Passes of the Alps, with wonderful expedition leads the main body of his army over Mont Cenis into Italy, where encountering Desiderius, he vanquishes and puts him to flight, and then takes and spoils his whole country. Desiderius after so great an overthrow despairing to get the better in a pitched battle, retreats to Pavia, having sent his wife and children to Verona. And the people of Spoleto, Rieti, and all the Lombards inhabiting those parts, hearing his misfortune, betake themselves to Rome, and commit their persons and estates to the Pope's protection, taking an oath of fidelity to him, and shaving their heads and beards, which among that people was the greatest sign and token of a perfect submission to his power and jurisdiction. By their example those of Ancona, Osimo, and Firmo did the like. Now to such of these Lombards as were unwilling to return into their own country, the Vatican Hill was granted them to inhabit and seat themselves in; whither afterwards there was from all parts a great concourse of others their countrymen, who chose to live there. But Charles leaving his cousin-german Bernardus at the siege of Pavia, marches with part of his army to Verona, which city, upon the inclination of Bertha and Carloman's sons to the French side, in a little time after surrendered to him; though Adelgisus, Desiderius's son, escaping thence fled to the Emperor of Constantinople. Almost all the cities of Lombardy beyond the Po having in like manner yielded to Charles, he goes towards Rome, that he might there celebrate the feast of Easter with the Pope. At his approach to the city, he was in compliment met by three thousand judges, as Anastasius tells us, calling them judges who were not handicraftsmen or did not exercise any mean trades. Adrian with his clergy expected him at the steps of St Peter's, and at his coming embraced him with all imaginable affection, but could not restrain the humble king from kissing his feet. The usual salutations and respects having passed on both sides, they entered the church, and being come up to the altar, Charles and the Pope, the Romans and the French, took a mutual

oath to maintain a perpetual friendship, and to be enemies to the enemies of each other. After which, Charles making his entrance into the city, devoutly visited all the churches, and made several presents to them. Four days after his being there, he by oath confirmed and amply enlarged the donation of his father Pipin to Gregory the Third, containing, according to Anastasius, in Liguria all that reaches from the long-since demolished city Luna to the Alps, the Isle of Corsica, and the whole tract between Lucca and Parma, together with Friuli, the exarchate of Ravenna, and the Dukedoms of Spoleto and Beneventum. These affairs being thus settled, Charles, taking his leave of Adrian, returns into Lombardy, and becomes master of Pavia on the sixth month after the investing of it. Towards Desiderius however he was so favourable, as that though he bereft him of his kingdom, yet he spared his life, and only confined him with his wife and children to Lyons. Advancing thence against Arachis, Duke of Beneventum, who was son-in-law to Desiderius, and had been an abettor of his rash proceedings, he soon forced him to sue for a peace, and received his two sons for hostages. After this in his passage farther he religiously visited Mount Cassino, and confirmed all the grants which had been made by other princes to the monastery of St Benedict. And so the affairs of all Italy being composed, and strong guards left in the most important places of Lombardy, he returns with great spoil and mighty glory into his kingdom of France, carrying with him his brother Carloman's relict and sons, whom he always treated with respect and honour; and also Paul, a deacon of the church of Aquileia, a person for his parts and learning highly beloved by Desiderius, to whom he gave his freedom, and had for some time a great esteem for him. But understanding afterwards that the man was assisting to a design of Desiderius's flight, he banished him into the island of Tremiti; from whence after some years making his escape, and coming to Arachis, at the request of Adelperga, daughter to Desiderius and the wife of Arachis, he added two books to the history of Eutropius, giving an account of what passed from the time of the Emperor Julian to that of Justinian the first. After the death of Arachis, he betook himself to the monastery of Cassino, where, leading the remainder of his life very devoutly, he oftentimes wrote elegant and obliging letters to Charles, and received again the like from that king,

who had preserved him for the sake of his learning. Thus ended the kingdom of the Lombards, in the two hundred and fourth year after their coming into Italy, and in the year of our Lord seven hundred and seventy-four. Charles now without any delay marches against the idolatrous Saxons, who during his absence in Italy had rebelled; utterly subdues that people, with whom he had been engaged in war for thirty years before, and compels them to receive Christianity. Then turning his army against the Spaniards, who were also fallen away from the faith, he took the cities of Pampeluna and Saragossa, and permitted his soldiers to plunder them; not granting a peace to these Spaniards, but upon condition they would entirely embrace the Christian doctrine. After this returning into France, matters having went according to his mind, as he passed the Pyrenean Hills he fell into an ambuscade of the Gascons, in engaging with whom, though he gallantly defended himself, yet he lost Anselmus and Egibardus, two brave commanders. Some tell us that in this encounter Rolandus, Charles' sister's son, perished, after he had made a great slaughter of the enemy; though, whether he died of thirst, as is commonly said, or of the wounds he received, is uncertain. At length these Gascons were vanquished by Charles, and received from him the deserved punishment of their revolt and perfidy. At this time Taxillo, Duke of Bavaria, Desiderius's son-in-law, having gained the Huns to be on his side, made an attempt of war against the French, which yet Charles by his great expedition almost made an end of before it was quite begun; and to him also, upon hostages given, he granted a peace. While these things were transacting in France, Constantine, emperor of the East, was seized with a leprosy (from whence perhaps arose the groundless opinion of the leprosy of Constantine the Great, through the confusion of their names), and dying, left Leo the Fourth his successor; who so strangely doted upon precious stones, that robbing the church of St Sophia of its jewels, he made with them a crown of a vast weight and value, which he wore so often, that either through the weight, or from the coldness of the stones in it, he shortly fell sick and died. The same I believe to have happened in our time to Paul the Second, who so effeminately prided himself in such ornaments, almost exhausting the treasury of the Church to purchase jewels at any rate, that as often as he appeared publicly,

instead of wearing a plain mitre, he looked like the picture of Cybele with turrets on her head; from whence, what with the weight of the jewels and the sweat of his gross body, I am apt to think arose that apoplexy of which he died suddenly. After the death of Leo, his relict Irene and his son Constantine managed the empire. In a council of three hundred and fifty bishops held the second time at Nice, it was decreed, that whosoever maintained that the images of the saints were to be destroyed, should be censured with perpetual excommunication. But young Constantine, through the persuasion of some ill men about him, treading in the footsteps of his father, soon after revoked this constitution, and wholly deprived his mother of any share in the administration of affairs. Then putting away his wife, he received to his bed, and caused to be crowned empress, Theodora, one of her maids. Moreover, he gave order to those commanders he had in Italy, to give disturbance to their neighbours; but they were at the first message terrified from any attempts by the prevailing authority of Charles, who at this time was advancing with his forces against the Sclaves and Huns (or we may call them Hungarians) because by their incursions they had molested all the country about the Danube; whom having vanquished, he marched into Franconia the country of his ancestors, from whence the Franks or French derive their name; which province he with ease brought to his devotion. Two years after, Theophylact and Stephen, two bishops of great note, held a synod of Frank and German bishops at Frankfort, wherein that which the Greeks called the seventh synod, and the Felician heresy touching the destruction of images, was condemned. Adrian being now by the interest and power of Charles secured from the fear of any warlike incursions, applies himself to the repairing the city, beautifying the churches, restoring the aqueducts, and such like public works, which I need not particularly enumerate, performed at his vast expence. But while he was employed in these matters, there happened such an inundation of the river Tiber, as bore down a principal gate, and bridge, and several buildings of the city, and did otherwise great damage. In this extremity Adrian took care to send boats to convey provisions to such as, while the waters were so high, could not stir out of their houses. And afterwards he comforted with his advice, and supported with his charity, the principal sufferers in that calamity; nor did he

spare any cost in repairing the public loss. In short, Adrian left nothing undone, that became a good prince and excellent Pope; defending the Christian religion, maintaining the Roman liberty, and asserting the cause of the poor, the orphans, and widows. After he had held the chair with great honour twenty-three years, ten months, he died, and was buried in St Peter's, December the 27th.

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LEO III.

A.D. 795-816.

LEO the Third, a Roman, son of Azzupius, was, upon the account of merit, advanced to the pontificate, having been from his youth so thoroughly educated and instructed in ecclesiastical learning, that he deserved to be preferred before all others. A modest, upright, and well-spoken person, and such a favourer of learned men, that he encouraged them by the proposal of generous rewards to resort from all parts to him, and was wonderfully pleased with their conversation. Moreover, to visit and exhort the sick, to relieve the poor, to comfort the dejected, and to reduce the erroneous by his preaching and admonition, in which, through his art and eloquence, he had gained a great perfection, was his peculiar providence. He was naturally of a meek temper, a lover of all mankind, slow to anger, ready to commiserate, eminent for piety, and a vigorous promoter and defender of the honour of God and His Church. Hereupon he was (as I have said) unanimously elected to the papal see on St Stephen's day, and the day following with general acclamations seated in St Peter's chair. At this time Irene, mother of Constantine the Emperor, not being able to bear her son's ill courses, and being instigated thereto by certain of the citizens, returns to Constantinople, puts out his eyes, and throws him into prison, where, as an undutiful son, he miserably ended his days. In the meantime Charles, having disturbance given him on many sides, sends his son Pipin against the Hungarians, whom, having worsted in several engagements, he at length totally subdued. Alphonsus, likewise King of Asturia and Gallicia, having received auxiliary forces from Charles, vanquished the Saracens and took Lisbon; upon the hearing of which victory

of his, the garrison of Barcelona forthwith yielded up to Charles. Moreover, the Bavarians, who made inroads upon the inhabitants of Friuli, were now overcome by Henry, Charles's lieutenant there. At this time Leo, with the clergy and people, being employed in the solemn procession instituted by Pope Gregory, he was, through the treachery of Paschal and Campulus, two of the principal clergy, seized near the church of St Sylvester, stripped of his pontifical habit, so cruelly beaten and misused that it was thought he had been deprived both of his sight and speech, and then closely imprisoned in the monastery of St Erasmus. From whence yet soon after by the diligence of Albinus, one belonging to his bed-chamber, he made his escape, and was secretly conveyed to the Vatican, where he lay concealed till Vinigisius, Duke of Spoleto, being privately invited thereunto, came, and with a strong guard of soldiers to secure him on his way from any violence which his enemies might offer to him, carried him off safely to Spoleto. The factious being not now able to wreak their malice upon the persons of Leo and Albinus, express their rage in pulling down their houses ; nay, so hardy and daring were they, as to go to Charles, who was now making war upon the Saxons, and to whom they understood Leo had repaired, on purpose to complain of and accuse the Pope. But Charles, deferring the debate of the matter to another time, sends the Pope to Rome with an honourable retinue, promising that himself would be there in a little time, in order to the composing of the affairs of Italy. Leo in his passage being come as far as Ponte Molle, was there in honour met by the clergy and people of Rome, who congratulated his return, and introduced him into the city. And Charles, without making any long stay, passing through Mentz and Nuremberg into Friuli, severely chastises the citizens of Treviso for having put to death Henry, their governor, and having constituted another to succeed him in that office, he thence goes first to Ravenna, and presently after to Rome, where his presence was earnestly desired and expected. At his entrance into the city all imaginable expressions of honour, as good reason was, were made to him. On the eighth day of his being there, in the presence of the people and clergy, assembled in St Peter's Church, he asked all the bishops, who had come thither out of all the parts of Italy and France, what their opinion was concerning the life and conversation of the Pope. But answer was made

by all with one voice, that the apostolic see, the head of all churches, ought to be judged by none, especially not by a laic. Hereupon, Charles laying aside any farther inquiry into the matter, Pope Leo, who extremely wished that he might be put upon that way of purging himself, going up into the pulpit and holding the gospels in his hands, declared upon his oath that he was innocent of all those things which were laid to his charge. This was done on the thirteenth day of December, A.D. 800. While things went thus at Rome, Pipin, by his father's order, advancing against the Beneventans, who, under Grimoald's conduct, made inroads upon their neighbours, and having given them so many defeats, that at length they were scarce able to defend themselves within the walls of their city, he left the farther management of that war to Vinigisius, Duke of Spoleto, and returned to his father, who was now in a short time to be crowned Emperor. For the Pope, that he might make some requital to Charles, who had deserved so well of the Church, and also because he saw that the emperors of Constantinople were hardly able to maintain that title; upon which account Rome and all Italy had suffered great calamities; after mass in St Peter's Church, with the consent and at the request of the people of Rome, declares with a loud voice the said Charles to be Emperor, and put the imperial diadem upon his head, the people repeating thrice this acclamation, "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, whom God has crowned, the great and pacific Emperor." Then the Pope anointed him, and his son Pipin, whom in like manner he pronounced King of Italy. Charles being now invested with imperial power, gave order that Campulus and Paschal, the conspirators against the Pope, should be put to death; but the Pope, who was all clemency, obtained a pardon of their lives, and they were only banished into France. After this there were some who would have persuaded Charles to expel all the Lombards out of Italy. But that not appearing to be a safe course, because they had mingled in blood and affinity with multitudes of families in Italy, it was determined, both by Charles and Leo, that the name of Lombard should remain there only, where that nation had chiefly had their seat. Pipin being now returned to Beneventum, and having continued the siege of that place for several months without success, he turns his arms against the city Chieti, of which having, after some opposition, made

himself master by force, he plundered and burnt it, upon the terror whereof at his marching thence, he had the cities of Ortona and Luceria surrendered to him, and in the latter he took Grimoald, Duke of Beneventum, who not long after died of grief. In the meantime, the Empress of Constantinople, sending ambassadors into Italy, enters into a league with Charles, their several pretensions to Italy being thus adjusted, viz., Irene was to have that part which, beginning on the one side from Naples, and from Siponto (a city now called Manfredonia) on the other, lies extended between the two seas, eastward, together with Sicily; all Italy beside, only excepting always those places which were under the jurisdiction of the Church, were by the articles of peace adjudged to be Charles's own. But Nicephorus, a Patrician, not stomaching to submit to the dominion of a woman, having craftily seized Irene, and banished her into Lesbos, by his ambassadors renews the league before entered into with Charles; which Charles at this time compelled the Saxons, who had so often revolted, to remove, with their wives and children, into France, following them close in their passage with his army to prevent their committing any disorders as they went along. Pope Leo, being perpetually disturbed by one sedition after another, leaving Rome, goes to Mantua to see the blood of Christ, which was now in great esteem for the miracles said to be wrought there by it. Having been received with great respect and affection by the Mantuans, and approved it to be indeed Christ's blood upon frequent trial of the miraculous effects of it, he makes a journey to Charles, who was very desirous to know the trnth of this matter, that he might certify him concerning it, and also that he might discourse with him about settling the affairs of Italy. Returning then to Rome, and being assisted by King Pipin, who had his father's order therein, he proceeded to a gentle punishment of some of the chief plotters and movers of sedition. Charles being now very aged, having intelligence that Pipin was dead at Milan, declares Louis, his younger son, King of Aquitain, and his successor in the empire, and Bernard, his nephew, King of Italy, to whom he gave charge that he should in all things be obedient to Louis. To the extent of the empire he set these bounds: in Gallia, the Rhine and the Loyre; in Germany, the Danube and the Save; and to these provinces he added Aquitain, Gascoigne, a great part of Spain, Lombardy, Saxony,

both the Pannonias, Istria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, excepting only those parts of it situate on the sea-coast, which were subject to the Emperor of Constantinople. Having thus settled affairs, while he was at Aachen for the recovery of his health by the use of the hot baths there, he died of a fever and pleurisy, in the seventy-second year of his age, January the 28th, A.D. 814. His body was, with all imaginable pomp and solemnity, interred in the church of St Mary, which himself had built at Aachen, with this inscription on his tomb, "*Magni Caroli Regis Christianissimi, Romanorumque Imperatoris Corpus hoc Sepulchro conditum jacet.*" He was indeed, whether we regard his management of civil or military matters, so illustrious and excellent an Emperor, that none of his successors have either excelled or equalled him. Moreover, when leisure from other weighty affairs permitted him, he took such delight in the study of learning, that it was he who, at the persuasion of Alcuin, first made Paris an university. Of three tables of silver which he had, one, on which was engraven the city of Constantinople, he gave to the church of St Peter; another, on which the city of Rome was described, to the church of Ravenna; the third, which some tell us was of gold, on which was a map of the whole world, he left to his sons.

As for Pope Leo, having repaired the roof of St Paul's, which had fallen down in an earthquake; built from the ground a very capacious hospital for strangers near St Peter's; and ordained litanies on the three days before Ascension Day: on the first of which the procession was to be from St Marie's ad Præsepe to the Lateran church; on the second, from the church of St Sabina to St Paul's; and on the third day, from St Cross to St Laurence's, without the walls,—in the twenty-first year of his pontificate he died, which year there appeared a comet, thought by some to have been a presage of so great a calamity.[1] He was buried in St Peter's, June the 12th; and the see was vacant ten days.

[1] The latter days of his pontificate were disturbed by violent insurrections in Rome; the people declared that his exactions and tyranny were intolerable, and there were fires and bloodshed in the attempt to depose him. He executed many of the insurgents, and wrote to the Emperor to deprecate his anger for doing so. The tumults were still going on when he died.—ED.

STEPHEN V.

A.D. 816-817.

STEPHEN the Fourth, a Roman, son of Julius, in the third month of his pontificate went into France to the Emperor Louis; though the reason of his journey is not certainly known. Some conjecture that it was to secure himself from the relics of the faction and conspiracy of Campulus, which, upon the death of Leo, prevailed afresh. The Emperor Louis, surnamed the Godly, was now at Orleans, who, as soon as he had intelligence of the Pope's coming, forthwith sends all the persons of principal quality to meet him; and among others, particularly Theudolphus, Bishop of Orleans, with the clergy, and a great part of the people. And Louis himself going forth a whole mile for the same purpose, as soon as he saw him, alighted off his horse, and after mutual salutations had passed between them, introduced him very honourably into the city, the clergy going before and after, repeating the hymn called "Te Deum Laudamus." For Stephen was not only a person of noble extraction, but of such learning and integrity, that he easily gained a general veneration for sanctity, having been well instructed by an advantageous education under those two pious Popes, Adrian and Leo. Being entered into the city, supported by the emperor, because of the crowd of the people who pressed out of a desire to see him, he was conducted to the apartment appointed for him in the palace, where he often had conferences with the emperor about the composure of the affairs of Italy, besides the other frequent mutual entertainments and civilities that passed between them. Louis would have detained the Pope longer with him, had he not now been engaged in such important wars that it was necessary he should oppose the enemy in person. For both the Gascons had revolted, whom in a short time he reduced; and those of Bretagne began to endeavour a change of government, whom in like manner by his arms he kept in obedience; and moreover, at an assembly held at Aachen, he granted peace to the ambassadors sent from the Saracens inhabiting Saragossa. Stephen being now upon his departure, in imitation of our Saviour, who spared even His enemies, obtained of Louis, that all those whom Charles had punished with banishment or

imprisonment for their conspiracy against Leo, might have their liberty. He also carried with him a cross of great weight and value, made at the charge of Louis, and by him dedicated to St Peter. But returning to Rome, he died in the seventh month of his pontificate, and was buried in St Peter's; and by his death the see was vacant eleven days.

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PASCHAL I.

A.D. 817-824.

PASCHAL, a Roman, son of Bonosus, was created Pope without any interposition of the emperor's authority. Whereupon at his first investiture in that office, he forthwith sends Nuncios to Louis, excusing himself, and laying all the blame upon the clergy and people of Rome, who had forcibly compelled him to undertake it. Louis, accepting this for satisfaction from Paschal, sends to the clergy and people, admonishing them to observe the ancient constitution, and to beware how they presumed for time to come to infringe the rights of the emperor. Also, in the assembly held at Aachen, he associated to himself in the empire his eldest son, Lotharius, and declared Pipin, his second son, king of Aquitain; and Louis, his third son, king of Bavaria. But Bernardus, king of Italy, having, upon the instigation of certain bishops and seditious citizens, revolted from the empire, and compelled some cities and states to swear allegiance to himself, Louis, being hereat incensed, sends a strong army into Italy; whose passage over the Alps Bernardus endeavouring to oppose, he was vanquished. The heads of the rebellion being taken, were presently cut off, and Bernardus himself, though he very submissively begged forgiveness, was put to death at Aachen. Those bishops who had been authors of the mischief were, by a decree of synod, confined into several monasteries. This tumult, for so it was rather than a war, being thus composed, Louis moves with his army against the Saxons rebelling now afresh, and overcomes and slays Viromarchus, their hardy chief, who aspired to the kingdom. After this, he sends his son Lotharius, whom he had declared king of Italy, to the Pope, by whom he was anointed in the church of St Peter's, with the title of

Augustus. But there arising great commotions in Italy, and Lotharius seeing himself unable to withstand them, he goes to his father in order to provide greater force. Upon which Theodorus the Primicerius, and Leo the Nomenclator, having had their eyes first pulled out, were murdered in a tumult in the Lateran Palace. There were some who laid the blame of this disorder upon Paschal himself; but he in a synod of thirty bishops did both by conjectures, and by reasons, and by his oath purge himself of it. Louis rested himself satisfied herewith, and as Anastasius tells us, that no future disturbance might arise from uncertain pretensions, writing to Paschal, he declared in his letters what cities of Tuscany were subject to the empire, viz., Arezzo, Volterra, Chiusi, Florence, which had been repaired and enlarged by his father, Charles the Great, Pistoia, Lucca, Pisa, Perugia, and Orvieto; the others he allowed to be under the jurisdiction of the Church of Rome. He added, moreover, Todi in Umbria, and Romagna beyond the Apennine, with the Exarchate of Ravenna. The same Anastasius says, that Louis granted to Paschal a free power (the same which he also tells us was given by Charles to Pope Adrian) of choosing bishops, whereas before the emperors were wont to be advised, and their consent and confirmation desired in the case. Our Paschal, who, for his piety and learning, had been by Pope Stephen made prior of the monastery of St Stephen in the Vatican, being now in the chair, both caused the bodies of several saints, which before lay neglectedly, to be conveyed into the city with great solemnity, and honourably interred; and also by paying their creditors procured the release of divers poor prisoners. He also built from the ground the church of St Praxedes the blessed martyr, not far from the old one, which, through age and the clergy's neglect, was run to ruin. This church having consecrated, he oftentimes celebrated mass in it, and also deposited therein the bodies of many saints which lay about unregarded in the cemeteries. In the same church was an oratory dedicated to St Agnes, which he made very stately and ornamental. Moreover, he built the church of St Cecilia (as appears still by an inscription on the nave of it), in which he in like manner reposited the bodies of that virgin herself, and her affianced husband, Valerianus, as also of Tiburtius and Maximus, martyrs, and Urban and Lucius, Bishops of Rome, adorning it with all

kinds of marble, and enriching it with presents of gold and silver. He also repaired the church of St Mary ad Præsepe, that had been decayed by age, and altered the nave of it to advantage. In fine, having been very exemplary for religion and piety, good nature and bounty, after he had been in the chair seven years, two months, seven days, he died, and was buried in St Peter's. The see was then vacant only four days.

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EUGENIUS II.

A.D. 824-827.

EUGENIUS the Second, a Roman, son of Boemundus, was for his sanctity, learning, humanity, and eloquence, unanimously[1] chosen into the pontificate, at that time particularly when Lotharius, coming into Italy, made choice of a magistrate for the administration of justice, and execution of the laws among the people of Rome, who after a long and heavy servitude, had enjoyed some liberty under the Emperor Charles and his sons. In the meantime Louis, after he had for forty days been spoiling and laying waste the country of Bretagne with fire and sword, having received hostages, he goes to Rouen, and there gives audience to the ambassadors of Michael, Emperor of Constantinople, who came to consult what his opinion was concerning the images of the saints, whether they were to be utterly abolished and destroyed, or kept up and restored again. But Louis referred them to the Pope, who was principally concerned to determine in the matter. After this he marched against the Bulgarians, who were now making inroads into the Pannonias, and at first repelled them; but Haydo, governor of Aquitain, upon confidence of auxiliary forces from Abderamann, king of the Saracens, having rebelled, he was obliged to quit this war, and so the Bulgarians, in a hostile manner, marched without control through the middle of the Pannonias into Dalmatia.

[1] Hardly unanimously. There was the imperialist party, comprising the nobles and the plebeians, more papal than the Popes themselves, who, scorning the subservience of the Popes to the German Emperor, were anxious for an independent pontiff. They put up one Zinzinnus, but the imperialist legate, by astute management, caused Eugenius to be elected, though he had to repress the popular voice with some sternness.—Ed.

But before Louis advanced against Haydo, a great part of Spain had revolted to Haydo, who sent out a fleet which annoyed the sea-port towns all about. Only Bernardus, Earl of Barcelona, though he had disturbance given him both by sea and land, yet continued firm to the emperor. Our Eugenius, excelling in the gifts of body and mind, and despising the goods of fortune, applied himself to works of bounty and munificence, and particularly took so much care in the matter of provision, that all sorts of it, and especially grain, was nowhere cheaper than at Rome. Moreover, he supported the lives and defended the cause of the poor, the fatherless, and widow, in such a manner that he deservedly gained the name of the Father of the Poor. The same course of living he also took before his pontificate, both while he was a priest of St Sabina in the Aventine, which church, when he came to be Pope, he beautified, and also while he was arch-priest of the Lateran Church, from which place he was afterwards for his great merit by an unanimous choice advanced to the papal chair. By his procurement and intercession likewise, all the prisoners and exiles in France returned at length to Rome, who, being stripped of all they had, were relieved and supported by his charity. Nor was it his fault that Sico, Duke of Beneventum, did not quit the siege of Naples, which he at this time reduced to great straits, and carried from thence the body of St Januarius to Beneventum, where he honourably deposited it in the great church with Desiderius and Festus. For the Pope endeavoured to persuade Sico to undertake an expedition against the Saracens, who had already possessed themselves of Palermo in Sicily. The good man, having after this manner continued four years in the pontificate, died lamented of all, who grieved for themselves rather than for him, to whom death was a welcome passage into happiness, and was buried in St Peter's.

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VALENTINE I.

A.D. 827.

VALENTINE, a Roman, son of Leontius, being only a deacon, not a priest, was yet for his extraordinary sanctity deservedly preferred to the pontificate. Nor will

it appear strange, if we consider that, having from his youth upwards been instructed in learning and piety by those good Popes, Paschal and Eugenius, he did not give his mind to pleasures and sports, as most young men are wont to do, but applied himself to the acquiring of knowledge by the reading of the ancients, and the rule of good living from the example of holy bishops. He was, moreover, a person of such ready parts and prevailing eloquence, that he had a great facility in persuading to or against what he pleased, without offering anything that was not sound, learned, and decent. Finally, both in his private station and while he was Pope, he came behind none of his predecessors in devotion, mercy, and charity. For these reasons he was unanimously elected to the chair; but possibly as a punishment upon the sins of that age, he died on the fortieth day of his pontificate, and was buried in St Peter's, all people lamenting that they were bereft of such a man, who, if he had lived, would have been an almost impregnable support to the Roman liberty and the Christian religion. While the see was vacant, Sicardus, Duke of Beneventum, who after his father's death ruled tyrannically, for the want of a bribe which he expected, cast Deus-dedit, abbot of Monte Cassino, into prison, where he died with the reputation of being a holy man.

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GREGORY IV.

A.D. 827-844.

GREGORY the Fourth, a Roman, son of John, and Cardinal of St Mark, entered upon the pontificate at the time when the Saracens possessed of Asia shut up the passage to the Holy Land from the Christians, and the Moors passing with their fleet into Sicily, wasted a great part of that island, having, as is already said, made themselves masters of Palermo. Nor could the Venetians—though at the desire of Michael, Emperor of Constantinople, they sailed thither — check their proceedings, the Moors having more ships and men than they. The state of Venice was now in its increase, having had its original from the Veneti, at the time when Attila, with his Huns, took and destroyed Aquileia, Concordia, Altino, with other cities of the

province anciently called Venetia; that people having no other defence against the cruelty of the barbarians but only the fens and marshes. Justinian Patricius was now Duke of Venice, whose name I therefore choose to mention, because in his time the body of St Mark was by some Venetian merchants brought from Alexandria to Venice, where that saint is now had in great veneration, a most magnificent church being, in the principal part of the city, built and dedicated to him, and adorned and enriched with very great donations. And from hence it was that the Venetians first bore upon their standards and banners the picture of St Mark as the patron of their city. But Gregory, understanding that the Venetians were not able to expel these barbarians out of the island, sends to Louis and Lotharius, desiring them to send aid to the Sicilians at the first opportunity. They were very shy of the business, alleging that that war belonged to Michael, Emperor of Constantinople, but yet declared themselves ready to contribute their share of men and money for the undertaking of it. But in the meantime, while ambassadors were sent from one to the other about that affair, Boniface, Earl of Corsica, with his brother Bertarius, and the assistance of some of the people of Tuscany, sailing into Africa, engaged four times with the enemy between Utica and Carthage, where he made so great a slaughter that the Moors were forced, as formerly in Scipio's time, to recall their forces from Sicily to the succour of their own country in distress; and by this means Sicily was delivered from them. Boniface then returns with his victorious fleet, laden with vast spoils, from Africa into Corsica. Some there are that write that during this peace in Italy, the Emperor Lotharius, envying the preference that his father Louis did in all matters give to his youngest brother Charles, afterwards surnamed the Bald, he put him in prison, but soon after set him free; and that the barbarians, taking hold of the oppor tunity, embarked in a great fleet from Africa for Italy, and arrived at Centum Cellæ, which city (since called Civita-vecchia) some will have to be demolished by them; and that from thence marching to Rome, they took that city; but this is not probable. What is said concerning Centum Cellæ I shall not deny, and I doubt not but that they attempted the taking of Rome itself; but Guy, Marquis of Lombardy, defended it so stoutly that, having burnt the

suburbs and the churches of St Peter and St Paul in the Via Latina, they withdrew to Monte Cassino, where they destroyed the town of St German and the monastery of St Benet, which stood on the hill; and going down to the seaside near the river Garigliano, whither their fleet was brought from Ostia, they invaded Tarentum and Sicily; and, as I said before, were recalled home by their own countrymen, at that time broken in war by the valour of Boniface. I take it to be about this time that the body of the apostle St Bartholomew was translated from Lipari in Sicily to Beneventum by Sicardus, prince of that place (who was personally present in this great war), lest the body of the holy apostle should fall into the hands of the enemies of the name of Christ. But to return to Gregory. He was a person of so much modesty that, though he were chosen as well by the clergy as people of Rome, yet he would not take upon him the office of Pope till he was confirmed by those ambassadors of the Emperor Louis, who had been despatched by him to Rome, that they might oversee an election of so great moment. This was not done by Louis out of pride, but with respect to the preservation of the imperial prerogative, he being naturally very kind and gracious, and one that always took care of the dignity and privileges of the Church. For he ordained that they who should take upon them a religious life should be exempt from all secular services, and that every church should be endowed with such a certain income, as that the priests might live without being forced for want of necessaries to forsake the Divine service or to take up any trade. Beside, in the year 830, he held a synod of a great many bishops, designed for the honour of God and the advantage of the Church, wherein it was ordained that neither bishops nor clergy of what degree soever should be clad in sumptuous and gaudy apparel, whether silk, scarlet, or embroidered; nor that they should wear on their fingers any precious stones (except prelates at mass), nor that gold or silver should be used on their girdles, shoes, or pantofles, which certainly is far from all religion and a manifest sign of great incontinence and vanity. Would to God, Louis, thou mightest live in our times. Thy holy institutions, thy censures are wanting in the Church at this present, when the clergy let themselves loose to all manner of luxury and pleasure. You may see now not only the men in scarlet and purple, which

perhaps, would be no great matter, but even their horses and beasts of carriage; and when they march in state a number of footmen must go before them, and they must be followed by another retinue of priests, not riding upon asses, as Christ did (Who was the author of our religion, and the only pattern of well-living on earth), but upon steeds pampered and betrapped as if they came in triumph from a vanquished enemy. It would be to no purpose to speak of their silver vessels, their choice household stuff and dishes of meat, when in comparison of them the dainties of Sicily, the most magnificent apparel and the plate of Corinth would be thought of no value. What will be the effect of this exorbitance I shall not determine here, lest I should seem to pry into the decrees of heaven. I return to Louis, who by these means taking care as well for religion as the public weal, died in the thirty-sixth year of his empire, and lies buried in the church of St Arnulphus. He was not long after followed by our Pope Gregory, remarkable for his birth, famous for his sanctity, notable for learning and eloquence, and worthy of admiration for his care and diligence in both spiritual and civil affairs: for he did after an extraordinary manner consult the good of the people, by containing the wealthy in their duty, by feeding the poor, comforting the hopeless, and reducing those that went astray into the right way by wholesome admonitions; he also restored many churches which time had ruined. Those that were admitted to holy orders he kept to their duty as long as he lived by his advice and example. This holy Pope translated the body of St Gregory, and very much adorning it he placed it where now it lies, where many people in those times, either out of devotion or for the sake of some vow, were wont to keep watch. It is said that the bodies of St Sebastian and Tiburtius were also translated by him from the cemeteries in which they lay before, to the church of St Peter. Some authors say that Gregory, at the request of Louis, instituted the feast of All-Saints on the first day of November, which act of his was much commended both in prose and verse by Rabanus, a monk, a famous divine; for in both those ways of writing that learned man was excellent, especially considering the age he lived in. The same Rabanus also wrote "Commentaries on the books of Chronicles and Maccabees." He made eloquent sermons to the people, but that of his is chiefly celebrated which he made

upon All-Saint's Day. Gregory died in the sixteenth year of his pontificate, and was buried in St Peter's Church, after which the see was void fifteen days.

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SERGIUS.

A. D. 844-847.

SERGIUS the Second, a Roman, whose father was named Sergius, of the fourth ward, came to the popedom in the second year of Michael III., Emperor of Constantinople. It is said that this Sergius was surnamed Bocca di Porco, or Hog's-mouth, which for shame of it he changed for Sergius, and that from thence came the custom down to our times, that when any one is made Pope he laid by his own name and took one of some of his predecessors, though all have not observed it. However it was, it is certain that Sergius came of a noble family and degenerated not from his ancestors, being assisted in his good inclinations by Leo III., Stephen IV., Eugenius II., and Gregory IV., under whose tuition he lived so well, that upon the death of Gregory he alone was thought worthy of the pontifical dignity. At that time there was so great a feud between the sons of Louis, about the division of the empire, that Louis and Charles gave their brother Lotharius battle in the country of Auxerre, near Fontenay, where many on both sides were slain; Lotharius losing the day, fled first to Aachen, but being forced from thence by the pursuing enemy, he conveyed himself with his wife and children to Vienna. Hither also he was followed by his brothers with their army, to whom not only many of the great men of the empire came, but several also were sent by Pope Sergius to endeavour to make peace between them, the chief of whom was George, Archbishop of Ravenna, who having been before to make up the matter, was present with Lotharius in the second battle, and the victory inclining to Charles and Louis, he lost all his train there (of 300 horsemen), and hardly escaped alone from the slaughter. But these men at last looking with pity upon the misery and ruin under which the whole empire lay, procured a peace upon these terms, viz., that the western part of the empire which reached from the British Ocean to the Maese, should be subject to Charles, and the

name of Franks should continue to the inhabitants; that all Germany, as far as the river Rhine, and so much on the other side of it as his father had been possessed of, should be allotted to Louis; and that Lotharius should, with the title of the emperor, hold the city of Rome, with Italy and that part of France which was formerly called Gallia Narbonensis, now Provence. To this they added that country lying between the rivers Scheld and Rhone, which, as I suppose, now took the name of Lotharingia [Lorain] from Lotharius. Matters being thus composed, Lotharius sends his son Louis, whom he had taken into a partnership in the empire, into Italy with a mighty army, giving him for companions Drogon, Bishop of Metz, and others of the clergy eminent for prudence and gravity, by whose advice he was to govern himself. But the young man, being puffed up with his great fortune, wheresoever he marched, filled the country with slaughter, rapine, and destruction. Yet when he approached the city, and the citizens of Rome came out of respect to meet him, laying by his Gaulish fierceness he grew more mild, because contrary to his expectation he found that he might enter the city without force of arms. The religious also came a mile out of the city to meet him with their crucifixes, singing, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, Hosanna in the highest." Thus they accompanied him as far as the steps of St Peter's Church, where, meeting the Pope, they reciprocally kissed and greeted each other and went together to the Silver Gates, which were not opened. Then said the Pope, "If thou comest hither with peaceable and friendly intentions, and if thou hast more regard to the advantage of Christianity than to the pleasure of exercising cruelty and rapine, then with my good will thou mayest enter; if thou art otherwise minded, touch not these gates, for over thy head hangs a sword, which will certainly avenge any such wickedness." But when he had given the Pope assurance, immediately the doors were thrown open. Hereupon a multitude of Romans and Franks entering pel-mel, as soon as they came to the altar of St Peter, they all kneeling down together gave thanks to God Almighty and to the prince of the apostles, that matters had been carried according to their minds without hurt to anybody; this was done upon the Monday after Whitsunday. But soon after the suburbs were sacked by the soldiers, and it wanted little but that they had got into the

city for the same end, so that the eighth day after their coming the Pope anointed Louis with the holy oil, crowned him and declared him king of Italy. Soon after came Siconolfus, Prince of Beneventum, to congratulate him, and then the multitude was such that the trees were lopped, the beasts driven away, and even the standing corn cut down, that their horses might not want provender. The Pope therefore easily agreed to all their requests, if they were reasonable, that he might the sooner rid the city of them: and the Romans being now delivered from the fear of their tyrannical barbarity, celebrated their Pope as the true vicar of Christ and the only father of his country. He betaking himself to the beautying of churches, restored that of St Sylvester and St Martin which time had ruined, and in it, together with those of the two confessors, he placed the bodies of Fabianus, Stephanus, Sotherius, Asterius, Cyriacus, Maurus, Smaragdus, Anastasius, Innocentius, Quirinus, Leo, Arthemius, Theodorus, and Nicander. He built also near that church from the foundation a monastery dedicated to St Peter and St Paul, where mass was incessantly sung. But at last this holy Pope having managed the affairs of the Church with great integrity and success, in the third year of his pontificate, died and was buried in St Peter's Church. The see was vacant upon his death fifteen days.

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LEO IV.

A.D. 847-855.

LEO the Fourth, a Roman, son of Radulphus, was in the year 847 by a general consent elected Pope, and very deservedly; for he was one that, whilst he lived a private life, was very eminent for religion, innocence, piety, good nature, liberality, and especially for ecclesiastical learning. He was a person of so much prudence and courage that, as the gospel directs, he could, when it was necessary, imitate either the wisdom of the serpent or the innocence of the dove. So general was the good report of him that Pope Sergius II. was persuaded to create this pattern of virtue a priest from a sub-deacon and to give him the title and church *sanctorum quatuor coronatorum*, from whence upon the death of Sergius

he was brought to the Lateran Church and placed in St Peter's chair, being universally saluted as Pope, all that were present, according to ancient custom, kissing his feet. There are some of opinion, that by the prayers of this good man it was that God was moved to repress the rage of the Saracens by drowning their fleet as they were returning home laden with spoil. For they having overcome Theodotius, admiral to the Emperor Michael in a sea fight near Tarentum, ravaged far and near through Italy without opposition, and having taken and sacked Ancona and harassed the coast of Dalmatia, when they were returning triumphantly to their own country, it pleased God they were cast away at sea by storm. So that Leo, being free from his fear of the Saracens, betook himself to public works, and caused benches of marble to be placed in the entrance to the Lateran cloister and finished the gallery which Leo III. had begun. This good prelate ordained that yearly in the church of St Paul, on the birthday of that Apostle, vespers should be said by all the clergy. He prohibited all laymen entrance into the chancel during divine service. About this time at his command solemn supplications were made to avert God's anger, which the frequent earthquakes seemed to threaten. He adorned, after an extraordinary manner, the cross which Charles the Emperor had given to the Basilica Constantiniana, which had been pilfered of the precious stones that belonged to it. It is sure he was a man of so great sanctity, that by his prayers he drove away out of an arch in St Lucie's Church, a basilisk (called by the Latins Regulus), which with its breath and poison had killed many; and by the sign of the cross he stopped a great fire, which had burned down the quarter where the Saxons and Lombards lived, and reached very near St Peter's Church. This happened the eighth day after the assumption of our Lady, which day was afterward kept as a festival without the walls not far from St Laurence's Church, where stood a church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, to which this munificent Pope had made many donaries of gold and silver. Beside this he finished the mosaic work in the churches of St Martin and St Silvester in montibus, and the pargetting which Sergius had begun, as the inscription shows which is all that is left; the painting being long since perished either for want of care or by time and rottenness. He took care also that the cross of gold which is usually borne before the Pope, was decked with precious stones,

and neglected no manner of ornament that might contribute to the honour of the Christian name. He re-edified the city walls and gates that had suffered by age, and raised from the ground fifteen forts for the defence of the city; of which two were very necessary—one on the right, the other on the left hand of the Tiber below the hills Janiculus and Aventinus, to hinder the ships of any enemy from entering the town. He by his diligence found out the bodies of the *sancti quatuor coronati*, and built a church to them after a magnificent manner; and reposited their bodies under the altar, viz., Sempronianus, Claudius, Nicostratus, Castorius; to which he added those of Severus, Severianus, Carpophorus, Victorinus, Marius, Felicissimus, Agapetus, Hippolytus, Aquila, Priscus, Aquinus, Narcissus, Marcellinus, Felix, Apollos, Benedict, Venantius, Diogenes, Liberalis, Festus, Marcellus (the head of St Protus), Cecelia, Alexander, Sixtus, Sebastian, Praxedes. But while he was diligently intent upon these affairs, as became so holy a man, news was brought that the Saracens were coming with a huge fleet to sack the city, and that the Neapolitans and the inhabitants upon that shore would come to his assistance; whereupon with what forces he could raise he marched to Ostia, and summoned thither the auxiliaries, designing upon the first opportunity to fight the enemy. But first this holy Pope exhorted his soldiers to receive the sacrament, which being devoutly performed, he prayed to God thus, "O God, whose right hand did support the blessed Peter when he walked upon the waves, and saved him from drowning, and delivered from the deep his fellow-apostle Paul when he was thrice shipwrecked, hear us mercifully and grant that for their merits, the hands of these Thy faithful ones fighting against the enemies of Thy holy Church, may by Thy almighty arm be confirmed and strengthened; that Thy holy name may appear glorious before all nations in the victory that shall be gained." Having pronounced this, by making the sign of the cross he gave the signal for battle, and the onset was made by his soldiers with great briskness as if they had been sure of victory, which after a tedious dispute was theirs, the enemies being put to flight; many of them perished in the fight, but most were taken alive and brought to Rome; where the citizens would have some of them hanged without the city for a terror to the rest, very much against the mind of Leo, who was very remarkable for gentleness and clemency,

but it was not for him to oppose the rage of a multitude. Those that were taken alive Leo made use of in re-edifying those churches which the Saracens had heretofore ruined and burnt, and in building the wall about the Vatican, which from his own name he called Urbs Leonina. This he did lest the enemy should with one slight assault take and sack the church of St Peter, as heretofore they were wont. The gates also had his prayers, for upon that which leads to St Peregrin this was graven in marble, "O God, who by giving to Thy apostle St Peter the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven didst confer upon him the pontifical authority of binding and loosing, grant that by the help of his intercession we may be delivered from all mischievous attempts, and that this city which now with Thy assistance I have newly founded may be free for ever from thine anger, and may have many and great victories over those enemies against whom it is built." And on the second gate near St Angelo that leads into the fields were these words, "O God, who from the beginning of the world didst vouchsafe to preserve and establish this holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Rome, mercifully blot out the hand-writing of our iniquity, and grant that this city which we, assisted by the intercession of the apostles Peter and Paul, have newly dedicated to Thy holy name, may remain secure from the evil machinations of its enemies." The third was on the front of the gate by which we go to the Saxon school, in these words, "Grant, we beseech thee, almighty and merciful God, that crying to Thee with our whole heart, and the blessed apostle Peter interceding for us, we may obtain Thy favour. We continually beg of Thy mercy, that the city which I, Thy servant Leo IV., Bishop of Rome, have dedicated anew and called Leonina from my own name, may continue safe and prosperous." This city he began in the first year of his pontificate and finished in his sixth, and gave it to be a habitation for the men of Corsica, who had been driven out of that island by the Saracens, to each of whom also he assigned a piece of ground for his maintenance. But I wonder now that another inscription is to be read on these gates in dull hexameter verse, which I cannot by any means think to be Leo's, though it go under his name. Of the spoils of the Saracens he made several donations of gold and silver to the churches of Rome. Some write that it was by his command that St Mary's Church in the new street

and the tower in the Vatican next St Peter's now to be seen, were built. Beside he restored the silver door of St Peter which had been pillaged by the Saracens. He held a synod of forty-seven bishops, wherein Anastasius, presbyter cardinal of St Marcellus, was by the papal canons convicted of several crimes, upon which he was condemned and excommunicated, the chief allegation being that for five years he had not resided in his parish. Moreover he brought colonies from Sardinia and Corsica (which now upon the repulse of the Saracens had some respite) and planted them in Ostia, which partly by reason of the unhealthiness of the air and partly by being so often plundered was left without inhabitants. Lastly, he fully satisfied Lotharius, who having been informed that Leo was upon a design of translating the empire to the Constantinopolitans, came himself to Rome. But the informers being caught in lies received condign punishment, and the friendship was on both sides renewed. It is said that Johannes Scotus, a learned divine, lived at this time, who coming into France, by the command of King Louis, translated St Dionysius's book "de Hierarchia" out of Greek into Latin, but was soon after (as they say) stabbed with a bodkin by some of his scholars: but the occasion of this villanous act is not anywhere recorded. It is said too, that now Ethelwulf, King of England, out of devotion, made his country tributary to the Church of Rome, by charging a penny yearly upon every house. Our holy Pope Leo having deserved well of the Church of God, of the city of Rome, and of the whole Christian name for his wisdom, gravity, diligence, learning, and the magnificence of his works, died in the eighth year, third month, and sixth day of his pontificate, on the 17th day of July, and was buried in St Peter's Church. The see was then void two months and fifteen days.

JOHN VIII.

JOHN, of English extraction, but born at Mentz, is said to have arrived at the Popedom by evil arts; for disguising herself like a man, whereas she was a woman, she went when young with her paramour, a learned man, to Athens,

and made such progress in learning under the professors there, that, coming to Rome, she met with few that could equal, much less go beyond her, even in the knowledge of Scriptures; and by her learned and ingenious readings and disputations, she acquired so great respect and authority, that upon the death of Leo (as Martin says), by common consent she was chosen Pope in his room. As she was going to the Lateran Church, between the Colossean theatre (so called from Nero's colossus) and St Clement's, her travail came upon her, and she died upon the place, having sat two years, one month, and four days, and was buried there without any pomp. This story is vulgarly told, but by very uncertain and obscure authors, and therefore I have related it barely and in short, lest I should seem obstinate and pertinacious if I had omitted what is so generally talked; I had better mistake with the rest of the world; though it be certain, that what I have related may be thought not altogether incredible. Some say that at this time the body of St Vincent was brought by a monk from Valentia, in Spain, to a villiage in Albigeois, in France. They say, too, that Lotharius, being now aged, taking on him a monastic habit, left the empire to his son Louis, who passing into Germany, by his presence composed matters there which otherwise threatened a war.[1]

BENEDICT III.

A.D. 855-858.

BENEDICT the Third, by birth a Roman, son of Peter; he was deservedly called Benedictus for the sanctity of his life and his knowledge in divinity. For while he lived under Gregory, he was made by him sub-deacon, and thence-forward led so exemplary a life, that, upon the death of Leo, he only was thought worthy to succeed so great a Pope. To him therefore they address themselves, as to a kind angel by God sent down to them, and presently declare him Pope. He, weeping and calling God and His holy saints to witness, professed himself utterly unworthy of so high a dignity. But the election being universally liked and applauded, he at last unwillingly accepted of the office, was brought to the Lateran

[1] This story is now universally rejected.—ED.

and placed in St Peter's chair, whence he was led upon a white horse to the church of St Mary Maggiore, where he spent three days in fasting and prayer, begging God to grant that he might govern His Church with integrity and holiness. The third day past, the people came thither again, and according to custom kissed his feet, especially those of the faction of Rhodoardus, Bishop of Porto, who the day before had attempted to set up, instead of Benedict, one Anastasius, an obscure man, who had been turned out of his bishopric by Leo; but now finding their error, they asked pardon, and becoming of the right opinion, they also made the usual adoration to this holy man, as likewise did the ambassadors sent to Rome by the Emperor Louis to confirm the election of the clergy and laity. The next day he was attended by the people to St Peter's Church, where being, according to custom and ancient tradition, publicly consecrated, he received the insignia of his office with unanimous shouts and acclamations. For he was a man of so sweet a temper, and so great modesty, both in his mind and aspect, that, as well in his public managements as in his private station, he gained the love and respect of all men. And now setting his mind on the service of God, he repaired many churches almost tottering with age, and increased their treasures. He ordained that the Pope and clergy should accompany the funerals of bishops, priests, and deacons, as well to honour their corpse as to pray for their souls; and that the clergy should in like manner attend the funerals of Popes; and what he had thus ordained, himself observed punctually as long as he lived, for he was always present at the burials of the priests. He was a frequent visitor of the sick, a nursing father to the poor, a comforter of the miserable and hopeless, a zealous patron of the widow and fatherless. And in thus doing, having spent a most holy life, late enough for himself, but too soon for the people of Rome, he died, having sat two years, six months, and nine days, and was buried before St Peter's church-doors. The see then was vacant fifteen days.

NICOLAS I. [The Great.]

A.D. 858-867.

NICOLAS the First, a Roman born, son of Theodosius, was ingenuously and religiously educated from his childhood, and made, first sub-deacon by Sergius, then deacon by Leo, in which order he stood, when, with great piety and many tears, he laid the body of Benedict in the grave, whose exequies being performed, it was necessary to think of a successor; and the people hereupon pressed the Divine Majesty with prayers, watchings and fastings, that he would vouchsafe them as good a Pope as him they had lost. After a long consultation in the church of St Denis, Pope and Confessor, (where they convened for this purpose), they chose this Nicolas Pope; but he was absent, and upon hearing the news fled into the Vatican, and there hid himself to avoid the dignity, where at length they found him, brought him to the Lateran, and placed him, however unwilling, in the apostolical chair. Being consecrated in St Peter's Church, and, agreeably to custom, having put on the pontifical mitre, he concerted several affairs with the Emperor Louis relating to the Popedom and to the Empire.[1] Louis afterwards leaving Rome, stayed at a place the Romans call Quinto, whither it is said Nicolas went, attended by the great men of the city, and was honourably received, for the Emperor came a mile to

[1] During this important pontificate, the growing power of the see was shown by the prohibition of the divorce of King Lothair of Lorraine from his queen, Theulberga, as well as by the struggle between the Pope and the northern prelates, headed by Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, terminating in the Pope's favour. To this must be added the circumstance of an Eastern quarrel. Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, was unjustly deposed for reproving the Emperor for his wicked life, and Photius was elevated to his throne. Ignatius, weak and unprotected, appealed to Pope Nicolas, who took high ground, declared Photius an intruder, and called upon the faithful to recognise his authority, and obey his commands to restore Ignatius. (*See* Robertson, "Ch. His.," Book iv., ch. 3.) To this pontificate belong the Forged Decretals, a collection of letters and decrees purporting to be the work of successive Popes, beginning with St Clement, claiming for the Roman see the fullest authority, and asserting or assuming the whole dogmatic system of the Roman Church. That they are forgeries is now admitted (*see* "Cath. Dictionary," *s.v.* "False Decretals"), but they passed unquestioned for several generations. They were probably manufactured at Maine, and played a large part in the Pope's battle with Hincmar.—Ed.

meet him, and alighting, took his horse-bridle in his hand and led him into the camp. And, indeed, he was a man of so great veneration and majesty, and of so much learning and eloquence, that, like the Deity, he forced respect from all men. After some repast, they held a long and private conference, and then having kissed each other, the Pope returned to Rome; which he found so overflowed by an extraordinary rise of the Tiber, that there was no passing from street to street but in boats. St Laurence's Church and the monastery of St Sylvester, with all the low part between Via Lata, Campidogliò, and the Aventine, was so much under water, that another deluge was feared; many houses were borne down by it, trees forced up by the roots, and corn that was sown quite washed away; and the same happened again the same year in December. To make up these losses, or to make them more tolerable, the Pope omitted no manner of good office or kindness to the citizens. At this time Michael, son of Theophilus, Emperor of Constantinople, sent ambassadors with presents to Rome, to visit the apostolic see and his Holiness. The presents were a large paten and chalice of gold with precious stones of great value. This was that Michael who, having taken Basilius to be his partner in the empire, was murdered by him, that he might reign alone. His ambassadors were kindly received, and sent home with presents. Nicolas, being earnestly intent upon the conservation of the pontifical dignity, deprived John, Archbishop of Ravenna, for refusing to obey a citation from the apostolic chair to answer some accusations. Whereupon he goes to Pavia, and procures of the Emperor Louis commendatory letters to the Pope, and to his ambassadors, that they should get leave that the Archbishop John should have a safe conduct to come to Rome and plead his own cause, which the Pope readily granted; and John, in a great convention of prelates, being allowed liberty of speech, only confessed himself guilty, and begged pardon of the Pope and of all that were present. By which confession, and the intercession of the auditors, the Pope was persuaded to receive him into favour upon these conditions: that he should recant his error before the Synod; that he should promise to come to Rome once a year, if possible; that he should not be capable of consecrating any bishop in Romagna, however canonically elected, without leave first obtained from the see apostolic; and that he should not hinder

any of those bishops from coming to Rome as often as they pleased; that he should not introduce any exaction, custom, or usage contrary to the sacred canons; and lastly, that under the penalty of anathema he should not alter or meddle with the treasure of holy Church without the consent of the Pope, nor should without the same allowance receive anything secular. These holy institutions were so highly approved by the whole Synod, that thrice they all shouted, "Righteous is the judgment of the supreme prelate, just is the decree of the universal bishop; all Christians agree to this wholesome institution. We all say, think, and judge the same thing." Then John, in the sight of them all, took his oath, and gave it under his hand that he would observe the articles. Thus the convocation was dissolved, and John returned to Ravenna. The Pope, having overcome this trouble, rebuilt the Church of our Lady (then called the *old*, afterwards the *new*, church), and adorned it with excellent paintings. He, by letters and good admonitions, converted the King of Bulgaria to the Christian faith, with all his realm, to whom he sent bishops and priests to confirm the young proselytes, driving out Photius, who had craftily disseminated erroneous opinions among them. He procured a peace between Louis the Emperor, and Andalisio, Duke of Beneventum, and repelled the Saracens, who had made an incursion as far as the same Beneventum. Lastly, with the consent of the Emperor, he decreed that no emperor or other layman should thrust himself into any convocation of the clergy, except the debate was concerning matters of faith, and then his opinion was that they might reasonably be present. It is said that at this time St Cyril brought the body of St Clement from the Chersonese in Pontus, to Rome, and placed it in the church now called St Clement's, where, a little while after, himself also was buried. Nicolas now, who was a great exemplar of all the virtues one man could be endued with, died, the ninth year, ninth month, and thirteenth day of his pontificate, and was buried, according to his last will, in St Peter's Church porch.

HADRIAN II.

A.D. 867-872.

HADRIAN the Second, a Roman, son of Talarus a bishop, was a familiar friend of Pope Sergius, who having once given him forty julios, when he came home he gave them to his steward to give to the beggars and poor strangers that were at his door; which the steward going to do, saw the number was so great, that it would not serve a quarter of them, and so he returned and told Hadrian: who hereupon takes the money, and coming to the poor folks, gave every one three julios, and reserved to himself as many for his own use; at which miracle the steward being astonished, "Dost thou see," says Hadrian, "how good and bountiful the Lord is to those that are liberal and charitable to the poor?" By this and other virtues he grew into so high estimation with all men, that when the consultation was held for making a new Pope, they unanimously elected him, and brought him against his will from the church of St Mary ad Præsepe to the Lateran, and immediately created him pope, not regarding the consent of any person in a proceeding so tumultuary: which gave great offence to the ambassadors of the emperor, who came on purpose upon this occasion, but could not (as they ought) interpose the imperial authority in this election. But satisfaction was made to them by remonstrating that it was impossible in so great a tumult to moderate the violent inclinations of the multitude; they were desired therefore to concur with the clergy and people, and, according to custom, to congratulate as Pope this excellent man whom they had chosen; this at last the ambassadors did, though they saw plainly that the clergy and people did arrogate to themselves the full power of creating a Pope, without expecting the consent of any temporal prince; and this perhaps in order to enlarge the liberties of holy Church by making it a custom. Soon after arrived letters from Louis, highly applauding this action of the Romans, and commending them that they had proceeded so religiously and sincerely in this affair, without waiting for the approbation of any one, whose ignorance of the fitness of the candidates might render them incompetent judges in the case. "For how," said he, "can it be that one that is a foreigner and a stranger, should be able in another

country to distinguish who is most worthy? To the citizens, therefore, does it properly belong, and to those who have had familiarity with, and knowledge of, the competitors." Hadrian then being made Pope, took diligent care of all matters relating to religion, and by word, example, and authority, both of himself and his predecessors, exhorted all men to good and holy lives; particularly he showed himself a strenuous defender of those that had been oppressed by injustice and the power of great men. He caused a Council to be called at Constantinople; the sentence against Photius was renewed. In this Council a long debate was held, whether the Bulgarians (whose ambassadors were present) should be subject to the Roman or Constantinopolitan see; and by the favour of the Emperor Basilius, they were adjudged to the see of Rome, whereupon the Bulgarians, making their applications to Hadrian, that some man of good life and ability might be sent into their country, by whose authority and example they might be retained in the Christian faith, he sent three most religious men with plenary power to settle the churches there as they should see fit.[1] They were Sylvester, the sub-deacon, Leopardus of Ancona, and Dominic of Trevisa, who soon composed the whole affair to the Pope's mind; though it was not long ere the Bulgarians, corrupted with gifts and promises by the Constantinopolitans, expelled the Latin priests and received the Greeks; and this sedition gave occasion to many quarrels betwixt the Greeks and Latins. Hadrian, still opposing himself to all the enemies of the Church as much as was possible, when he was about to anoint Charles Emperor, in the room of Louis now deceased, died himself in the fifth year, ninth month, and twelfth day of his popedom. A little before his death it rained blood for three days together at Brescia, and France was miserably wasted with locusts; both certain presages of his much lamented death.

[1] A very different version of this Bulgarian episode will he found in Robertson, "Ch. Hist.," ii. 368-393.—ED.

JOHN VIII.

A.D. 872-882.

JOHN the Eighth, a Roman, son of Gundo, as soon as he was made Pope, declared Charles (surnamed the Bald, who came to Rome for that purpose) emperor, which so enraged the sons of his elder brother Louis, King of Germany (Charles, surnamed the Gross, and Carloman), that, levying an army, they invade Italy, resolving to deprive their uncle of his crown and life. Charles hereupon makes haste towards Verona with his forces, intending to cut off the passage of his nephews by Trent, but was taken ill at Mantua and there poisoned (as it was thought) by one Zedechias a Jew, whom he made use of for a physician. Upon this news Pope John used his utmost endeavour that Charles's son Louis (surnamed the Stammerer), King of France, might be made emperor; but the great men of Rome opposed it, desiring rather that Charles III., King of Germany, might succeed, who, with his brother Carloman, had now overrun a great part of Italy. So great was the sedition, that though many favoured Louis, yet they took the Pope and clapped him in prison. But by the help of some friends he soon made his escape into France to Louis, where he stayed a year, anointed him king, and ended some controversies depending between the ecclesiastics. For Gibertus, Bishop of Nismes, had by force turned Leo, an abbot, out of his monastery. This monastery was dedicated to St Peter, and in it lay buried the body of St Giles; it is situated in a place called Flaviano, from a valley of that name given to St Giles by a certain king named Flavius, and he built there a monastery to the honour of Saints Peter and Paul. The Pope, in the presence of many bishops and judges, heard the cause, and adjudged the monastery to Leo. This was done at Arles, from whence John, departing with the approbation of Louis, held a Council at Troyes, where he made several decrees about religious affairs, and appointed a bishop for the Flemings, who, having left their woods and fastnesses, now betook themselves to an orderly way of living. But Italy all this while being harassed by the Saracens, who had taken and plundered the monastery of Monte Cassino, John was called home to Rome, and, with the help of some Christian princes,

drove the greatest part of them out of Italy and Sicily; and at last, that he might live the more quietly in the city, he placed the imperial crown on the head of Charles III., who quickly after, marching against the Normans, then infesting the borders of France and Loraine, defeated them, so that their king, Rothifredus, was forced to sue for peace, and to become a Christian, the Emperor himself being his godfather, and taking him into favour. This writes Anastasius, the Roman library-keeper, who was then highly in vogue, being so skilful in both tongues, that by the persuasion of the Emperor Charles he translated out of Greek into elegant Latin the seventh general council and Dionysius the Areopagite's book, "De Hierarchiâ," with the lives of several saints. Some say that this Charles built many monasteries and was liberal to the Church; but it is certain that it was his particular commendation that he put many learned men upon writing, for Milo, a monk of St Amand, wrote the life of that saint very exactly, and Johannes Scotus did very solidly and acutely handle many points of our religion; nor was our Pope John without desert in the same way, having, while he was deacon, excellently composed the life of Gregory I. in four books. When he had sat ten years and two days he died, and was buried in St Peter's Church.

MARTIN II.

A.D. 882-884.

MARTIN the Second, a Frenchman, son of Palumbus, succeeded John. Some, perhaps deceived by the likeness of the names, called him Marinus. This Martin (the story of whose life is so short because of the small time he held the chair) was Pope at the time when the sons of Basilius, Leo, and Alexander were Emperors in the East, and Charles III. in the West, who, we told you, was crowned by John VIII., and who broke the forces of the Normans infesting France in so many battles, that he forced them to submit to him and receive the Christian faith. Some write that it was this Martin that, with his tricks (of which somewhat will be said in the life of Formosus), did so plague Pope John with seditions as to get him thrown into prison and force him to fly. But having by ill means gotten the Popedom, he soon died,

having sat but one year and five days, and in that time doing nothing remarkable, either because his time was short, or because no occasion offered itself from whence he could acquire repute, except we may suppose it to be the will of God that those who attain to power by indirect means should lose that true glory which is the chief aim of every good prince.

HADRIAN III.

A.D. 884-885.

HADRIAN the Third, a Roman, son of Benedict, was a man of so great a spirit, that immediately upon his entrance on the Popedom he proposed to the Senate and people that a law should pass that no regard should hereafter be given to the authority of the Emperor in the creation of any Pope, but that the election of the clergy and people should be free. This institution was rather attempted than begun before by Nicolas I., as was said; but I believe Hadrian took now the opportunity, when the Emperor Charles was marching with his army out of Italy against the rebellious Normans. He went with a design utterly to extirpate that unquiet people; but perceiving that would be difficult, and not to be done without great slaughter of his own men, he granted them that part of France to live in which lies beyond the river Seine, and is still called, from the name of the people, Normandy. They were bound to pay a yearly tribute to the crown of France, to mind them that they stood possessed of the country, not by their own power, but by the bounty of the Emperor Charles. At this time William, surnamed the Godly, Duke of Aquitain and Earl of Auvergne, not having any heirs male, began magnificently to build the monastery of Clugny,[1] in his father's manor, in a village of Burgundy, and made Berno abbot of the place, having set out an income for the maintenance of the monks; but he dying left it unfinished, having constituted Ebbo, Earl of Poictou, his heir, who should take care, according to his last will, of the whole matter. And now Hadrian, of whom, for his courage and haughty spirit,

[1] This is an error. The monastery of Clugny was not founded until 912.—ED.

the clergy and people of Rome had conceived so great hopes, died in the first year and second month of his Popedom, and was buried in St Peter's Church, with the general lamentation of the people for the unseasonable loss of such a father.

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STEPHEN VI.

A.D. 885-891.

STEPHEN the Sixth, a Roman, son of one Hadrian, of the Via Lata, was made Pope at the time when the Normans, assisted by the Danes, contrary to their treaties, had well-nigh overrun all France. For fear of these invaders the body of St Martin was carried from Tours to Auxerre, and placed in the church of St German; which begot a feud among the monks, who could not agree by the name of which of the two saints the church should be called. To solve this doubt, they took this way: They set a leper in the midst between the two saints' bodies, who grew whole only on that side which was towards St Martin, and then turning the other side towards him, he was quite healed. This miracle determined the controversy, which St German is thought to have suffered his new guest to perform, lest it should be thought that the body had lost any of its sanctity by being translated. Authors say that during this Pope's time Charles the Gross, who had been emperor twelve years, was deposed by his nobles for his sloth and dulness, and Arnulphus, his nephew, was set up in his stead, who was the seventh emperor from Charles the Great. This troublesome state of things tempted the Huns, a Scythian nation (according to Vincentius and Martinus), to make a descent into Pannonia, where, joining their brother-tribe, the Hungari, they possessed themselves of the country, driving thence the Gepidi and Avares: and from hence marching with their forces into Germany, they pierced as far as Burgundy, destroying all with fire and sword. Stephen, in this confusion of affairs, was yet not a little comforted with the sanctity of Luithprandus, deacon of Pavia, Waldrad of Bavaria, and Bernard of Picardy, by whose lives and conversation the Christian religion got so great reverence that many monasteries and churches were sumptuously built throughout France. In the sixth year and

eleventh day of his papacy, he died, and the see was vacant five days.

FORMOSUS.

A.D. 891-896.

FORMOSUS, Bishop of Porto, succeeded Stephen, and in the beginning of his pontificate adorned St Peter's Church with some slight paintings. This Formosus had formerly, for fear of Pope John, left his bishopric and fled to France; and denying to return when he was recalled, he was anathematized, and then coming to Rome he was deprived of all his preferments ecclesiastical, and put on profane manners with his secular habit. Some think the reason that Formosus was thus persecuted was for that he was a party, if not ring-leader, of the faction that put John into prison. However, Formosus was so enraged at this hard usage, that he swore he would never return either to Rome or to his bishopric; but Pope Martin, who succeeded John, absolved him from his oath, and restored him to his country and to his former dignity, whence not long after he came to the Popedom, rather by bribery than for the sake of any good that was in him, many men opposing his election. Arnulphus now, the seventh emperor from Charles the Great, as we said before, marching valiantly against the still rebellious Normans, gave them several overthrows, but was too much puffed up with his success and became so intolerably imperious to all men, especially to the clergy, that it pleased God he died soon after of the lousie disease; in whose room Louis was put up for emperor, but we read not he was ever crowned, for (as Martinus writes) Berengarius, Duke of Friuli, descended of the old kings of Lombardy, renewing his claim to the kingdom of his ancestors, and bringing his pretensions to the decision of war, though at first he was overcome by Louis, yet giving him battle again at Verona, Louis was vanquished, and, with great slaughter of his men, being taken prisoner, had his eyes put out. And thus the empire which the Franks had enjoyed almost one hundred years, was transferred to the Lombards, Constantine, the son of Leo, being Emperor of the East.[1] I know not how

[1] Inaccurate; Leo was on the throne from 886-911, when Constantine succeeded him.—ED.

it fell out, that at this same time that the emperors showed so little courage, the Popes too were as greatly wanting in virtue and integrity, which rendered those times very miserable, subjects being very apt (as Plato says) to follow the examples of their princes. I return to Formosus, whose times (lest they should have been the most unhappy that ever were) were honoured with the learning and good life of Remigius of Auxerre, who wrote divers commentaries, especially upon the gospel of St Matthew and St Paul's epistles. Some say indeed, that that author was not the person of whom I speak, but Remigius of Rheims; however that be, it is certain they were both very learned men. Formosus died in the fifth year and sixth month of his pontificate, and the see was vacant two days.

BONIFACE VI.

A.D. 896.

BONIFACE the Sixth, a Tuscan, was created Pope in the room of the deceased Formosus, but how long he continued in the papacy is a great question, for some writers say longer, others say shorter. I am of opinion with the most, that he sat but twenty-six days, and that which makes me think so is, that historians make little or no mention at all of him; and how can it be, that (as some say) he should sit twelve years in the chair of St Peter, and yet his reign be past over unregarded? I have placed him therefore in the catalogue of Popes, not for anything done by him, for he did nothing (indeed what could be expected to be done in so short a time?), but because he was regularly and canonically elected Pope. He died, as I said before, in the twenty-sixth day of his pontificate, and was buried in St Peter's Church.

STEPHEN VII.

A.D. 896-897.

STEPHEN the Seventh, a Roman, Bishop of Anagni, being made Pope, persecuted the memory of Formosus with so much spite, that he abrogated his decrees and rescinded all

he had done, though it is said that it was Formosus that conferred the Bishopric of Anagni upon him. But this I take to be the effect of his ambition; the clergy being come to that pass, that they were so far from needing compulsion, as formerly, to take upon them the pontificate, that now they sought it with bribery; and hence it was that Stephen, because Formosus had hindered him before of this desired dignity, exercised his rage even upon his dead body; for Martin the historian says he hated him to that degree, that in a council which he held, he ordered the body of Formosus to be dragged out of the grave, to be stripped of his pontifical habit and put into that of a layman, and then to be buried among secular persons, having first cut off those two fingers of his right hand, which are principally used by priests in consecration, and thrown them into the Tiber, because contrary to his oath, as he said, he had returned to Rome and exercised his sacerdotal function, from which Pope John had legally degraded him. This proved a great controversy, and of very ill example; for the succeeding Popes made it almost a constant custom either to break or abrogate the acts of their predecessors, which was certainly far different from the practice of any of those good Popes whose lives we have written. In our own time, Paul II., a Venetian, had like to have taken upon him the name of Formosus (which would have been agreeable enough to him, being a proper man and of a venerable aspect), but that the Cardinals, remembering this story, dissuaded him, lest that should happen to him after his death which did to this Formosus; but Paul was hardly wrought upon, as thinking nothing but this name to be wanting to his felicity. Meantime the Emperor of Constantinople, taking occasion from the sloth of the Popes, sends one Symbaticus, a nobleman, his sword-bearer, with an army into Italy, who, after a siege of three months, takes Beneventum, after it had been in the possession of the Lombards three hundred and thirty years; but three years after, Guy, of Lombardy, retook it, and drove out the Greeks, and so it fell to the Lombards again. But to return to Stephen, he died in the first year and third month of his papacy, and the see was vacant three days after his death.

ROMANUS.

A.D. 897-898.

ROMANUS, a Roman, as soon as he was got into the pontificate, disavowed and rescinded all the acts and decrees of Stephen. And indeed these popelings[1] studied nothing else but to extinguish the memory and honour of their predecessors, than which nothing is more mischievous or a more certain sign of a narrow soul; for they that trust to such tricks as these are only such as, wanting all manner of virtue, endeavour to rob the well-deserving of that fame which themselves can never attain to. Indeed, you shall never find any man envying the good name of another, but one that, being obnoxious to all manner of reproach, is hopeless of rendering his own name honourable to posterity. Such men as these maliciously, falsely, and craftily backbite, slander, and find fault with those that have deserved well of mankind, like useless and cowardly dogs that dare not seize a wild beast, but will venture to snap at them when they are fast chained. I was obliged, however, at least to mention this Pope Romanus, because he obtained St Peter's chair after the ordinary manner, in which, after he had sat three months, he died.

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THEODORUS II.

A.D. 898.

THEODORE the Second, a Roman, followed the steps of these mutineers, for he restored the decrees of Formosus and preferred his friends. Arnulphus (according to some writers) still ruled in Italy, and in France Charles the Simple, Constantine, the son of Leo, being emperor of the East, at which time the Saracens, invading Apulia, possessed themselves of Mount St Angelo, and took abundance of men and cattle; but the Italians hastily got together an army, set upon them and recovered all with great slaughter of the enemies. While affairs went thus in Italy, William, Earl of Angoulême, surnamed Sector-ferri, of the lineage of Charles the Bald,

[1] "Pontificuli." Ed. 1551.

ordered the relics, which had been taken from the Chartreux Friars at the time of the Norman invasion, to be restored, for now that the Normans were quieted, he perceived there would be some uproar about them if they were not restored. Who the Normans were is not on all hands agreed: but they are said to have come into France from Norway. Theodorus, in the twentieth day of his papacy, died, leaving, through the shortness of his time, nothing memorable of himself.

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JOHN IX.

A. D. 898-900.

JOHN the Ninth, a Roman, was next created Pope, and immediately reasserted the cause of Formosus, a great part of the people of Rome being against it, who raised such a tumult that it wanted little of a battle. He therefore removed to Ravenna, where, calling a Synod of seventy-four bishops, he damns all that Stephen had done, and restores the decrees of Formosus, declaring it irregularly done of Stephen to re-ordain those on whom Formosus had conferred holy orders. These Popes, by their constant inobservance of all apostolic practices, were the occasions (in my opinion) of these turmoils, especially joining with that the cowardice and negligence of the princes of Christendom; whose interest it was that the ship of St Peter should labour with tempests, that so the master, being unable to animadvert upon them, might throw them, like naughty mariners, overboard. Arnulphus was immersed in pleasures, and Charles, King of France, was truly worthy of his surname of Simple, or rather blockhead. So that the Hungari, a fierce and wild people, tempted by this prospect of things, with a formidable army invade first Italy, then Germany and France, without any considerable resistance, consuming all with fire and sword, and sparing no sex or age wherever they marched. The Moors, too, invaded Calabria, of a great part whereof they possessed themselves; but whilst they besieged Cosenza, their king was killed by thunder from heaven, whereupon they were dispersed and returned home. Thus God Himself punished with His own hand the enemies of the name of Christ, out of pity to His people, who were miserably forsaken by the princes of the

earth, which, if He had not done, the name of Italy and the holy Church had been no more, such sluggish and sorry fellows were the potentates of those times. John died after he had been Pope two years and fifteen days, leaving nothing behind him worthy notice, but that he renewed some old quarrels which had been almost forgotten.

BENEDICT IV.

A.D. 900-903.

BENEDICT the Fourth, a Roman, for his good nature and mildness was made Pope, but nothing was done in his time worthy of any great commendation. In his age it happened, as to others it does sometimes, that a strange negligence of all manner of virtue had possessed mankind, no incitements being applied by which the minds of men should be stirred up to actions that are praiseworthy, which yet are never wanting under good princes or well constituted governments. At this time, as I said before, Louis, the son of Arnulphus, endeavouring to recover his father's empire, was taken and killed at Verona by Berengarius; and then the posterity of Charles the Great first lost their titles to France and the empire of Germany. So true it is that which Sallust says, "Every rising hath its setting, and every increase its wane." The Empire, which had arrived to so great a height lost its splendour by the sluggishness of the great men and people of Rome, when they once grew remiss in the exercises of virtue, and emasculated their bodies with luxury and with studied softnesses. And this we may say was the case of the Papacy, for at first the pontifical dignity (without wealth and among enemies and furious persecutors of Christianity) was illustrious with a holiness and learning not to be attained without great pains and a consummate virtue; but now the Church of God was grown wanton with its riches, and the clergy quitted severity of manners for lasciviousness, so that there being no prince to punish their excesses, such a licentiousness of sinning obtained in the world as brought forth these monsters, these prodigies of wickedness, by whom the chair of St Peter was rather seized than rightfully possessed. Yet this may be said for Benedict, that in this debauched age

he carried himself with gravity and constancy, and died in the third year and fourth month of his pontificate, after which the see was vacant six days.

LEO V.

A.D. 903.

LEO the Fifth, whose native country historians mention not, succeeded him, but was soon taken and thrown into prison by one Christopher, a chaplain of his own, who aspired to the Popedom, which was not done without great tumults and the loss of many men's lives. How lightly the Papal authority was now esteemed (by fault of former Popes) may be seen in this, that a private person should in a moment be able to seize so great a dignity. But that saying is certainly true, that great places receive more honour than they confer upon the persons that supply them, as appears in the Roman censorship, which at first was slighted as a mean office, but when several of the nobility had once condescended to execute it, the office became so honourable, that the nobleman who had not once in his life been censor was looked upon as very unfortunate. Leo had sat but forty days when Christopher got into the chair, which indignity he laid so to heart, that in a little while after he died for grief, deeply resenting it that he should be robbed of his dignity by one that had eat of his bread; according to that of Theocritus, "Nurse up a wolf and he will devour you."

CHRISTOPHER.

A.D. 903.

CHRISTOPHER, whose country and family is, because of the meanness of his extraction, not known, having got the Popedom by ill means, lost it as ill; for after seven months he was justly deposed, and forced to take on him a monastic life, the only refuge of men in trouble, for at that time clergymen that deserved ill were, as it were, banished into monasteries by way of punishment. There are those that

say Christopher was deposed in the reign of Louis III., while others ascribe him to the times of Berengarius, who, we told you, was from Duke of Friuli created Emperor, as descending from the Longobardian kings of Italy, and as being the only man in whom, for his valour and nobility, they could place any hopes of seeing the honour of the Empire retrieved. And that I should suppose Berengarius to have reigned at this time, I am persuaded by considering the short lives of the Popes before-going (who, as monsters, were soon snatched away by a Divine power), and the length of the reign of that Emperor, who having vanquished Guido, Duke of Spoleto, and slain Ambrose, Count of Bergamo, who were his first adversaries, was crowned Emperor by Formosus, and lived nine years after. What became of Christopher after his being deposed shall be spoken in the life of Sergius.

SERGIUS III.

A.D. 904-911.

SERGIUS the Third, a Roman, son of Benedict, entering upon the pontificate, re-edified the Lateran Church, which was then ruined, and taking Christopher out of his monastery, put him in prison; and then settling his affairs, he took a journey to France; after his return from whence, being now strengthened with the favour and friendship of the French king, Lotharius, he totally abolished all that Pope Formosus had done before, so that priests who had been by him admitted to holy orders were forced to take new ordination. Nor was he content with thus dishonouring the dead Pope, but he drags his carcase again out of the grave, beheads it as if it had been alive, and then throws it into the Tiber, as unworthy the honour of human burial. It is said that some fishermen, finding his body as they were fishing, brought it to St Peter's Church; and while the funeral rites were performing, the images of the saints which stood in the church bowed in veneration of his body, which gave them occasion to believe that Formosus was not justly prosecuted with so great ignominy. But whether the fishermen did thus or no, is a great question; especially it is not likely to have been done in Sergius's lifetime, who was a fierce

persecutor of the favourers of Formosus, because he had hindered him before of obtaining the pontificate. And now, reader, pray observe how very much these Popes had degenerated from their predecessors: they, good men, refused this dignity when it was freely offered them, choosing rather to spend their time in study and in prayer; these, on the contrary, sought the papacy with ambition and bribery; and when they were got in, slighting the worship of God, pursued animosities among themselves with the violence of the fiercest tyrants; to the end that when no one should be left to anim-advert upon their vices, they might the more securely immerse themselves in pleasures. It is my opinion that Sergius acted thus, by the instigation of Lotharius, because it was by Formosus's means that the Empire was translated from the French to the Lombards. Sergius, leading his life after this rate, died in the seventh year, fourth month, and sixteenth day of his papacy, several fiery apparitions and blazing stars, with unusual motions, having been seen in the heavens a little before. Soon after, the Hungari invaded Italy with an army, and several defeats were on both sides given and taken.

ANASTASIUS III.

A.D. 911-913.

ANASTASIUS the Third, a Roman, came to the chair at the time when Landulphus, prince of Beneventum, fought a fierce battle with the Greeks, and defeated them, in Apulia. For Patricius, general of Leo, Emperor of Constantinople, had invaded Italy, and threatened a general ruin, if they did not immediately acknowledge subjection to Leo: but (as was said) by the valour of Landulphus, his boasting and his rage came to nothing, though Berengarius also was bringing an army together to meet him; but they made rather a terrible show than were truly of force. But Anastasius, not acting anything worth mention, died after he had been Pope two years, and was buried in St Peter's Church. This Pope we may commend in this one instance, that he did not persecute with ignominy and scandal the memory of any of his predecessors; for he lived quietly and soberly, and had nothing chargeable upon him that was blameworthy.

LANDUS.

A.D. 914.

LANDUS, a Roman, succeeded Anastasius; but his life was so obscure, that some do not reckon him for a Pope, especially Vincentius the historian. But Martin and Cusentinus are of another mind, together with Gothifredus, who writes, that this Landus, by interposing his authority, hindered a battle between Berengarius and Rodulphus, son of Count Guido; though others say that Rodulphus overcame Berengarius near Verona, and enjoyed the empire three years. There was indeed at this time a great contention for the empire between the Italians, Germans, and French, which was the cause of many cruel wars, which were not ended without great destruction of men and mischief to each country. The Romans and Italians laboured, might and main, to preserve the empire in their own country against the power of those barbarous people, but they wanted some man that could lead them on in so great an enterprise; for those noble spirits who had rendered the name of Italy famous through the world, were now not only extinct, but even those virtuous inclinations were quite stifled which gave life to such glorious actions. Landus died in the sixth month, and twenty-first day of his pontificate, and was buried in St Peter's Church.

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JOHN X.

A.D. 914-928.

JOHN the Tenth, a Roman, natural son to Pope Sergius, in the year 909 succeeded. He was, before, Archbishop of Ravenna, and had been deposed by the people in a tumult; but upon the death of Landus, he obtained the papal chair, and showed more of the spirit of a soldier than of a clergyman. Indeed, the Church and all Italy had then need of such a Pope: for the Greeks (as we said before) being vanquished by Landulphus, had called the Saracens into Italy, who, marching through Calabria and Apulia into Lucaia and

Campania, threatened sudden destruction to the city of Rome. The nearness of the danger alarmed Pope John, who, taking Albericus, Marquis of Tuscany, to his assistance, musters up an army, fights the Saracens and gets the better, and beats them out of the territories of the city; but not looking upon his victory as considerable unless he followed the pursuit, he attacks them at Minturnæ, upon the shore of the river Garigliano, and conquers them with so great a slaughter, that they resolved to leave Italy, only burning first all those places on that shore which were in their hands. But they altered their minds afterward, and fortifying Mount Gargano, they harassed the country thereabout with their incursions. Meanwhile, John, taking all the honour of this action to himself, makes his entry into Rome after the manner of a triumph, which gave so great a distaste to Albericus, that a tumult arose upon it, in which Albericus was repulsed, and flying to Orta, fortified the town and castle, and enticed the Hungari into Italy, who brought more destruction and ruin upon the country than the Saracens had done before, for they carried away the youth of both sexes, killing all that were stricken in years; nor did they spare the very Tuscans, for whose indemnity Albericus had agreed in the treaty with them; nay, they were more cruel to them than to other Italians, for they burnt and demolished all the towns they had possessed. It is my opinion that Berengarius (who then held Lombardy only) gave them liberty of passage into Tuscany, upon condition they marched quietly through his country without hurting his subjects. But the Hungari having once tasted the sweet spoils of Italy, did frequently visit it afterwards, which calamities so much enraged the Romans, that not being able to wreak their spite upon the enemy, who was too mighty and fierce for them, they took Albericus and beheaded him. John also, in a mutiny of the soldiers, was, by the followers of Count Guido, taken and put in prison.[1] In his room another John was put up, but because he seized the chair by force, and was soon deposed, he deserves not to be among the Popes.

[1] Pope John had been the paramour of an infamous woman, possessed of great riches, at Rome, named Theodora. Her daughter, Marozia, wife of Guido, Duke of Tuscany, and as profligate as her mother, after a fierce struggle with John for the mastery of Rome, gained the victory, and is said to have caused him to be murdered in prison.—Ed.

LEO VI.

A.D. 928-929.

LEO the Sixth, a Roman, was canonically elected Pope, acted nothing tyrannically in his whole life, but lived soberly and modestly, taking care of religion as far as an age of so corrupt manners would bear. For he made it his endeavour to quiet the minds of the citizens (who, through the rashness and folly of former Popes, were inclining to tumults), to compose the affairs of Italy, to make peace with foreign enemies, and to drive the barbarians from the skirts of his country, than which nothing could be done to better purpose or more commendably in so short a time; for in the seventh month and fifteenth day of his pontificate he died, and was buried in St Peter's Church, to the great grief of the citizens of Rome.

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STEPHEN VIII.

A.D. 929-931.

STEPHEN the Eighth, a Roman (according to some authors), came to be Pope at the time when the Hungari, who were overrunning Germany and Saxony, were by Henry, King of Germany, overcome with a great slaughter near Mersburg.[1] It is said also that at this time Rodulphus, King of Burgundy, made his descent into Italy with a great army against Berengarius II., who, by the treachery of his own men, was driven out of his kingdom and fled to the Hungarians for refuge, who taking up arms in his cause, the third year after his expulsion, under the conduct of one Salardus, invade Italy with huge forces, and take Pavia by storm, destroying the greatest part of it with fire and sword. The Italians hereupon finding Rodulphus to want strength and courage, call in Hugh, Count of Arles. It was not without contention that Rodulphus gave place to him, but his enemies bearing hard upon him, he retreated into Burgundy. After this, Hugh, finding occasion to mistrust those persons that called him in, banished many of them, who fled to Arnoldus, Duke of Bavaria, a man greedy of rule, and per-

[1] This battle was not fought till 934. Most of these events belong to the next Popedom.—ED.

suade him to make war upon Italy. He passes the Alps, and is immediately received within the walls of Verona by the citizens with great kindness and friendship, but Hugh, marching against him, beats him in a pitched battle, and soon retakes Verona. Meanwhile Berengarius dies in Bavaria, or, as others say, in Hungary, and Berengarius III., grandson of Berengarius I. by his daughter, comes into Italy, and in the year 935 gets the Empire. Some there are that ascribe these actions that I have mentioned to the time of this Pope, but I would rather assign them to some of those Popes that preceded and succeeded; because, though I have set them down in short, yet they must needs require a long time to be brought about. But in so great a diversity of opinions concerning times, I chose rather to place them somewhere, than utterly to omit things, which were certainly once done, for the uncertainty of writers. For the sake of posterity we would not be so superstitious as to disbelieve that which various authors have here or there thought good to record. To the times of this Pope may justly also be ascribed St Ugibert, a nobleman of Loraine, who in a short time, at his own charge, built the monastery of Gemblours after a magnificent manner. At this time also it is said that Spireneus, Duke of Bohemia, first received the Christian faith; those that were then called dukes being now, upon the increase of their wealth and strength, entitled kings of Bohemia. But Stephen, having led a peaceable and religious life, died in the second year, first month, and twelfth day of his Popedom, and was buried in St Peter's Church.

JOHN XI.

A.D. 931-936.

JOHN the Eleventh, a Roman, son (as some say) of Pope Sergius,[1] came to be Pope when a fountain at Genoa streamed blood in great quantities (as Vincentius and Martinus relate), a sure presage of the ensuing calamities, for soon after Genoa was taken and sacked by the Saracens, who came from Africa, and the Hungarians entering Italy, utterly

[1] And of Marozia, so Roman Catholic historians say.—ED.

destroyed all things, far and near; but as they passed, laden with prey, by the confines of Sulmona, the people of Tagliacozza, on a sudden taking arms, they were routed by them, and lost their lives and plunder together. Racherius, who of a monk had been made Bishop of Verona, was now a great writer, but was banished to Pavia by King Hugh, because he inveighed against his manner of living with too great freedom. John died after he had been Pope four years, ten months, and fifteen days. The see was vacant twelve days.

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LEO VII.

A.D. 936-939.

LEO the Seventh, a Roman, was created Pope during the reigns of Hugh and Lotharius in Italy, but did nothing worthy of our mentioning. But his time was made famous by the lives of Spireneus (according to Martinus), Duke of Bohemia, a man of signal devotion and justice; and of his son, Wenceslaus, who degenerated not at all from his father, killed by his brother, Boleslaus, who desired to reign. This Wenceslaus was afterwards justly canonised for a saint, upon proof made of the holiness of his life and of miracles wrought by him both while he lived and after his death. Leo, after he had sat three years, six months, and ten days, died, and was buried in St Peter's Church. The see was then vacant three days.

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STEPHEN IX.

A.D. 939-942.

STEPHEN the Ninth, a German, coming to the papacy, was so molested by the Romans with factions, that he could do nothing remarkable; nay (as Martinus relates), they wounded him so foully in one tumult that he was ashamed to appear abroad. King Hugh prepared to avenge his quarrel, but died in the meantime, to whom succeeded his son, Lotharius, but he made no mention of the matter, either because he had a kindness for the citizens of Rome, or

because his reign was short, for he out-lived his father but two years. Otho, King of Germany, did now undertake to revenge the murder of Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, upon Boleslaus, his brother, who had killed him, and marching against him, after several battles won and lost, at last took him captive. Stephen died when he had been Pope three years, four months, and twelve days. The see was vacant ten days.

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MARTIN III.

A.D. 942-946.

MARTIN the Third, a Roman, imitated the meekness and peaceable carriage of Stephen, for being made Pope he laid aside thoughts of war, and employed his mind in religious matters, repairing churches that were ready to fall with age, and relieving the poor with his charity. Not but that in his time Europe was very much torn with cruel wars: for Otho, attempting to enter Italy against the will of Lotharius, much blood was spilt on both sides, but Pope Martin persuaded them to lay down their arms, because (among other reasons) there was a great famine in the land, by reason the trees were felled, the standing corn trodden down, and even the husbandmen with their cattle were in this grievous war taken away. At Constantinople also were great tumults, the citizens, making their Emperor a prisoner, and shaving his head, banished him to a certain island; but soon after Constantine, son of Leo, getting the empire, punished these factious citizens after the same shameful manner and banished them to the same island. Martin died in the third year, sixth month, and tenth day of his Popedom, and was buried in St Peter's Church. The Roman see was vacant twelve days.

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AGAPETUS II.

A.D. 946-955.

AGAPETUS the Second, a Roman, was created Pope at a time when Italy was full of warlike hurly-burly; for the Hungarians, having invaded Italy with a mighty force, had

overrun all the country beyond the river Po. Henry, Duke of Bavaria, takes up arms immediately, and getting an army together, marches against them, and in two fierce battles routs them, though not without great damage to the inhabitants thereabouts, and seizes all the country from Aquileia to Pavia; from whence yet he soon departed into Austria, when he heard that Berengarius was coming against him with a great army. Berengarius being therefore now master of Italy, takes to himself the name of Emperor, and calls his son Albertus, King of Italy, casting into prison Alunda, Lotharius's brother's daughter, lest she should lay claim to the city of Pavia, which was her dowry. Pope Agapetus and the great men of Italy (observing the arrogance of Berengarius, and that he made pretensions to everything without regard to right and justice), sent for Otho, King of Germany, into Italy, who, entering by the way of Friuli with fifty thousand men, quickly dethroned Berengarius and Albertus, and taking Alunda out of prison, married her, of whom he had a son, afterwards succeeding him by the name of Otho II. And now Otho, leaving Italy, showed a great deal of moderation by permitting to Berengarius and his son the government of a province, and making peace between him and the Pope. This Otho assisted Louis, King of France, with a great army against Hugh, Earl of Paris, though his brother-in-law, who with the help of some of the great men of that country had well-nigh ousted him of his kingdom. But Albertus, son of Berengarius, who then was Governor of Ravenna, aided with some forces and ships from Comachio, pirated upon the merchants of Venice, much against the mind of Pope Agapetus; at which the Venetians were so enraged, that they immediately rigged out a navy, and took Comachio and burnt it. While these things were doing, Pope Agapetus, a harmless man, and a great lover of the Church, died in the ninth year, seventh month, and tenth day of his pontificate; about the same time that Otho, abbot of Clugny, also slept in the Lord; whose disciple Domaielus is supposed to be, that wonderfully holy man and great restorer of monastic discipline.

JOHN XII.

A.D. 955-963.

JOHN the Twelfth, a Roman, by the power of his father, Albericus, of the Via Lata, gets into the chair. His name was before Octavian; he was one that from his youth up had been debauched with all manner of vice and wickedness; and if he had any time to spare from his lusts, he spent it in hunting and not in prayer. The Romans had at this time two consuls annually and one prefect, who was a judge among the citizens. Out of the people were created twelve decarchons, who were instead of the senate; neither were the Romans without some kind of dominions; for the neighbouring towns of Tuscany between Orvieto and Todi, and all that lies between the city and Beneventum, Naples, Tagliacozzo, and Rieti, were subject to the city of Rome. What lies beyond was possessed partly by the Greeks and partly by the Saracens. It is not altogether certain who then held Marca di Ancona and the Duchy of Spoleto. In the city thus free, Octavian, favoured by the power of his father, assumes the papal dignity, a weight for which his shoulders were very unfit; which gave so great offence, that two cardinals who were nettled at it, sent to Otho, beseeching him to come and deliver the clergy and the people of Rome out of the hands of Berengarius and this Pope John, otherwise telling him that the Christian religion, and the Empire too, would both be ruined. Otho was at that time great in the estimation of all people, having (as we said before) conquered Boleslaus, King of Bohemia, and routed the Hungarians that infested Germany in three fierce battles, taking three of their princes, who were hanged up by the Germans, against the mind of the Emperor. While Otho was expected, the whole design was betrayed to John, who took both the cardinals, and cut off the nose of the one and the hand of the other. This moved Otho to hasten his march into Italy, where first he took Berengarius and his son Albertus, prisoners, and banished one to Constantinople, the other into Austria; and soon after entering Rome, he was splendidly received, even of John himself, and crowned Emperor of Germany and Hungary, the Empire being now first translated to the Germans. There are authors yet that

place this to the times of Leo VIII.,[1] of whom we shall speak hereafter; whose opinion is followed by Gratian in his decree; though Ricardus and Cusentinus disallow not the former: but the Lateran library-keeper writes that Otho came to Rome in John's time, but says not a word of his coronation; so perplexed and confused are the affairs of those times by the carelessness and neglect of their writers. Otho, however, having somewhat settled the state of the city, had some conference in private with John, dissuading him kindly from his naughty way of life, and exhorting him to reform; but when he found fair words would not avail, he made use of threats and declared for a general council, convening all the bishops of Italy to judge of the way of life of this wicked fellow. The censures of these good men, he apprehended, would be heavy, and therefore fled to Anagni, sculking up and down in bye-places like a wild beast: so that Otho, by the persuasion of the clergy, creates Leo, a Roman, a keeper of the archives in the Lateran, Pope. But, upon the departure of the Emperor, the kinsmen and friends of John turn out Leo, and recall him, who within a few days after was struck dead (as was thought) from heaven, lest the Church of God should be ruined by so pernicious a sedition as was then growing on. Some, indeed, write that this wicked wretch, or monster rather, was taken in adultery and there stabbed. However, this put not an end to the schism; for the Romans, upon the death of John, put up Benedict in his room, and were earnest with the Emperor (who was then at Spoleto) to confirm their choice. But the Emperor was highly displeased, and not only denied their request as unjust, but (as shall hereafter be told) compelled them by force of arms to abrogate Benedict and receive Leo. Many prodigies are said to have been seen at this present time in Italy; for in a mighty tempest of wind and rain there fell a stone of a wonderful bigness from the sky; and in the garments of many persons the figure of a bloody cross appeared miraculously; which portents were looked upon to foreshow great slaughters and calamities to the Church. This John, who was certainly the most pernicious profligate fellow of any that preceded him in the pontifical chair, died in the eighth year, third month, and fifth day of his popedom; upon whose death during the sedition the see was vacant twelve days.

[1] They are wrong; Platina is right.—Ed.

BENEDICT V.

A.D. 963.

BENEDICT the Fifth, a Roman, in the sedition was of a deacon made Pope, chiefly by the assistance of the kindred and dependents of John, to whom the preferment of Leo by Otho gave great disgust. But the Emperor disapproving this election, flatly denied the confirmation of it to the Romans who earnestly sought it, and wasting the territories of the city with fire and sword, forced them not only to turn out, but to yield up Benedict, and submit to Leo, with an oath not to attempt any alteration in what the Emperor had established in the affair of the popedom. Matters thus composed in Italy, Otho goes back for Germany, taking Benedict with him, who soon after died at Hapsburg, whither he was banished. He held the Papacy six months and five days; the see was after vacant thirty days.

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LEO VIII.

A.D. 964-965.

LEO the Eighth, the Proloscriniary (as I said before), upon the expulsion of John, was created Pope by the clergy and people of Rome. For when John led such an abominable and exorbitant life that the Romans urged the Emperor to depose him and set up another Pope, he answered that the election belonged to the clergy and people; and let them choose a man they took to be most fit, he would confirm him immediately. Hereupon, when they had chosen Leo, and the Emperor had confirmed him, soon after altering their minds, they deposed him and put up Benedict, which so angered Otho that he compelled them by force of arms to yield up Benedict and accept of Leo again, who was so teased with the mutinous humour of the Romans, that he transferred the whole power of electing of Popes from the clergy and people to the Emperor. But he lived not long after, dying in the sixteenth month of his popedom.

JOHN XIII.

A.D. 965-972.

JOHN the Thirteenth, bishop of Narni, a Roman, son of John, a bishop, succeeded Leo. But the Romans, having got the trick of expelling their Popes, vexed this man also with seditions; for having called to their assistance Geoffrey, Lord of Terra di Lavoro, they broke into the Lateran Palace, and seized upon John, whom they first cast into the prison of Castle St Angelo, and soon after banished to Capua; but Geoffrey, with his only son, being slain by John, prince of Capua, the Pope returned straight to Rome in the eleventh month of his exile. Otho also, upon notice of the Pope's distress, together with his son Otho and a good army, by long journeys came to Rome, and immediately threw the consuls, the prætor, and the decarchons into prison in order to a trial for their treason; who being by torture forced to confess, the consuls were banished into Germany, the decarchons were hung up, and Peter, the prætor, the cause and ringleader of all the mischief, was several times dragged most ignominiously, and whipped with rods through the most public places of the city, and then sent prisoner to Germany. Others say his punishment was thus,—being delivered to suffer at the will of the Pope, his beard was first shaved off, then he was hung by his hair upon the head of the statue of Constantine's horse, for the terror of all such ill men; from whence being taken, he was set upon an ass with his face backward, and his hands tied under its tail, and so led through the city, being, as he went, whipped almost to death with rods; and then banished into Germany. The like severity (for example's sake) was used by the Emperor against Count Geoffrey and his son, who were killed (as I said before) by John, prince of Capua,—their carcases being dragged out of their graves and denied Christian burial. At this time the Sclavi, who (when Hadrian III. was Pope), under Sueropylus, prince of Dalmatia, had received the Christian faith, crossed the sea into Italy, gave the Saracens a great route at Monte Gargano, and drove them thence; and the Hungarians by their example so broke their remaining force by recovering Cosenza out of their hands, that it became easy for Otho, son of the great Otho (who came for that purpose with his army), to make a perfect conquest of

them; nor was he content to have vanquished the Saracens, but he subdued too the Greeks who had made a league with the Moors, and drove them out of almost all Apulia and Calabria. Some say, indeed, that Otho made this war upon the Greeks because Nicephorus, Emperor of Constantinople, had denied to give him to wife his daughter, who had been espoused to him before. This is certain, that Otho, who was a generous young man, deposed Nicephorus, and made his son John emperor, himself marrying his sister Theophania, who together with her husband were crowned by this Pope in the Lateran Church with an imperial diadem, by the consent of Otho, the father, who had made his son his partner in the empire. During the great and universal rejoicing upon this occasion, Pope John raised the Church of Capua to a metropolitan see. But Otho, now worn with old age, returning into Germany, died at Vienna; Pope John had died not long before him, after he had sat six years, eleven months, and five days; after which the see was vacant thirteen days.

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BENEDICT VI.

A.D. 972-974.

BENEDICT the Sixth, a Roman, succeeded John in his office and in his troubles, for being taken prisoner by Bonifazio, a potent citizen, he was put into Castle St Angelo, a jail for malefactors, or rather for innocent persons, where in a little while he was strangled, or (as Cusentinus says) famished. I cannot but admire that the actors of so great an outrage were never punished, neither by the citizens of the adverse party, nor by the Emperor Otho, who was reputed an excellent man, and a stout defender of the Church of Rome. But I am afraid Bonifazio did no worse by him than he deserved; not but that how faulty soever Benedict might be, it was ill done of Bonifazio to lay violent hands upon the Pope, since the censure of him did not belong to a private man. But see the turn of human affairs; the Popes of our times make nothing to clap up citizens into the same place and there starve them, whether they deserve it or are only a little too powerful than they desire. I believe Otho was too much taken up with other business, so that he could not help him. He died when he had been Pope one year and six months.

BONIFACE VII.[1]

BONIFACE the Seventh, the deposer of Benedict VI., whose family and country (I suppose because of their baseness) writers mention not, got the popedom by ill arts, and lost it as ill; for he was no sooner got into the chair, but the honest part of the citizens confederating, he was forced out of the city, taking with him the most precious things out of the church of St Peter, and fled to Constantinople, where he only tarried till, by the sale of what he had so sacrilegiously got, he had amassed vast sums of money, with which he returns to Rome, not doubting but by the help of that to retrieve his dignity, by bribing the citizens. He met yet with great opposition from all good men, but especially from John, a deacon cardinal, whom, by the assistance of some wicked bravoes, he caught, and put out his eyes. But his enemies increasing about him, whether for fear or remorse for his great wickedness, this author of so many mischiefs miserably ended his life. Observe, I beseech you, how these Popes did degenerate from their predecessors, who left the church so ample and magnificent at the expense of their blood. The Pope of Rome, the father and protector of things sacred, does himself steal them away, and he that should punish sacrilege is the author of it; but thus it must needs fall out in any government where the pride and covetousness of ill men shall prevail over the virtue and wisdom of the good. To great benefices none of the clergy ought to be chosen, but such of whose life and learning there is a certainty; not those who, having nothing of virtue or religion, seek by ambition and simony to get into places of power. Boniface lived seven months and five days in his pontificate, and then the see was vacant twenty days.

[1] [He is reckoned an Anti-Pope by later Roman historians. Platina becomes very confused here. Boniface seized the Papacy as soon as Benedict died, fled to Constantinople with his stolen treasures, as stated in the text, and was absent until the accession of John XIV. Then he suddenly reappeared at Rome, presuming on the Pope's unpopularity. He got possession of John's person, and imprisoned him in the Castle of St Angelo, and caused him to be murdered, again usurped the see, but was overthrown as above described.]

DOMNUS II.

A.D. 974-975.

DOMNUS the Second, a Roman, a man of great moderation, and though there was nothing done by him worthy of high commendation, yet he was never charged with any injustice or dishonourable action. There were, however, many memorable actions of great and of holy men which render his times not altogether obscure. For in his time Baianus, a great magician, prince of the Bulgarians, so harassed with war Basilius and his son Constantine, Emperor of Constantinople, that he narrowly missed of taking the town, which by the negligence of the Greeks was left almost empty; but at last upon hard terms a peace was concluded between them. Adalbertus, also a Bohemian, bishop of Prague, flourished now, who was a man of so great sanctity that he (by the impulse of the Divine Spirit) travelled into Hungary, and baptized the king thereof, and by his good life and godly example taught the bishops of the country to seek the grace of God; from whence passing into Prussia, preaching the gospel of Christ with great diligence, he was there crowned with martyrdom. At this time too St Edward, king of England, was for his sanctity in great honour; but was murdered by the fraud and villany of his stepmother. Richardus the historian adds to these St Maiolus, abbot of Clugni, who left a great name behind him for his miracles and holy life. Domnus died in the first year of his pontificate, and was buried in St Peter's Church, whereupon the see was vacant two days.

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BENEDICT VII.

975-983.

BENEDICT the Seventh, a Roman, as soon as he was made Pope, called a Council, in which he restored Arnulphus, Bishop of Rheims, who had been expelled in a sedition. At this time Otho II., having conquered Henry, Duke of Bavaria, who had endeavoured some alterations in the State, marched against Lotharius, who had possessed himself of Lorraine, a province of the Empire, and laid waste the territory of Aachen: and gaining a victory over him, he overran

the country of Soissons and set fire to the suburbs of Paris; but upon his retreat with his forces he received some damage near the river Aisne. After this, raising a greater army, he brought it into Italy against Basilius and Constantine, the Greek Emperors, who had seized Calabria and that part of Italy that lies toward Sicily, but receiving a defeat at Basanello, he was forced to make his escape by sea, where he was by chance taken by pirates, and carried into Sicily. The Sicilians paid his ransom, and sent him to Rome, and soon after caught the pirates and put them to death. Otho now gets his army together again, and designed to chastise severely the Romans and Beneventans, because they occasioned the loss of the battle at Basanello, by flying first: but it was not thought safe to begin with the Romans, and therefore he turns against Beneventum, which he takes and consumes with fire, translating from thence the body of St Bartholomew, and placing it at Rome, in an island of the Tiber, formerly called Ostia Jovis Lycaonia, which was of the shape of the poop of a galley. Nay, even to this day, as you view it from Tivertino, the island resembles a galley, so made, I suppose, to represent that which brought Æsculapius to Rome; there is also to be seen engraven in stone the serpent (in the form whereof that god is said to have arrived) and the ribs of the galley: so studious were the excellent men of those times to bring nature to art as well as art to nature. But to return to Otho, he soon, after the aforesaid translation of the body of St Bartholomew, died at Rome, and was honourably buried in a porphyry tomb, still to be seen on the left hand as you go in, in the portico of St Peter's Church (called Paradise). Whilst consultations were held about choosing a new Emperor, some insisting upon Otho III., son of Otho II., others standing up for Henry, Duke of Bavaria, Otho's nephew by his brother, the Italians being earnest for one Crescentius of Lamentana, an eminent man; the Germans on the sudden, of whom there were many then at Rome, chose Otho III.; the Pope, good man, all the while urging them, that in their election they would have a regard to the Church of Christ, which needed a governor of great ability and diligence; but at last, to prevent tumults, he approved of what the Germans had done. He died after he had been Pope eight years and six months, upon which the see was vacant five days. In his time Valdericus, Bishop of Hamburg, was famous for his great learning and sanctity.

JOHN XIV.

A.D. 983-984.

JOHN the Fourteenth, a Roman, or, as some will have it, a Pavian, had not been Pope three months but he was taken by the Romans[1] and put into the public jail of Castle St Angelo, where he pined away so long with the stink of the prison, want of necessaries, and trouble of mind, that he died. Whether he was deposed for his tyranny and arrogance, or by the malice and envy of seditious people, is not certain, so confused are the accounts we have of those times. In his time lived Odo, Abbot of Clugni, and Berengarius of Tours, men famous for learning and holy lives; though it is said of Berengarius, that, through his confidence in his vast learning, he erred in the faith, holding a wrong opinion of the Eucharist, which, in a general council held at Rome, he afterwards recanted, and leaving off his study of controversial matters, though he were archdeacon of Anjou, he gave all that he had to the poor, and got his living by the labour of his hands.

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JOHN XV.

A.D. 985-996.

JOHN the Fifteenth, a Roman, son of Leo, a priest, born in the ward of Gallina Bianca, being got into the popedom,[2] hated the clergy strangely, and was, deservedly, for the same mutually hated of them, and more especially because whatever he could get either of things sacred or profane he gave to his kindred and relations without any regard to the glory of God or the honour of the Church, and this evil humour has descended to his successors, even to our own times, than which naughty custom nothing can be more pernicious, when our clergy seem not to seek the popedom for the sake of religion and the worship of God, but that they may with the profits of it satisfy the luxury and avarice of their brethren, nephews, or domestics. They write that a comet appeared about this time, portending the coming calamity, for there

[1] [He was imprisoned and murdered by the Anti-Pope Boniface VII. See note p. 257.]

[2] [He succeeded Boniface VII.]

followed a long pestilence and famine, and both Beneventum and Capua suffered much by an earthquake, and these were generally looked upon as judgments for the pride and rapacious temper of the Pope, and his contempt of God and man.

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GREGORY V.

A.D. 996-999.

GREGORY the Fifth, a Saxon, son of Otho, before called Bruno, by the authority of Otho III. for kindred sake was made Pope.[1] But upon the return of Otho into Germany, being vexed by the Roman factions, he fled first into Tuscany, and thence into Germany to the Emperor. Meanwhile the Romans vest Crescentius with an absolute consular power, who immediately creates Pope, John, a Greek, Bishop of Piacenza, not more wealthy than learned, whose name, I confess, is by some left out of the catalogue of Popes as not regularly created; but others make him John XVII. because he was chosen by the clergy and people of Rome, to whom of right the election belongeth. Crescentius, upon the news of Otho's approach with his army, fortifies the walls and gates of the city with all diligence; he fortifies too the castle of St Angelo, and places strong guards in every post that required, so that for some time after it was called Crescentius's castle, taking the name of him that fortified it instead of that of the builder. At length the Emperor arrived, and investing the city, when the Romans perceived themselves unable to withstand so great forces, trusting to the clemency of Otho, they opened their gates to the Germans. And now, Crescentius and John being without friends, and at their wits' end, fled into Castle St Angelo and defended themselves well, till, upon hopes of pardon, coming forth to address themselves to the Emperor,

[1] [He was a man of holy life and character, and his austerity gave offence to the laxer spirits. His accession marks an important crisis in the history of the Papacy. The outrageous wickedness of the pontiffs had horrified Christendom, indifferent as it was to religion at this time, and the choice of Otho's kinsman was made in the hope of securing a man of decent life. But this kinship was a deadly offence in the eyes of the Romans; they were eager to get rid of him, and were incited by Crescentius, the consul, a very eloquent speaker, who roused them by his passionate reminders of the liberties of their fathers, and the glories of the ancient republic.]

Crescentius, receiving many wounds from the multitude, was killed; but John, having his eyes first put out, lost both his popedom and life together; and Gregory, after he had been expelled nine months, was restored. He, taking notice of the weakness of the Empire and the uncertainties of chance, and being willing to preserve the Empire among the Germans, and that he should be preferred before others who excelled in worth and virtue, with the consent of Otho, he made a decree concerning the election of an emperor, A.D. 1002, which has continued in force to this day:—To wit, that it should belong to the Germans alone to choose a prince who should be Cæsar and king of the Romans, till the Pope should have confirmed him, and then to have the titles of Emperor and Augustus. Ptolemy writes that at first the power of election of emperor was in the Archbishop of Mentz for Germany, the Archbishop of Triers for France, and the Archbishop of Cologne for Italy. To these were added four secular princes, the Marquis of Brandenburgh, who, after the election, is chamberlain to the emperor, the Count Palatine, who is chief sewer, the Duke of Saxony, who is sword-bearer, and the King of Bohemia, the seventh elector (and cup-bearer), was added, they say, to prevent discord between parties, for if the rest were equally divided, his vote turned the scale. This, it is said, gave distaste to the French: but because the line of Charles the Great being extinct in Louis, the son of Lotharius, that realm was fallen into the hands of Hugh Capet, the chief minister at that time (the great affairs of that kingdom for some time not being managed by kings), they waved all thoughts of retrieving the Empire; but the main reason was, that the new possessors were well enough satisfied with their fortune, and dared not attempt any thing further, till they were certain that their late-acquired regal power stood upon a good foundation. Robert, the son and successor of the great Hugh, is much and deservedly praised for his courage, justice, modesty, and religion; for though he exercised himself very much in the art military, yet he found time so often to frequent the churches of God, and to celebrate the Divine service, as if he had been in holy orders. He is said to have made the hymn, "*Sancti spiritûs adsit nobis gratia;*" and by these arts not less powerful than his arms, he gained the hearts of the people, and drew those honourable respects to his family which they had before given to that of

Charles the Great. Robert, a certain bishop of Chartres, is about this time said to have been in great repute for learning and sanctity; he having written much and reduced the singing in churches to a better method. Gregory died after he had been Pope two years and five months. The see was vacant fifteen days.

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JOHN XVI.[1]

A.D. 996.

JOHN the Sixteenth, a Roman, succeeded when Otho was Emperor, but had not yet been crowned. He was a man of great learning, and (as Martinus writes) was the author of several elegant things. He was so teased with seditions by Crescentius, the consul of Rome, who claimed to himself an absolute power in the city, that he gave place to the man's ambition, and withdrew into Tuscany. But Crescentius, understanding that John was so extremely enraged that he had sent for Otho and his army into Italy, he despatched all the Pope's kinsmen and friends that were left in Rome, to him, to desire him to lay by all thoughts of bringing Otho to his assistance, but to come to the city, there to exercise his most ample power, promising perfect obedience in all matters. John, being moved with the entreaties of his friends, and partly fearing lest if Otho should enter Italy with his army he might do more hurt than good, went to Rome, where Crescentius, with all the magistrates and a multitude of citizens, meeting him, he was brought to the palace of Lateran, in the porch whereof Crescentius and all the heads of the faction kissed his feet and begged his pardon; and thus matters being composed, they afterwards lived quietly together. At this time Henry, Abbot of Loby in Lorraine, Adolphus, Bishop of Utrecht, who wrote much in praise of the Blessed Virgin and of the Holy Cross, and Albo, Abbot of Fleury (who afterwards in Gascoigne suffered martyrdom for the faith of Christ), men famous for learning, religion, and sanctity, are said to have flourished.

[1] [He is an Anti-Pope, inasmuch as he was chosen by Crescentius as the opponent of Gregory V.]

SYLVESTER II.[1]

A.D. 999-1003.

SYLVESTER the Second, before called Gerbert, a Frenchman, got the popedom (as they say) by ill arts. When he was young he was entered and sworn a monk of Fleury, in the diocese of Orleans; but he left the monastery to follow the devil, to whom he had wholly delivered himself up, and went to Seville in Spain to study human sciences; being extremely greedy of knowledge and learning, in which he made such progress, that of a scholar he soon became an excellent master. Martinus writes that the Emperor Otho, King Robert of France, and Lotharius, a man of noble birth and great learning, afterward Archbishop of Sens, were his scholars. Gerbert, therefore, full of ambition and pushed on with the diabolical desire of rule, by simony first gets the Archbishopric of Rheims, and then of Ravenna; at last the devil helping him with an extraordinary lift, he got the popedom, upon this condition, that after his death he should be wholly the devil's, by whose assistance he had arrived at so great a dignity. Being greedy of rule, he asked the devil once, how long he should enjoy the pontificate, the enemy of mankind answered (as he is wont) ambiguously, that he should live long, if he came not near Jerusalem. So that when in the fourth year, first month, and tenth day of his papacy, he was at Rome at mass in the Church of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem, it came into his mind that now he must die; where he, heartily repenting, confessed his fault before the people, exhorting them all to lay aside ambition and to withstand the stratagems of the devil, betaking themselves to a holy and pious life: then he desired them that after his death they would lay the trunk of his body, however torn and

[1] [The whole of this life is utterly unworthy of one who aimed at the character of an historian. Pope Sylvester II. was a man of unimpeachable morals, of great learning, and of real piety. But he was unpopular because his election was not by the people but by the bishops, and the severity of his morals offended the loose clergy. Above all he was high in favour with the German Emperor. The origin of the absurd stories of his intercourse with the devil is discussed at length by Milman (ii. 418-419), and by Robertson (ii. 452, note). He was a great student of natural science, and it is remarkable that he invented an organ which worked by steam.]

dismembered, as it deserved to be, in a cart, and there to bury it where the horses should of their own accord carry it: and then (as it is said) that wicked men might see that yet there was some room for pardon left with God for them, if they at any time repent, by the Divine will and providence, the horses of their own accord went to the church of the Lateran, where his body was buried. Martinus writes beside, that as well from the clattering of this Pope's bones, as from the sweat or rather moisture of his tomb, people are wont to gather presages, and those most manifest of the approaching death of any Pope, and that this is hinted in the epitaph on his tomb. Whether it be true or no, let the Popes, whom it concerns, look to it.

JOHN XVII.

A.D. 1003.

JOHN the Seventeenth, whose surname and family, because of their baseness, are not recorded, died four months and twenty days after he was made Pope. So that because of the shortness of his pontificate there was nothing memorable done either by himself or any other in the time, unless that many prodigies, apparitions, and comets were seen, and many towns ruined by earthquakes, foreshowing the calamities that were to come; some ease in which yet was given by Hugh, the Viceroy of Italy under Otho, and Governor of Tuscany; for he managed his province with so great justice and integrity, that no one complained for want of an excellent prince. Who afterward dying at Pistoia, the Tuscans universally bewailed him as a public parent, not suffering any manner of respect to be wanting to his funeral. In this place I therefore thought good to mention the deserved praises of Hugh, that governors of countries may know, that it is much better by a just and generous administration to acquire glory and honour, than by unjust ways to heap up riches with everlasting shame and ignominy.

JOHN XVIII.

A.D. 1003-1009.

JOHN the Eighteenth, a Roman, of the ward of Port-Metropolitan, being made Pope, indulged himself in an easy way of living, and did nothing worth mentioning. But Robert, King of France, deserved the highest commendations, who at this time led a life as devout as kingly, excelling all the contemporary Christian kings in knowledge and religious living, and being himself excelled by no man in controversial learning; he, not owning that opinion which the princes of our times have embraced, that it is not worth a potentate's while to be learned; but that it behoves them that are to rule the nations, to take their rules of government from the precepts of others, which yet cannot be done without reading and study. What else, indeed, is an illiterate prince, but the image of a lion commanding the other beasts. It is necessary they should be able to moderate their own passions as well as the people's, who would be thought to govern others. With great reason, therefore, it is that we speak well of Robert, whose devotion was such, that as oft as he had leisure from his warlike employments, he would sing the canonical hours with the priests; and so great were his merits in this way, that once when he had beleaguered a town of his enemy's, and neglected the siege to attend the canonical hours, the walls miraculously fell down, and his men immediately rushing in, took the place. But John (according to some authors) having sat in the chair six years and four months, died, and was buried in St Peter's Church. The see was then vacant nineteen days.

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SERGIUS IV.

A.D. 1009-1012.

SERGIUS the Fourth, a Roman, son of Martin, succeeded; a man of a most holy life and sweet conversation both before and in his pontificate. He was charitable to the poor, cheerful among his friends and acquaintances, merciful to those who were faulty, and mild even with the perverse. Besides, he was so prudent, that in all the time he sat in the

chair, nothing was committed which could reflect any charge of negligence upon his government. For placing all his thoughts on Heaven (which all Popes ought to do), and having a mind imbued with much natural goodness, he brought about all things to his mind. By his counsel and advice the princes of Italy entered into a league for driving the Saracens out of Sicily, and accordingly made equal preparations of men.[1] There were then in Italy most of the sons of Tancred, the great Duke of Normandy, among whom was William, surnamed Ferrebach, a man of so great courage, that, taking for his companion in the expedition, Malochus, general of the forces of Michael Catalaicus, Emperor of Constantinople, he in a short time cleared that island of Saracens, the princes of Capua and Salerno lending some assistance. Afterward, Malochus using injustice in the division of the spoil, William thought good to dissemble for the time, but returning into Italy with forty thousand Normans who were just come from the Holy War, he seizes upon all Apulia, which was subject to the Greeks, and at Amalfi meets Malochus with his army, fights, and defeats him. And thus by the valour of William the kingdom of Apulia was transferred from the Greeks to the Normans; for he dying without heirs, his brother Drogo succeeded him, and to him succeeded Humphrey, a younger brother, from whom descended Robert Guiscard and his brother Roger. While this passed in Apulia, Italy and almost all the world, too, labouring under a famine and pestilence, the holy man Sergius died in the second year and fifteenth day of his popedom, and was buried in St Peter's Church. The see was then vacant eight days.

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BENEDICT VIII.

A.D. 1012-1024.

BENEDICT the Eighth, born at Frascato, his father's name was Gregory, became Pope, in the reign of Henry II., Duke of Bavaria, who had been made Emperor in the room of Otho III. Some say that Otho died at Rome, and that his body was carried into Germany;

[1] [Platina has antedated events here: thus Michael did not reign until 1034, and the conquest of Apulia took place 1040. See Gibbon, chap. lvi.]

others say it was buried in St Peter's Church. However that may be, it is certain that Henry, Duke of Bavaria, who was an excellent and a most holy person, was now created Emperor, and that he had an Empress equally praiseworthy for charity, devotion, and affability. In his time the Pope defeated a powerful armament of Saracens, who had taken possession of the territory round Pisa, and drove the same race out of Sardinia. Henry, having settled the state of Germany, coming to Rome, received the imperial crown, and then marching to Capua, drove the Saracens out of it, and carried on the war against Bubagano, a general of the Greeks, who favoured the Moors with so much vigour that he dispossessed them of Troia, a city he had built in the confines of Apulia, in a place where Hannibal was said heretofore to have encamped. The Emperor Henry and his wife Cunigunda are reported to have led such chaste and holy lives that they grew famous for working miracles, omitting no action which might contribute to the glory of God. He founded the Bishopric of Bamberg, and married his daughter to the King of Hungary, by whose means that king and all his subjects received the Christian faith; but Henry died in the eighth year of his empire, to the great loss of his subjects. He being dead, of whom in all exigencies Benedict made use as his protector, he was expelled by a faction, and another Pope chosen in his room, though he soon after agreed the matter with his adversaries, who turned out again the pseudo-pope, and restored Benedict with honour. He died in the eleventh year, first month, and thirteenth day of his popedom, and was buried in St Peter's Church. It is said that a certain bishop walking in a solitary place, Benedict appeared to him sitting upon a black horse, whereupon the bishop asked him the reason of his appearance in that manner; he answered that his business was to desire him to take some money which he had hid in a certain place to which he directed him, and to give it to the poor as from him, for that the money had been of no profit to him, it consisting of what had been given of alms or gotten by rapine. The bishop executed his request, and immediately surrendered his bishopric and led a monastic life. Vincentius writes that Gerard, Bishop of Canobia, was in great account about this time for his learning and exemplary life; as also was Gutherus, Bishop of Prague, who for his great abilities and holiness suffered martyrdom from

the enemies of the Christian religion. At this time also so great a pestilence raged in the world, that it was thought fewer survived it than died of it, which calamity was foreshowed by a well of wholesome water in Lorraine being turned into blood.

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JOHN XIX.

A.D. 1024-1033.

JOHN the Nineteenth, a Roman, son of Gregory, was, as some will have it, Bishop of Porto, though others say he never was in holy orders at all. He was made Pope at the same time that Conrad of Schwaben was by a just suffrage elected Emperor in the room of Henry, though he was not crowned for three years. In this interregnum, I suppose it was, that several cities of Italy revolted from the Empire and stood up for their liberty: wherefore Conrad, who was a great soldier, and had been for many years in great command in the wars under Henry, raising an army, speedily enters Italy, and marching first against the Milanese, the chief authors of this defection, he sits down upon the town, burns the suburbs, and breathes forth nothing but utter ruin to the city; but quickly raises his siege by the persuasion of the Archbishop of Cologne, who assured him that as he was at mass St Ambrose appeared to him and threatened destruction to them all, except they departed from the city of which himself was patron. Conrad therefore holds on his journey to Rome, where at the hands of Pope John he received the imperial crown, and then marched against the Hungarians and Sclavonians, who had assisted the rebellious Italians, and soon subdued them. Rodolphus also, Duke of Burgundy, being vexed by the seditions of his subjects, put himself under the protection of Conrad, and therefore Burgundy has been ever since reckoned for a good part of it a province of the Empire. It is said of Conrad that he made several useful laws, among which one was, that it should be death for any prince of the Empire to disturb the peace of it; and upon that account was a fierce persecutor of Leopold, a German count, who was a ringleader of some disturbances in his country. He sent ambassadors to charge the Greeks and Normans, who were quarrelling about the kingdom of Apulia, to lay down their arms, and threatened

ruin to the Romans if they persisted, as they had begun, to tease their Pope with seditions. In his time religion was adorned in France by the strict life and holiness of several abbots, and Himericus, son of St Stephen, king of Hungary, had great reputation for his miracles. But John, who is very much to be praised for his life, died, after he had been Pope nine years and nine days. The see was then vacant eight days.

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BENEDICT IX.

1033-1044.

BENEDICT the Ninth, as some say, the nephew of John, born at Frascati, son of Albericus, came to the pontificate when Canute, a king of England, out of devotion and for performance of a vow, came to Rome, which having done, as he returned home he married his daughter to Henry, the son of Conrad. Soon after, Conrad dying, his son Henry III. succeeded his father, and, raising an army, gives battle to Uldericus, King of Bohemia; but the victory being doubtful, he renewed the fight, overcame him and took him prisoner, but setting him under tribute, he discharged him from his imprisonment; then marching against the Hungarians, who were contending about the crown, he restored Peter to his throne, who had been driven out by Alboinus. In the meantime, the Romans deposed Benedict, who was a sluggish fellow, and good for nothing, and set up in his room John, Bishop of Sabina, by the name of Sylvester III., who also, after a popedom of nine and forty days, was turned out, and Benedict restored; and he, finding himself still liable to the same danger again, of his own accord resigned the chair to John, archdeacon of St John at Port Latin, afterwards called Gregory VI., though some affirm that he sold it to him. Wherefore Benedict was ill spoken of by all men deservedly, and condemned by the Divine judgment; for it is certain that after his death he was seen in a most monstrous likeness, and being asked why, having been Pope, he appeared in such a horrid shape, "Because (says he) I led my life without law or reason, it is the will of God and St Peter, whose seat I defiled with all manner of wickedness, that I bear the shape rather of a monster than of a man." After he had by intervals

held St Peter's chair ten years, four months, and nine days, he died, upon which the see cannot be said to have been vacant at all, because he sold it. Historians write that at this time Gerard, a Venetian, Bishop of the Hungarians, an excellent man and of great learning, cheerfully suffered martyrdom by the enemies to the name of Christ, being bound to a cart, and from a high hill let down upon a precipice and torn to pieces.

SYLVESTER III.

1044.

SYLVESTER the Third, a Roman, son of one Lawrence, was substituted into the room of Benedict when he was expelled, but held it not long, for after nine and forty days Benedict was restored by his own faction. The popedom was now brought to that pass that he who was most ambitious and would give most for it, not he who was most religious and learned, surely obtained this high office, to the great oppression and discouragement of all good men; a naughty custom which I wish were laid by, even in our own times; and yet this mischief is not so great, but that I fear (except God avert) we shall see much worse. I return to Sylvester, who, being Cardinal of Sabina, was made Pope, not by the College of Cardinals, for that had been tolerable, but merely by simony, as some write, and soon after justly deposed, having entered like a thief and a robber, not by the gate, but by the back-door. Benedict, indeed, was restored, but the city continued in a hubbub, sometimes desiring this man and then another to be put up; which uses to be the case of a Mobile who, wanting a governor to steer their giddy humours, generally prefer the worse to the better men.

GREGORY VI.

1044-1046.

GREGORY the Sixth, Archdeacon of St John at Port Latin, received, as we said, the chair of Benedict. But the Emperor Henry III., hearing of these miscarriages, with a

great army enters Italy, and calling a council, causes Benedict IX., Sylvester III., and Gregory VI. all to be deposed for so many wretched monsters, and creates Syndegerus, Bishop of Bamberg, Pope, by the name of Clement II. Yet Gilbertus, the historian, affirms this Gregory to have deserved very well of the Church, having by his authority and great spirit in a short time reasserted the dignity of the see apostolic, which had been much weakened in its powers by the negligence of some of his predecessors; for he recovered the patrimony of the Church, and first with excommunications and curses, and (when they availed not) with downright force of arms he destroyed the banditti who, lurking near the city, would cruelly murder pilgrims as they came to Rome for devotion sake. For this reason some wicked rogues slandered him commonly with the names of murderer, simoniac, and blood-thirsty; nay, even some cardinals would say so too, which so moved Gregory that, whilst he lay ill of that sickness of which afterwards he died, he sent for those cardinals, and rebuked them sharply for finding fault with that which was done with so much justice and honesty. And that you may know (says he) whether I have done that which is right or not, when I am dead, carry my corpse to the church doors, which first let be locked up, and if they do miraculously open, then think that I am an honest man, and worthy of Christian burial; if not, that both soul and body is damned, and you may cast out my corpse where you please. The cardinals did accordingly, and the doors were thrown open by a strong wind that rose on a sudden, and the body brought in, to the admiration of all men, and to the great reputation of his sanctity. This is the substance of what various authors write of Gregory, who sat in the chair two years and seven months during the schism.

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CLEMENT II.

A.D. 1046-1048.

CLEMENT the Second, before called Syndegerus, Bishop of Bamberg, was made Pope in the council, by the consent, or rather authority and command of Henry III., who having received at this Pope's hands the imperial crown,

caused the Romans to take an oath after a form he prescribed, not to meddle in the election of any Pope, except by a command from him; for the Emperor saw things to be come to such a height of licentiousness, that any factious and potent fellow, however ignoble, could arrive at that dignity by purchasing the suffrages of the electors, which ought not to be conferred but by the spirit of God upon those that excelled in learning and a holy life. From hence he went to Capua, where he settled all things, and having listed those soldiers who had so stoutly resisted the Saracens, he returned by Rome for Germany. He was no sooner gone (as some write), but the Romans contrived to poison the Pope, because made so without their assent, in the ninth month of his popedom; nay, some authors say, the venomous potion was prepared for him by that Stephen, who, by the name of Damasus II., succeeded him, at the time when Odo, abbot of Clugny, a man of extraordinary holiness, dying, Hugo was made abbot after him, a noble personage, pious, devout, affable, and learned, Henry II. at this time reigning in France, Alphonso in Spain, and Michael with his son, Constantine, being emperors of Constantinople, which Empire was now in great weakness and distress.

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DAMASUS II.

A.D. 1048.

DAMASUS the Second, a Bavarian, surnamed Bagnario or Pepone (as some say), seized the papal chair by force, without any consent of the clergy and people. So deep root had this licentious custom taken, that any ambitious fellow durst invade the seat of St Peter. But the just God avenged himself upon this villain, that he might be an example to the rest, who should seek by ambition and simony that which ought to be the reward of virtue; for on the twenty-ninth day of his pontificate he died. Some would not have this man put in the catalogue of Popes, because he came not regularly to that dignity, and admire that the Romans were not moved with the villany of the action, contrary to their oath to Henry, to compel him to lay down his

office ; but because he lived so short a time, that the citizens could not so soon bethink themselves what to do, I think they are not to be blamed. We shall then pass to Leo.

LEO IX.

A.D. 1048-1054.

LEO the Ninth, a German, A.D. 1048, was made Pope after this manner. The Romans having sent ambassadors to the Emperor to entreat him to send to them a good Pope, he immediately nominated to them Baunon, Bishop of Toul, a good man and of great integrity ; who, taking his journey towards Rome in his pontifical habit, was met by the Abbot of Clugny and Hildebrand, a monk, born at Soana, who persuaded him to lay by his pontifical habit, and to enter Rome, for that Henry had no power from God to create a Pope, but it belonged of right to the clergy and people of Rome. With these words Leo was so moved (and because as he came along he had heard a voice saying, "*Ego cogito pacis cogitationes, non afflictionis*") that he laid by his habit and entered Rome as a private man, accusing himself that he had chosen to obey the Emperor rather than God. The Roman clergy then, by the persuasion of Hildebrand, elected Baunon Pope, and so much the more readily, because he had professed the right of electing Popes ought not to be in the Emperor, but in the clergy. And yet the vices of several Popes were (as we have said) so great, that it seemed to be done by the judgment of God, that this power should be taken from the clergy, that they might amend their flagitious lives and sinful inclinations, and that the Church of Christ might not suffer ruin in the hands of such evil prelates. Thus Baunon, having got the papacy, and having changed his name to Leo IX., he immediately created Hildebrand a cardinal-deacon, and gave him the government of St Paul's Church ; so that it seemed as if they had divided the pontifical charge between them, one ruling the church of St Peter, the other that of St Paul. In the meantime Drogo, chieftain of the Normans in Apulia, dying, his brother, Gisulphus, succeeded him and possessed himself by force of the city of Beneventum, which was the Pope's by surrender ; for when the

Emperor Henry having built a church at Bamberg to the honour of St George, and had a great mind it should be made a cathedral, Benedict VIII. consented, upon condition the said church should pay yearly, as a kind of tribute, a hundred marks of silver and a white horse with his caparisons; which yearly payment Leo IX. remitted to the church of Bamberg, receiving of the Emperor in lieu thereof the city of Beneventum. Leo, therefore, strengthened with the justice of his title and the Emperor's forces, marches againt Gisulphus with an undisciplined army, and is by him defeated and taken prisoner, but was soon remitted to Rome with an honourable retinue. It is storied that in his time, Robert Guiscard bringing an army out of France into Italy, and driving the Greeks and Saracens before him, possessed himself of Apulia, where he chanced to find a statue, with these words engraven on a brass circle round the head, "The first day of May at sunrising I shall have a golden head," which words, being well considered by a certain Saracen who was Robert's prisoner, a skilful magician, he marked how far the shadow of the statue extended, and on the first day of May at sunrise, having dug up the place, he found a great treasure, with which he bought his liberty of Robert. But to return to Leo, who was certainly a man of great devotion, innocence, benignity, and religion, particularly so eminent for hospitality, that his palace was always free for pilgrims and poor people; nay, once when he found a poor leper at his door, he with pity ordered him to be taken in and laid in his own bed; but in the morning when the door-keeper opened the door, the leper being not to be found, it was thought that it was Christ himself that lay there as a poor man. In matters relating to the faith, he used great diligence and industry, for in a council holden at Vercelli he condemned Berengarius for a heretic, and by his monitories put the Emperor of Constantinople upon repairing the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, which had been spoiled by the barbarians. At this same time lived Theobald, a noble Frenchman, famous for his holy life at Vicenza; and Vincentius, Bishop of Liege, a person remarkable for learning and piety, wrote many things skilfully and acutely concerning the quadrature of the circle to Hermannus, a man of an excellent wit. Leo died when he had been Pope five years, two months, and six days.

VICTOR II.

A.D. 1055-1057.

VICTOR the Second, before called Glaberdus, a Bavarian, succeeded Leo rather by the favour of the Emperor Henry than by a free election; for the clergy and people of Rome stood in great fear of the power of Henry, whom they had before offended by putting up new Popes, and therefore lest contrary to their oath they should seem to make any innovations, they propose this Victor, and by Hildebrand, their ambassador to Henry, all things were managed to both their satisfactions. Victor being by universal consent placed in the chair, with the approbation of the Emperor he called a council at Florence, where he deprived a multitude of bishops of their bishoprics for simony and for fornication, and admonished the clergy of their duty, threatening severity against those that should transgress the canons. Some write that Victor made a visit to Henry, and that he was splendidly entertained by him; but I am of opinion, that Hildebrand only went thither, who by virtue of his legantine power, created Henry IV., the son of Henry, Cæsar. Capua was now besieged by the Saracens, which struck terror into all the neighbouring cities, but Robert Guiscard taking up arms, set upon the Saracens and defeated them, thereby delivering at once Capua from a siege and their neighbours from their fears. Of what extraction this Robert was is not certain, some account him a Frenchman, others a Norman; however it be, it is sure he was a person of a noble spirit and an excellent understanding, so that he deserved the crown he held of Apulia. Pope Victor, whose life we are upon, died in the second year, third month, and fourteenth day of his pontificate; after which the see was vacant five days.

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STEPHEN IX.

A.D. 1057-1058.

STEPHEN the Ninth, before named Frederick, a Lorrainer, abbot of Monte-Cassino, was no sooner made Pope but he took care that the Church of Milan, which for almost two

hundred years had withdrawn its subjection to that of Rome, was now at length reduced to obedience thereto, as to the mother and nurse of all churches, which obedience she has since persevered in, as becomes true daughters to do to a pious mother. Near about this time Henry IV. succeeded his father, deceased, and Alexius succeeded Nicephorus,[1] Emperor of Constantinople; Robert Guiscard also in a mighty battle overthrew the Greeks and drove them out of Calabria, leaving none but Greek priests, who even to our times kept their own language and customs. Indeed, the Constantinopolitan Empire was now so broken by the Saracens that they had much ado to preserve Thrace, Galatia, Pontus, Thessaly, Macedon, and Achaia, and even out of these either the Turks or Saracens every day cantled out one place or another. But Stephen, when he had been Pope seven months and eight days, died at Florence, where he was honourably buried, as Martinus writes. Some say that Pope Stephen accused the Emperor Henry of heresy for endeavouring to diminish the papal authority, without regard to religion and the immortal God.

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BENEDICT X.

A.D. 1058-1059.

BENEDICT the Tenth, a Capuan, before named Nuntius, Bishop of Veletri, was by a faction of noblemen created Pope, at the same time that Agnes, mother of Henry IV., constituted Gilbert of Parma, a man of great abilities, Viceroy of Italy. There was then in Italy also, Godfrey, the husband of the Countess Matilda, a most noble lady, who was very powerful; for Beatrix, the mother of Matilda, had been sister to the Emperor Henry III., and had married one Boniface, a potent man and of an honourable family, of the city of Lucca in Tuscany; upon whose death all his estates fell first to Beatrix, and after her decease were devolved upon Matilda and her husband Godfrey: so that they stood possessed of Lucca, Parma, Reggio, Mantua, and that part of Tuscany now called St Peter's patrimony. But to return to Benedict; he was deposed by Hildebrand, because he came not in by the right

[Alexius did not succeed Nicephorus till 1081.]

way, but by force and simony: for the generality of the clergy had passed their words to Archdeacon Hildebrand, when he went to Florence, that they would not proceed upon any election of a new Pope till his return to the city. When he was come back therefore, together with Gerard, Bishop of Florence, he inveighed most bitterly against them all, especially against those who had promised to stay till his return. But there arising great contention upon this matter, many approving of Benedict, as a very good and prudent man, though they disallowed that election of him, with great clamours that it was irregularly and illegally done; yet at last, by the persuasion of Hildebrand, Gerard, a man worthy, indeed, of so high a dignity, was by a majority of votes created Pope, and Benedict turned out. Some will have this election to have been made at Sienna, because a free choice could not be had at Rome, by reason of the partialities of some men in power there. Benedict was deposed after he had sat nine months and twenty days, and then was confined to Veletri.

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NICOLAS II.

A.D. 1059-1061.

NICOLAS the Second, a Provençal, at first named Gerard, Bishop of Florence, for his virtue and excellent spirit, upon the expulsion of Benedict (who was not regularly so created) was made Pope at Sienna, and immediately thereupon withdrew to Sutri, where, A.D. 1059, he called a council, whither came not only the bishops, but many of the noblemen of Italy, where he forced Benedict to resign the office and habit of Pope and to retire to Veletri; from hence he went to Rome, where, in the second Lateran Council, he procured a law to be enacted, very wholesome for the Church of Rome, which is to be seen among the decrees, to this purpose, "That if any one, either by simony, or by the favour of any powerful man, or by any tumult either of the people or soldiery, shall be placed in St Peter's chair, he shall be reputed not apostolical but an apostate, one that transgresses the rules even of common reason; and that it shall be lawful for the cardinals, clergy, and devout laity, with weapons both spiritual and material, by anathemas, and by any human aid,

him to drive out and depose; and that catholics may assemble for this end in any place whatsoever, if they cannot do it in the city." In the same council Berengarius, deacon of the Church of Anjou, was reclaimed from his error concerning the Sacrament of the Eucharist in the bread and wine, whereof he affirmed the true and entire body and blood of Christ was not present, but only by a sign, figure, or mystery; which error at the instance and persuasion of Nicolas and Albericus a deacon, a very learned man, he recanted, affirming the Eucharist to be the true and entire body and blood of Christ. We have said that this error was condemned by Leo IX. but never amended, the praise of which belongs wholly to Nicolas, as Lanfranc writes, a man at that time very learned, who in an excellent work of his confuted the tenets of Berengarius. While these things were acted at Rome by Pope Nicolas, Godfrey the Norman, who succeeded his brother Drogo in the earldom of Apulia and Calabria, dying, left his son Bagelardus his heir, which Robert Guiscard, his brother (as some will have it), not liking, he drove out his nephew and seized upon the earldom, taking in Troia also, which had long been subject to the see of Rome. At this the Pope was not a little enraged at Robert, till by his invitation taking a journey into Apulia, whatsoever the Church had lost was returned again, and then he not only took Robert into favour, but making him a feudatory of the Church, he was constituted Duke of Calabria and Apulia. After this receiving of him a great assistance of forces and returning to the city, he subdued the Prenestines, Tusculans, and Nomentans, who had revolted from the Church; and crossing the Tiber he sacked Galese, and took in other castles of Count Gerard as far as Sutri, rendering the territories of Rome hereby much more secure. It is written also that Henry IV. was crowned by Nicolas with the imperial diadem, and out of gratitude for it all his time never attempted any thing against holy Church. But Nicolas having concluded this life with great praise of all men, died when he had been Pope three years, six months, and twenty-six days.[1] The see was then vacant three months.

[1] [It was in this Pontificate settled that henceforward the election of the Popes should be made by the cardinals.]

ALEXANDER II.

A.D. 1061-1073.

ALEXANDER the Second, whose name at first was Anselm, a Milanese, Bishop of Lucca, upon the death of Nicolas, though absent, was, for his good temper, affability, and learning, elected Pope. But the bishops of Lombardy thinking, for the honour of their country, that it was just a Pope should be chosen out of their number, Gilbert of Parma, at that time very powerful, taking their part vigorously, they obtained of the Emperor Henry, against the mind of his mother Agnes, that they might set up another Pope. Whereupon the bishops, holding a council, made one Cadolus Pope, who was Bishop of Parma, to whom all Lombardy straightway submitted, except Matilda, a noble lady who had great reverence for the Roman see. Cadolus being soon after called to Rome by the adversaries of Alexander, both parties engaged in battle in the Prati di Nerone at the foot of the Hill Montorio, in which fight many were slain on both sides. Alexander and Godfrey, the husband of Matilda, stayed in the Lateran Palace, not knowing where to trust themselves, all places were so full of treachery; though some say that Alexander, to avoid the bloody fight, did before the battle retire to Lucca, and lived there securely for some time, which kind protection from the Luccheses he gratefully acknowledged by granting both to their church and city very notable privileges. Cadolus was repulsed at Rome, but rested not long at quiet in his country, being invited again by some citizens (who found that to satisfy their avarice it was their interest that the city should be kept in confusion), and getting together a greater army than before, he comes to Rome and by force seizes the Citta Leonina and St Peter's Church. But the Romans, with the forces of Godfrey, falling forth, struck such a sudden terror into the enemy that they betook themselves to their heels, and Cadolus narrowly missed being taken, having been forsaken by his friends, but Cincius, son to the prefect of Rome, with a strong squadron carried him safe through the whole adverse army with great difficulty into Castle St Angelo; where being besieged for some time and seeing little hope of getting out free, he corrupted the besiegers with three hundred pounds in silver, and mounting a lean horse he escaped all alone. In

the meanwhile Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, before Henry, the young emperor, charged his mother Agnes with meddling too much with the affairs of state in Christendom to the great dishonour of the Empire, whereupon a commission was given him to compose the Church divisions according to his discretion; and he, coming to Rome, at first rebuked Alexander with very hard words, for entering upon the Papacy without the consent of the Emperor, contrary to law and custom; but Archdeacon Hildebrand took him up and stiffly defended what the Pope had done, proving that both by law and ancient usage the election of Popes belonged to the clergy, and convinced Hanno so far, that the Emperor Henry, being at last conscious of his error, desired Alexander to call a council, and promised to come thither himself. The city of Mantua was pitched upon as most fit; and thither every one came who was concerned for the safety and protection of the Church; where all things being settled, the Emperor himself not only got the favour of the Pope, but begged and obtained of him a pardon for Cadolus who submitted to him, and for Gilbert, the author (as we said) of all this mischief, the Archbishopric of Ravenna: the first of these the Pope easily agreed to, by the example of our Saviour who even prayed for His persecutors; but the second he granted much against his will, and not till tired with the importunity of Henry, fearing, what fell out afterwards, that it would be very pernicious for the Church of Rome. The Pope, departing from Mantua and passing through Lucca, consecrated the great church there, of which he had been bishop, with great solemnity, intending to stay there till Archdeacon Hildebrand had settled matters a little in Apulia, who having received some auxiliary forces of the Countess Matilda, not only opposed the power of Richard and William, but forced them to restore what they had taken from the Church: and then Alexander came to the city, and after a pontificate of eleven years and six months, he died, and was buried in the church of St John, in the Lateran, no manner of pomp being spared (that could be at the funeral of a Pope), either by the clergy or people. In his time flourished John Gualbertus, a monk of Vallombrosa, and first of the order, a most holy man and famous for miracles.

APPENDIX.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Popes.	A.D.	Emperors.	Contemporary Notes.
St Peter, about	33	Tiberius.	
		Caligula.	
		Claudius.	
		Nero.	Fall of Jerusalem.
St Linus .	68	Galba.	
		Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian.	
St Cletus .	78		Rise of Gnosticism.
			Ebionites.
		Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Tra-	Apostolic Fathers.
		jan.	
St Evaristus .	100		
St Alexander I.	109		
		Hadrian.	The Apologists.
St Sixtus I. .	119		
St Telesphorus	127		
		Antoninus Pius.	
St Hyginus .	139		
St Pius I. .	142		
St Anicetus .	157		Montanism.
			Easter Controversy be-
		Marcus Aurelius.	tween East and West.
St Soter .	168		
St Eleutherius	177		
		Commodus.	
St Victor I. .	193	Pertinax, Didius Julianus,	
		Septimus Severus.	
St Zephyrinus	202		
		Caracalla, Geta, Macrinus,	
		Elagabalus.	
St Calistus I.	219		Catechetical School of
			Alexandria—
St Urban I. .	223	Alexander Severus.	Origen.
St Pontian .	230		Clement of Alexandria.
			Hippolytus.
St Autherus .	235	Maximus.	

Popes.	A.D.	Emperors.	Contemporary Notes.
St Fabian .	236		
		Maximus and Balbinus.	
		Philip, Decius.	The Goths cross the Danube and enter the Empire.
St Cornelius .	251		Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage.
St Lucius I. .	252		The Novatian Schism.
			Sabellian heresy.
St Stephen I.	253	Valerian and Gallienus.	
St Sixtus II. .	257		
St Dionysius .	259		
		Claudius II.	
St Felix I. .	269		
		Aurelian.	
St Eutychian .	275	Tacitus, Probus, Carus.	Manichæism.
St Caius .	283		
		Diocletian and Maximian.	
St Marcellinus	296		The Meletian Schism.
		Constantius, Galerius, Constantine, Maxentius.	
St Marcellius I.	308	Licinius.	
St Eusebius .	310		
St Melchiades	311		Beginning of the Donatist Schism.
		Constantine the Great alone.	The Edict of Toleration.
St Sylvester I.	314		Arian Controversy.
			Council of Nicæa. St Athanasius.
St Mark .	336		The Church historians, Eusebius, Theodoret, Socrates, Sozomen.
St Julius .	337	Constantine II., Constans, Constantius II.	Council of Sardica.
Tiberius .	352		Rapid growth of Monasticism in the West.
Felix II. .	355		
		Julian, Jovian, Valentinian, Valens.	
St Damasus I.	366		Apollinarian Controversy.
		Gratian, Valentinian II., Theodosius.	Council of Constatinople.
St Siricius .	384		St Ambrose, Cyril, Ephraem Syrus, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus.
		Eugenius usurps.	
		W. Empire. E. Empire.	
		Honorius. Arcadius.	St Chrysostom, Synesius,
St Anastasius I.	398		Augustine.

Popes.	A.D.	Emperors. W. Empire.	Emperors. E. Empire.	Contemporary Notes.
St Innocent I.	402			
			Theodosius II.	Rome sacked by Alaric. Vandals in Spain. Visigoths in Spain.
St Zosimus .	417			
				Franks on Lower Rhine.
St Boniface I.	418			
		Constantius I.		
St Celestine I.	422			Nestorian Controversy.
		Valentinian III.		Council of Ephesus.
St Sixtus III.	432			
St Leo I. (the Great) .	440			Pelagian Controversy. Attila the Hun.
			Marcian.	The Eutychian Contro-
		Maximus.	Leo I.	versy. Council of Chal-
		Avitus Mar- joran.		cedon.
St Hilary .	461	Severus.		
		Ricimer.		
		Authemins.		
St Simplicius .	468			
		Olybrius Gly- cerius.	Leo.	
		Julius Nepos.	Zeno.	
		Romulus.	Basilisc.	Odoacer overthrows the Western Empire.
St Felix III. .	483	——		Clovis founds the king- dom of the Franks.
			Anastasius I.	Theodoric sets up the
St Gelasius I.	492			kingdom of the Ostro-
St Anastasius II.	496			goths in Italy.
St Symmachus	498			
				Monophysites.
St Hormisdas	514			
			Justin I.	
St John I. .	523			
St Felix IV. .	526			
			Justinian I.	Italy recovered to the
Boniface II. .	530			Eastern Empire.
John II. .	533			
St Agapetus I.	535			St Columba of Ireland.
St Silverius .	536			
Vigilius. .	537			
				Fifth General Council at Constantinople.
Pelagius I. .	555			
				Dionysius Exiguus. The
John III. .	560			birth of Christ made
			Justin II.	the first epoch in Christian chronology.
Benedict I. .	574			Lombards enter Italy.

Popes.	A.D.	Emperors. W. Empire.	Emperors. E. Empire.	Contemporary Notes.
Pelagius II. .	578		Tiberius II. Maurice.	Council of Toledo adds *Filioque* to the Creed.
St Gregory I. (the Great).	590			Conversion of England.
Sabinian .	604		Phocas.	
Boniface III.	607			
St Boniface IV.	608			
St Deus-dedit	614		Heraclius.	
Boniface V. .	618			
Honorius I. .	625			The Hegira of Mohammed.
Severinus .	640			
John IV. .	640			
Theodore I. .	642		ConstantineIII. Constans II.	The Eastern Empire wanes under the assaults of the Saracens.
St Martin I. .	649			
St Eugenius I.	654			
St Vitalian .	657			
Adeodatus .	672		ConstantineIV.	The Venerable Bede.
Domnus I. .	676			
St Agatho .	678			
St Leo II. .	682			Sixth General Council at Constantinople ("In Trullo").
St Bendict II.	684			Karling dynasty in France and Germany.
John IV. .	685		Justinian II.	
Conon . .	686			
St Sergius I. .	687			
John VI. .	701		Leontius. Tiberius III.	
John VII. .	705		Justinian II. restored.	
Sisinnius .	708			
Constantine .	708			
Gregory II. .	715		Phillipicus, Bardanes, Anastasius II.	Moorish Conquest of Spain.
St Gregory III.	731		Theodosius III. Leo III., "the Isaurian."	St Boniface in Germany. First Edict of the Emperor Leo against Images

Popes.	A.D.	Emperors. W. Empire.	Emperors. E. Empire.	Contemporary Notes.
St Zacharius .	741		Constantine V., Copronymus.	
Stephen II. .	752			
St Paul I. .	757			
Stephen IV. .	768			
Hadrian I. .	772			
			Leo IV., Constantine VI., and Irene.	End of the Greek Exarchate of Ravenna.
St Leo III. .	795	Charles the Great.		
			Nicephorus I., Staurasius, Michael I., Leo V.	In 800 the Western Empire is restored under Charles the Great, "Charlemagne."
Stephen V. .	816	Louis the Pious.		
St Paschal I. .	817			
			Michael II., the Stammerer.	
Eugenius II. .	824			
Valentine .	827	Lothar I.		
Gregory IV. .	827			
		Louis II.	Theophilus.	
			Michael III.	
Sergius II. .	844			
St Leo IV. .	847			
Benedict III.	855			Conversion of Bulgaria.
St Nicholas I. (the Great) .	858			Disputes on the Eucharist and on Predestination.
Hadrian II. .	867		Basil I.	Russians under Ruric.
John VIII. .	872	Charles II. ("the Bald.")		
		Charles III. ("the Fat.")		
Marinus or Martin II. .	882			
Hadrian III. .	884			
Stephen VI. .	885			
			Leo VI.	
Formosus .	891	Guido.		
		Lambert.		
		Arnulf.		
Boniface VI. .	896			
Stephen VII.	896			
Romanus .	897			
Theodore II. .	898	Louis, the Child.		
		Louis III.		
John IX. .	898			
Benedict IV. .	900			
Leo V. .	903			
Christopher	903			

Popes.	A D.	Emperors. W. Empire.	Emperors. E. Empire.	Contemporary Notes.
Sergius III. .	904			The Normans christianised.
Anastasius III.	911		Alexander.	Rollo.
		Conrad I.	Constantine X.	
Landus . .	913			
John X. .	914	Berengar.	Romanus I. Lecapenus and his sons.	
		Henry I. "the Fowler."		
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