

11806



The Breckinridge

25-4

ALUMNI LIBRARY,
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
PRINCETON, N. J.

LIBRARY
Theological Seminary,

PRINCETON, N. J.

BX 953 .W32 1759

Walch, Christian Wilhelm
Franz, 1726-1784.

A compendious history of the
popes

A
C O M P E N D I O U S
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
P O P E S,

F R O M T H E
Foundation of the S E E of R O M E to
the present Time.

Translated and Improved from the German Original

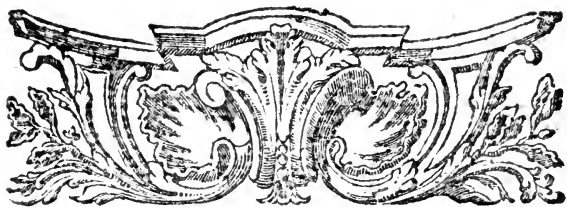
O F
C. W. F. W A L C H, D. D.

Professor of Divinity and Philosophy at *Gottingen*.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. RIVINGTON and J. FLETCHER,
G. KEITH, P. DAVEY and B. LAW, S. CROWDER,
T. FIELD, E. DILLY, J. PRIDDEN, and T. HOPE.

MDCCLIX.



THE
P R E F A C E.

I AM so perfectly satisfied with the two principal motives which induced me to undertake this abridged History of the Popes, that I need not ask the candid Reader's pardon. I was moved on one side by the necessity and usefulness of the knowledge of this part of history; on the other, by the want of better means for the attainment of this

knowledge; I mean an instructive book, containing a complete, accurate and practical History of the Popes of *Rome*; not merely relating truths, and suppressing none of any importance, but instructing the person who applies to such a silent instructor how to make the proper use of those truths. All my predecessors in this work have been defective in these qualities, being either ignorant or not ambitious of them. I have prescribed them to myself as rules necessary towards improving an interesting part of church-history, and at the same time clearing up other parts of historical learning, of divinity, of the canon law, and of political knowledge. For the light which these need, and derive from the History of the Popes, is to them indispensable.

In the prosecution of these great ends, I have made choice of the following

lowing means: First, I have endeavoured to fix the rules by which the utility of facts may be determined; and these naturally flowed from the end which every reader must have in view, unless he reads such a part of history merely for amusement; and by these rules I strictly regulated my choice of facts. In every transaction I examined what incidental or necessary relation it had to this or that science. By the use of this precaution the work is rather more than complete. I appeal to the perusal of it; and need not be more explicit on this head, having so fully explained my design in the preliminary discourse, that whoever will give himself the trouble of reading that may judge whether I have overlooked any useful part of the History of the Popes.

My next point was so to dispose my plan, as to adapt it to the at-

tainment of my end. I thought it proper first to relate the transactions, and then to point out their utility. This was my reason for dividing every book into two chapters: The first entirely historical, and the second practical. The former is a narrative of the events themselves, but not merely a dry narrative; I never lost sight of their moral connexions, as the same is discoverable in their views, motives, means and consequences; sometimes I have intimated it briefly; sometimes explained it more amply. I have also touched on critical matters, and put into the hands of my readers the chronological clue by which I myself was guided. Such is this history of the Papacy, which word, in imitation of some writers of eminent merit, is taken in a more stricter sense than usual. I comprehend in it whatever relates to the office, the dignity and power of the Pope. There are indeed many excellent and useful books

books already extant, which bear this title. Yet I can truly affirm, that I found myself obliged to work entirely a-new. Whether I assume too much will be best determined by comparing every period of my account, thro' its whole connexion, with the writings of *Mornay*, *du Moulin*, *Heidegger* and *Cyprian*. Most of the learned persons were set only on the controversial point of invalidating from history the unlawful claims of the See of *Rome*. I have taken a larger range. My books will show what the papacy has been in all times, and what change it has undergone,

The essence of it is that ecclesiastical supremacy by which the Pope is become the head of a great part of *Christendom*. And I have been principally attentive to the rise, the growth, the checks, the vindications, limitation, extension, and establishment of that supremacy, and to the means by which all this was accomplished

plished. This takes in a considerable part of the history of the canon law, and is infinitely connected with other particulars which nearly concern the public law of the *European* states; the rights, for instance, of the imperial crown, and the liberties of the *Gallican* church. I was obliged to have all these in view, in order fairly to state the history, and to trace out the real causes and effects of the ecclesiastical dominion of the Pope. He is likewise lord of considerable territories, possessed of gold and silver, which St. *Peter*, even admitting him to have been bishop of *Rome*, certainly did not bequeath to the See. Whence these riches? Are they lawful possessions? Has he always lorded it over his subjects with the same prerogatives which he now enjoys? These too are questions which I was obliged to keep in view, and therefore to interweave in my history the most remarkable particulars

lars of the election, consecration, coronation, and reign of each Pope ; of the cardinals they promoted, and the like. I wish that in these articles the way had been paved for me in the whole as it is in detached parts ; but not knowing of any such aid, I hope the reader will excuse the imperfections he may meet with. As I have considered all these matters only as the consequence of the events related. I have endeavoured, by references to the historical accounts, to enable my readers of themselves, to find out the authorities of my assertions.

Of the order, I have already intimated that it is in general chronological, which I have corrected wherever I could. The respective second chapters obliged me to establish eight periods, each of which fills a book. The division is not arbitrary, but according to the principal revolutions of the ecclesiastical supremacy, the

distinguished by the names of the *Roman* Emperors. In ancient times these Lords of the city of *Rome* were doubtless Lords also of the bishops thereof. They could not, I think, be dispossessed of both rights. And therefore I was obliged first to name the Emperors of the East, then those of the *Franks*, and lastly of the *German* empire. But it being usual in church-history to compute by centuries from the birth of our Saviour, I have in the sections of every first chapter taken care to assist the memory of learners. Every division contains a century ; but the larger divisions of the periods, and the accounts of the lives of Popes, who did not die just at the close of a century, have sometimes obliged me to add or subtract a year or two, more or less, from a century. These are necessary *minutiæ*, by which no one can be misled, as the printed numbers guard against all mistakes.

Lastly,

Laſtly, I have made it my buſineſs carefully to ſpecify the writings of the Popes, which is more neceſſary and uſeful in thoſe of ancient times, than thoſe of the later ages. I have given exact accounts of thoſe writers who have treated more at large of the Popes ; and my catalogue of the hiſtorians of the Popes is at leaſt much more complete than any that has yet appeared. I have not been ſatisfied with collecting ancient and modern ſingle accounts of lives, but have quoted other writings, in which either all or any particular tranſactions of Popes are illuſtrated. But general works which every one would otherwiſe conſult towards a knowledge of the papal hiſtory, I have deſignedly omitted, as will appear in the preliminary diſcourſe.

As no proteſtant has in ſo long a courſe of time compiled any inſtructive hiſtory of this kind, though all parts of hiſtory relative to this, are enriched

riched by many ancient writers and records, and illustrated by solid disquisitions of the most learned men in *Europe*, of whom, for reasons well known, the papists either cannot or dare not make any but an improper use; it would be very inexcusable to offer nothing new to the reader, nothing but what has before occurred in such an abstract. The writings I quote, of the greatest part of which I myself have made use, will here be my vouchers. And their evidence will be confirmed to any who will be pleased to compare this book with others of this kind.

In my judgment of the Popes I have paid the strictest regard to truth; and I hope the reader will do me the justice to acknowledge my moderation. It is with pain that I mention vicious men; I have therefore been cautious not to augment the number of them without the strongest grounds. However, my book will, without any
im-

immediate application of mine, promote the use which is so justly made of the morals of the Popes in combating the doctrine of their infallibility and uncorrupted succession. The reader will find that I have commended virtuous men, and their laudable actions, whom yet *Baronius* himself censures.

I must recommend to my readers one more advantage, which has been particularly my object in this history. I have carefully investigated and exposed the many usurpations of the Popes upon the Princes of the earth. How were Emperors and Kings yoked and shackled! How valuable is the liberty we enjoy! How much greater are Protestant than *Roman-catholic* Princes! They hold the regality entire; the latter share it with a Bishop. It is certainly a capital duty thus to evidence to the Lords of the world the felicity of that sovereign who perseveres in the truth.

In this truth may God preserve us all, to whom his gospel is dear. May he also vouchsafe to bless this work to the glorifying of his adorable name.

At the University of
Göttingen, April 9,
1756.

C. W. F. Walff.





A

COMPENDIOUS
HISTORY
OF THE
POPES of ROME.

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

SECTION I.



Y the *History of the Popes* we mean an authentic narrative of the memorable transactions of the Bishops of *Rome*.

SECT. 2. In order to form a judgment of the nature and full extent of this history, the Bishops of *Rome*, must be considered, first as Bishops, then as Chiefs of the *Roman-catholic* party,
B and

and in the last place, as sovereigns of several important territories*.

Sect. 3. The transactions therefore may be divided into three classes: Some are common to them with all other Bishops; such are the personal circumstances of extraction, manner of living, moral character, death, and the like. Some have a near relation to their episcopal office, and the functions appertaining thereto.

Sect. 4. Others concern their dominion over the *Roman-catholic* church, by which we understand that religious society, which makes the exercise of the *Roman-catholic* religion its object. We cannot therefore be perfectly acquainted either with the church or its chief, without a particular knowledge of this religion.

Sect. 5. In order to this it is not necessary here to state the whole of their doctrines, and their various rites and ceremonies; but it is absolutely so, to be acquainted with the following general points; 1. That the doctrine of the church, of the necessity of a visible head, of his infallibility, and the unlimited authority in all points of religion grounded thereon, is the real centre of the whole system of that party; next, that the idea of the church, as a society of lords and subjects, gave birth to that hierarchy, by which the Pope became monarch over all and every member of that church, and by which a complete subordination of ecclesiastical persons was introduced.

Sect. 6. This not only explains the inseparable connection betwixt the Pope and the papacy, but

* It will appear from the history itself, that the Bishops of *Rome* could not always be chiefs of the *Roman catholic* church, for this did not always exist; nor have those countries, which at present acknowledge the Pope as their Prince, been always subject to the Bishops of *Rome*; so that the two last ideas are not applicable to the first Bishops

shows what is the supremacy of the Pope over his church, and how it extends both to the doctrines, and the established government of the church of *Rome* *.

Sect. 7. Now though this church pretends, that both the infallible authority, and the spiritual monarchy of the pope are derived from Heaven, and on one side supports this pretence by the pretended uninterrupted succession of her Popes; on the other, concludes from thence that it extends through all Christendom, and labours hard to prove, that it has been acknowledged by Christians in all ages; yet both the holy Scriptures teach the contrary, and thereby convict the *Roman-catholic* church of being an erroneous church; and history bears witness to the truth, by denying any such uninterrupted succession; by irrefragably confuting the pretended infallibility in matters of faith, and by exhibiting to the world a full account of the whole monarchy in its rise, progress, and subsistence; of the means used for the attainment of this great end, and of the frequent obstructions it met with from the strenuous opposition of others.

Sect. 8. All transactions relative to these comprehend the real substance of this second class of materials towards the papal history; but these again divide themselves into various branches, of which in order to prepare the reader for a proper attention, we shall take notice of the following: The conduct of the popes with respect to articles of faith and the opposite errors: The conduct of the popes towards the other bishops, either singly or collectively, representing in councils the whole visible church, or only parts of it: The conduct of the Popes with respect to church-government. The

* Herein consists the nature and ground of the differences betwixt the members of the *Roman catholic* church in *France* and in other countries.

conduct of the Popes with respect to the rights of the civil magistrate in matters of religion; especially towards the emperors, as rightful sovereigns of the city of *Rome*: The conduct of the Popes towards the magistrate, with respect to civil government; the conduct of the Popes with respect to ecclesiastical rites and usages, which head will comprehend not only the acts and opinions of Popes and their followers; but likewise the sentiments and measures of others, of enemies as well as impartial persons.

Sect. 9. The third and last class of transactions to be related in the history of the popes, concerns the countries and states subject to the Pope, as sovereign; but which cannot be particularly specified here, as they are of the same kind with those transactions which form the contents of the history of each particular sovereign*.

Sect. 10. This triple dignity being centred in one person, who thus in effect exercises a three-fold office; another kind of transactions will occur, which must be comprehended under the general appellation of the political revolutions of the court of *Rome*. Of this kind are the history of the elections of Popes, of the consistory of cardinals and their particular congregations; the nunciature, the rota, the papal revenues, state-maxims, and the like.

Sect. 11. All these transactions, when stated in a history, ought to be true. It would be superfluous here to apply to the History of the Popes, the general principles of the real nature of historical truth: Nor is it necessary here to explain the idea of what is remarkable. It is sufficient, that we

* In this kind of transactions a *German* patriot will keep his eye upon the rights of the holy *Roman* empire; the sovereignty over the city of *Rome*, and the feudal sovereignty over other provinces.

HISTORY of the POPES.

exclude from our idea of history every thing fabulous and trivial*.

Sect. 12. This will render our plan useful; for utility here consists in a judicious choice of the facts to be related, in a proper disposition of them, agreeably to their material connection, that is, to chronological order; and in solid reflections upon them. The last arise partly from the motives and causes, and partly from the moral quality of measures and revolutions.

Sect. 13. There is no part of history, perhaps, where it is so difficult to keep to impartiality, as here. Religious zeal may in many instances imperceptibly warp one from the truth. However, a judicious historian, studious of truth, will soon find the middle way, and divest his mind of the prejudices prevailing on all sides.

Sect. 14. The general scope and benefit of historical accounts of all kinds are here connected with some peculiar to the history of the Popes. These are partly historical, throwing a light upon church-history in general, and on very important parts of civil history; partly polemical, deciding many of the controversies betwixt the church of *Rome* and other churches and sects, and partly political, setting forth the fundamental state-maxims of the court of *Rome*.

Sect. 15. The acts of the Popes are not to be known any other way, than by the use of those accounts, which we have of them. Several eminent persons have already taken the trouble to form catalogues of the books most conducive to

* But this is not meant to preclude the examination of disputed questions, nor the evidences by which a fact, received by some, appears to be a fable, when that fact would be remarkable, if it were true; and the like is to be understood of *minutiæ*, which occasionally are of importance.

this end. The difference of their views, and even of their capacities, will not allow us to estimate them alike, either in worth or utility. The *Bibliotheca Pontificia* of *Lewis, Jac. a S. Carolo*, published at *Lyon*, in two parts, in 1643; and *Aug. Oldorn's Catalogus auctorum qui de Romanis pontificibus scripserunt*, which is annexed to the *Athenus Romanus*, by the same author, printed at *Perusa* in 1676. and to the *Cæremonial. Elect. & coronat. Pontif. Rom.* *Franckfort* 1732. published by *Job. Gerb. Meuschen*, should be the best, but are not. The following are of more general use: *Caspar. Sagittarius in Introduc. in histor. eccles.* together with the additions of *Job. Andr. Schmid.* *Job. Alb. Fabricius in Biblioth. Græc.* Vol. xi. and in his *Lux Salutar. Evangel. Burc. Gottl. Euder in Biblioth. Hystor. Nic. Langlet de Fresnoi in Catalog. des Historiens*; and in *Supplement*, Art. xix. p. 83. to which may also be added *Job. And. Bossius de compar. prudent. civili.* *Martin Hawkens*, two volumes, *de scriptoribus rerum romanarum*; *Sev. Walt. Sluter's Propyl. histor. christian.* *Christ. Gryphus adparat. de script. histor. seculi xvii.* and *Job. Franc. Budeus's Isagog. in univers. theol.*

Sect. 16. I divide all the treatises relating to the papal history into two principal classes. The first contains the authorities, which may be divided into three kinds, of which the first includes the historians; and these are such writers of the lives of single Popes, as were cotemporary with them.

Sect. 17. Likewise other historians, who insert in their accounts of their own times, those transactions of the Popes, which had any connection with them; and tho' in the middle ages there was not an annalist who has not made some mention of the Popes, at least of their election and de-

decease; yet the *German*, *French*, and especially the *Italian* historians are the best*.

Sect. 18. It is therefore necessary not only to know the *Italian* historians, for which purpose consult *Fabricius in conspectu Thesauri litterar. Ital. Fresnoi in catalogue des histor.* and in the *Supplem.* and *Buder in Biblioth. histor.* but particularly to make a proper use of the large collections published by *Grævius*, *Perizonius*, and *Peter Burmann.* under the title of *Thesaurus antiquitat. & histor. Ital. & Sicil.* And *Muratori*, who chiefly confines himself to the *Scriptor. rer. Italic.* Whereas *Andr. Schott's Italia Illustrata, Francf. 1600*, is of little use in the *Papal History* †.

Sect. 19. The second class contains the records. These are all letters, bulls, briefs, and instruments of that kind, whatever be their form or contents. They are sometimes found in collections, sometimes singly; collections containing only letters of single Popes, are most properly quoted in the accounts of their lives; whereas those which extend to all Popes, who lived till the time of the publisher of them, deserve to be taken notice of here. They were occasioned by the weight which the decrees of the *Roman* bishops insensibly acquired. The collection of the greatest antiquity, of which

* Of the *French* none have acquitted themselves better than *Le Long*, in his *Bibliothèque Historique de la France.* Among their collections is that of *Bouquet*, which, tho' not complete, is yet of indispensable utility.

† The accounts of the *Italian* historians may receive very valuable additions from ancient and modern writings, containing the literary history of single cities and provinces of *Italy.* *Mendosi*, *Toppi*, *Aristi*, *Argelati*, and others, have been enlarged by *Foscarini delle letterat. di Venezia*, *Agostini notizie istorico-critiche*, *Zacharias's Bibliotheca Pistoriensis*, *Zeno's Dissertazione Vossiane agli Storici Italiani*, and *Mausi's* new edition of *Fabricius's Biblioth. Lat. Medii ævi.* But *Mazzuchelli* has improved upon all these in his *Scrittori d'Italia*, the first volume of which was published at *Brescia 1753*, fol. and no more has yet appeared.

we have any account, is that of *Dionysius Exiguus*, but the oldest letters in it go no higher than bishop *Siricius*. It was afterwards enlarged at *Rome* itself. But such collections have also been made out of *Italy*; and of these the most celebrated is one in *Spanish*, falsely attributed to *S. Isidore of Sevil*. In the eighth century some impostors were discovered, who from time to time published their own compositions, as letters of the most ancient bishops of *Rome*. Of these consisted the famous collection, which went under the name of *Isidorus mercator*, or *peccator*. *Gratian*, who deserves a principal place here, has enlarged his collection of the canon-laws, with some of that spurious trash. The decretals come next, and are likewise of use*.

Sect. 20. Among the modern collections, the most valuable are *Constant's Epistolæ Romanorum Pontificum*, &c. but of which only the first part is published, and the *Bullarium magnum*, which by *Cherubini* continued by *Angel Cherubini*, *Angelus à Laurentis* and *Job. Paul à Roma*. The latest edition is that of *Luxemburg* in 1727, in eight volumes, fol. to which *Anar. Chevalier* and *Fousquet* added a ninth and tenth in 1730. And lastly three more came out in 1740. The abridgment of the papal decrees by *Steph. de Quaranta*, *Jac. Castellan*, and *Flavius Cherubinus* are of no use in the History of the Popes. The collections of bulls issued in favour of the religious orders are rather of more moment. These may be known from *Hippolitus Heylot's* list of authors which treat of the orders prefixed to the first part of his voluminous history of religious and secular orders. But to this must be added the *Bullarium Capucinum*.

* Besides those who have explained the history of the canon law, see *Fabricius in Biblioth. Græc.* Vol. XI. and *Böhmer* in the preface to the second part of his edition of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*.

SECT. 21. The number of those records which occur in large historical works, or in general collections of ancient monuments, or in polemical writings, is much too large for a particular enumeration here; yet to the curious in this branch of history, we must particularly recommend the large collections of councils; *Cæsar Baronius's Annales*, with the continuation, *Ferdinand Ughelli's Italia Sacra*; the *Antwerp Acta Sanctorum*; *Edm. Martene's Thesaur. monimentor. and collection. amplissim.* *Job. Mabillon's acta sanctor. ord. Benedictin.* and *analect. med. ævi*; *Luc. Daker's Specileg.* *Steph. Baluzen's Miscellania*; *Gallia Christiana* by the *Benedictines*, *Bernb. Pezen's Thesaurus*; *Luc. Wadding's annales ord. S. Francisci*, *Job. Peter Ludewig's reliquæ manuscriptorum*; *Sim. Friedr. Habn's collect. moniment.* *Val. Ferdin. Gudenus's codic. diplomatic.* *Job. Georg. Echard corp histor. med. ævi*; *Ludwig Ant. Muratori antiquitat. Ital. medii ævi*; *Job. Nic. Hontbeim's histor. diplomat. Trenirens*, *Job. Lamus deliciae*; the *Monimenta Ecclesiæ Venetæ*, and others*.

SECT. 22. Next to these the most authentic accounts of matters relating to the Popes, are to be met with in the acts of councils; especially those of the middle ages, in which the Popes had so great a share. To the general collections, anterior to those of *F Hardouin*, and enumerated by *Franc. Salmon* in his *Traité de l'étude des conciles*, by *Job. Alb. Fabricius*, and by *Job. Fran. Brudæus* in his *Isagoge in theol. univers.* have since been added that of *Coleti*, printed at *Venice*, and the valuable supplements of *Job. Dominic. Mausî* at *Lucca*.

* See a further account of writers of this kind in *Dan. Ebrh. Baring* in the *Biblioth. Script. diplom.* prefixed to his *clavis diplom.* Of letters in general, written by the Popes, see an account in *Bonamici de claris Epistolas pontifical Scriptur.* Rome 1753. 8vo.

Seçt. 23. In the last place, almost all other records of church history, may be consulted along with these ; for the middle ages transmit to us no sort of ecclesiastical transactions in which the Popes had not some influence ; but this is not the place to specify them, especially as they will come in most properly in the course of the work.

Seçt. 24. The third kind of authorities are the monuments. There are indeed epitaphs and statues still extant ; but no collection having yet been made of them, they must be attended to in the life of every Pope. This also is to be observed of the medals of the ancient Popes ; but with respect to those of later ages, it would be an omission here not to take notice of *Claude du Moulinet's historia summorum pontificum a Martino V. ad Innocentium XI. per eorum numismata*. Paris 1679. fol. *Phil. Bonannus's numismata pontificum Romanorum* : And by the same author, *Numismata summorum pontificum templi Vaticani fabricam indicantia*. *Lor. Beyers's numismatum modernorum cimelcharchii Brandenburgici sectio prima*. *Xaver Scilla's breve notizia delle monete ponteficie antiche e moderne*. *Rod. Venuti's numismata Romanorum pontificum, &c.* *Job. Vignole's antiquiores pontificum Romanorum denarii*, and *Floravantes's antiqui R. P. denarii a Benedicto XI. ad Paulum III.*

Seçt. 25. The second principal class consists of the auxiliary means which we are obliged on account of their manifold variety to divide into various sorts. The first of which contains such writings as relate the lives of the Popes. Some have made them the chief subject of their labours. These are general, when they professedly comprehend the histories of the Popes till their time ; and may be divided into ancient, those of the middle ages, and the more modern.

SECT. 26. The simplicity of ancient times contented itself with bare lists of the Popes of *Rome*. These are indeed very *jejune*; but serve to ascertain the chronology, and in some cases have the weight of historical authorities. Some of these are found in the writings of the fathers, as of *Irenæus*, *Optatus of Melitum*, *St. Augustine*, *Eusebius of Cesarea*, *Victor Africanus*, &c. Others occur only in manuscripts, and have been brought to light by learned men, as *Ægid Bucher* in *comment. ad Victorii canonem pontificalem*, *Daniel Papebroch* in *Act. Sanctor.* and in his *Propylæum*, *Anton. Pagi* in the first part of his *Critica in Barenii Annales*, and especially by *Schelfstraten* in the first part of his *Antiquitat. eccles. illustrat.* And *Francis Bianchini* in the second part of *Anastasius' Vit. Pontific.* and *Zacharia* in *Biblioth. Papiæ* *.

SECT. 27. The accounts which were compiled in the following ages, were more complete. We shall here take the writings of the middle age in one view, till the reformation of the church, with a special regard to those, which, in the histories of their times, are to be regarded as authorities. The most ancient is that well known by the title of *Liber Pontificalis*, tho' the author of it was not *Damasus*, it not having been compiled till the sixth century. The best account of it is in *Schelfstraten's antiq. eccles. illustrat.* These, and perhaps other similar writings unknown to us, were corrected and continued by *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* in the ninth century. They were farther continued by *Gulielmus Bibliothecarius*, in his accounts of the Popes *Adrian II.* and *Stephen VI.* This was the origin of the *vitæ pontificum*

* The best accounts of these lists are given in some dissertations of *Schelfstraten* and *Bianchini*. They not only are to be found in the works quoted, but also in *Muratori's Scriptor. rer. Italic.* where also in Part II. is reprinted the list first published by *Job. Georg. Eccard* in *Corp. Histor. Medii ævi.*

Romanorum, published by *Fabrotti*, along with *Anastafius's historia ecclesiastica* at *Paris*, by *Vignole* at *Rome*, and by *Muratori* in the third Vol. *Scriptorum rerum Italic.* And it has been further illustrated in the particular annotations of *Alteserra* printed at *Paris*, 1680. and by *Ciampini* in his *exam. libri pontific. anastaf.* But the most splendid and complete edition is that undertaken by *Franc. Bianchini*, and after his death by *Joseph Bianchini*, of which four Vols. are published. The book *de pontificum Romanorum gestis A. S. Petro usque ad tempora Formosi Papæ*, published by the Jesuit *Job. Buseus*, under the name of *Luitprand* at *Mentz*, 1602, as an appendix to *Anastafius*, ends with the ninth century. Next to him is *Flodoard*, a canon of *Rheims*, who wrote the lives of the Popes till *Leo VII.* in an epic poem of fifteen books, but no more than the last part of it, beginning from the year 715, and ending with 915, have been published by *Mabillon* in the *Act. sanctor. ordin. Benedict.* and by *Muratori* in *S. R. I. Abbo.* Abbot of *Fleury* at the close of the tenth century, made an abridgment of *Anastafius*, which *Buseus* has likewise affixed to his edition of the latter. In the twelfth century, *Pandulphus Masca* of *Alatro* or *Pisa* wrote *Vitæ Romanorum pontificum a S. Petro usque ad Innocentium III.* or rather only continued *Anastafius* and *Gulielmus*. This work has been published at *Venice* in 1547 and 1600; but the best part of it has been reprinted by *Muratori* in the place beforementioned. The *Historia pontificum* by an anonymous writer preserved in *Pezen's Thesaur. anecdot.* belongs to this very period. The *Chronicon summorum pontificum atque imperatorum*, begun by *Martin* of *Poland*, and continued by *Ptolomy* of *Lucca*, and *Bernard Guido*, is a work of still greater note. This is annexed to *Bockler's Schilfter's* and *Rulpis's* editions of *Æneas Sylvius.*

Sylvius Honorius of *Autun's series Rom. pontificum* is inserted in the twentieth part of the *Lyons Biblioth. max. patr.* The above-mentioned *Bernard Guido* or *de Castro S. Vincentii*, who lived in the fourteenth century, left behind him *Annalis pontificum usque ad Joannem XXII.* of which the most useful part only has been made public by *Muratori* in the place above-mentioned; and the like is to be noticed of cardinal *Nicholas Roselli's Gerta pontificum Romanorum.* *Leo Urbevitan's chronicon pontificum Romanorum* is also of this century. *Lami* has inserted it, together with remarks of his, in his *deliciæ eruditorum.* To this period also belong *Gervais Riccoboldi* of *Ferrara*, whose *historia pontificum Romanorum* is to be found in *Eccard's corp. hist. med. ævi*, and *Amalr. Augerius* of *Berry.* We have *Actus pontificum Romanorum* by him, from which *Spondanus Baluzius* and *Leibnitz* have selected some pieces. *Eccard* in the above-mentioned work, is the first who published them entire; but the most correct edition of them is in *Muratori's S. R. I.* Lastly, the celebrated *Petrarch* comes in here; his *chronica delle vite de Pontefici ed Imperatori* was printed the first time at *Venice* in 1476, and after several other editions at *Geneva*, 1625. In the fifteenth century lived *Bonifacius Simonetta*, a native of *Milan*, who wrote in letters *commentarii de persecutionibus christianis & R. P.* which by the care of *Jerom. Emser* were published at *Milan* in 1492, and at *Basil* in 1509. But the most celebrated of all is *Bartolemy* or *Baptista de Sacchisa Platina*; that is, of *Piadena.* His *historia de vitis pontificum* must be acknowledged a work of great utility. The first edition was in 1479, in folio; but the place where printed is not agreed on. This together with the edition by *Coburg* of *Nurenberg* in 1481, folio, are ranked among the curiosities of valuable libraries; but the continuations by *Onuphrius Panvini* and

and *Anton. Cicarella*, who have completed this work to the end of the sixteenth century, doubtless give the preference to the later editions. There are also *German, Italian and French* translations of it. It is a mistake of some, who think that *Raphael of Volaterra* and *Job. Anton. Petramellarius* have writ continuations of *Platina*.

Sect. 28. Since the reformation, several persons of learning, both among the *Roman* catholicks and protestants, have written the lives of the Popes: Of the former are particularly to be noticed *Onuphrius Panvini*, *Alph. Ciaconius*, *Gonsalv. of Illescas*, put forth at *Madrid historia pontifical catolica* in *Spanish*. *Abrakam Bzovius* published at *Cologne* his *pontifex Romanus*, a mere *Monkish* work. *R. Pap. Masson* wrote a fine piece *de Episcopis Urbis*. *Andrew du Chesne* *histoire des Papes* was carefully printed at *Paris* by his son *Francis du Chesne*. *Ferdinand Ughelli* got credit by the first part of *Italia Sacra*, *John Palazzi* by his *gesta pontificum romanorum*, a valuable tho' plain work. *Francis Pagi*, to whom the learned world are obliged for *Breviarium historico chronologico criticum, illustriora pontificum Romanorum gesta, &c. completens*, only the three first parts are the author's. *Antony Sandini*, besides his *Vitæ pontificum Romanorum ex antiquis monumentis collectæ*, which came out at *Paduo* in 1739, has also at the same place, published in 1742, in 8vo. *Disputationes historicæ ad vitas pontificum*, both written with great accuracy. On the other hand, the works of this kind by *Wilibald Heiffens*, *George Wizel*, *Richard Wasseburg*, *Dominic. Tempesta*, *Steph. Szegedin*, *Fra. Joanel*, *Peter Canisius*, *Jac. Strada*, *Job. Bapt. Cavalliere*, *Job. Bapt. of Glen*, *Vitt. Baldini*, *Franz. Carriere*, *Wilb. Buri*, and others are of less value.

Sect. 29. Among protestants the famous martyr *Robert Barnes* first published a history of the Popes.

His *vitæ Roman. pontificum quos papas vocamus, diligenter & fideliter collectæ* were first put forth in a 2d edition, with a preface by a *Luther* at *Wittenberg* in 1536, 8vo. and soon after re-printed. Next to him is his countryman *John Bale*, who published *acta Romanorum pontificum* as an extract of his larger work of *English* writers. Both works were printed together, and continued by *Job. Mart. Lydius* at *Leyden* in 1615. Since these *Andr. Velleius* wrote the lives of the Popes in *Danish* verse. *Johann. Frenzel*, in his history of the church of *Rome* in 1600, has also given a history of the Popes. *Vitæ Romanorum pontificum*, by *William Hulse* were printed at *Wesel* in 1619. *Jerom. Megiser's Icones, insignia & vitæ pontificum* is a German piece. *Revius's historia Romanorum pontificum contracta*, *Amsterd.* 1632, is but a small book. *Besold's Romanorum pontificum series & vitæ*, and *Dietrich's Breviarium pontificum Romanor.* are more valuable. The more recent pieces are the *histoire des Papes* in five Vols. of which the first was published at the *Hague* in 1732, in 4to. which did not answer the expectation of the public. The author *Francis Bruys*, tho' pretending to be a *Roman-catholick* writer, had then relinquished that church to which he afterwards returned. On the contrary, *Mr. Archibald Bower* has acquired greater reputation by his history of the Popes. The first volume was printed in 1750, at *London* in 4to. *M. Rambach* has published a *German* translation of it at *Magdeburg*, of which the third volume came out in 1753, 4to. It is much to be wished, that this work may be as well finished as it has been begun*.

Sect. 30. The *particular* helps are those who have confined themselves to some Popes, either

* The author seems not to have read a piece, intituled, *Bower and Tillemont* compared.

with respect to time, relating the lives of several Popes who succeeded each other within a certain period; which kind of historians may be more properly taken notice of in the history itself.

Sect. 31. Or with respect to other circumstances, in which several Popes resemble each other: They who confine themselves to names, as *Gregory Polydorus* and *Stephen Bonifania*, or even to numbers, as *Johan. Rivadellus*, betray too puerile a disposition to deserve the attention of any serious reader. Those who have treated of the Popes according to their native countries are of more use. *Bosquet's historia pontificum Romanor. qui Galliâ oriundi in eadem sederunt* is also limited by time; whereas *Frison's Gallia purpurata* comprehends a larger space. The celebrated physician *Symphorian. Champiero de pontificibus Gallis*, and *Anton. Macedo's Lusitania infulata & purpurata*, are judged by their readers to be of this number. *Ignat. Maria Como* furnishes the *Historia pontificum & cardinalium regni Neapolitani*. Of German Popes *Wagenfeil* published only an academical prize discourse at *Altorf* in 1683. What *Mallinkrot* has writ on the same subject is to be found in the addition to his work *de Archicancellariis*. Another set of authors have chosen for their subject Popes of one religious order. I am acquainted only with *Caspar Jongelin* and *Ferd. Ugbelli*; and both have only treated of the *Cistercian*. They who have written of the illustrious persons in general of an order, do not belong to this place. I conclude with *George Jos. von Eggs* the author of *Pontificum doctum*.

Sect. 32. The very particular writers confined themselves to the life of one single Pope; and these shall be noted in the history itself.

Sect. 33. Others comprehend a much larger extent of matter than the papal history; but treat of affairs, of which the history of the Popes is always

ways a part. To enumerate those who have only canvassed the character and remarkable transactions of some Popes, would be to recite the historians of all the states in *Europe*; for certainly there is not a province in this part of the world which doth not furnish some fact relating to the history of the Popes. But this would be a digression quite unnecessary, and an affront to the reader's understanding: However, *Muratori's Annali d'Italia* must be mentioned with the utmost esteem, as many of the most important parts of our history are contained in that excellent work, and as it is written with great impartiality.

SECT. 33. Under this head are likewise comprehended all ecclesiastical historians in general. The doctors of the church of *Rome* in their accounts of the revolutions of the Christian church, cannot omit the history of those Bishops whom they consider as supreme over the church. Of these *Baronius's Annales* are of eminent use. The continuations by *Odorich Rainald* and *Jac. Laderchi*, and *Antony Pagi's* useful criticism have their merit. The best edition is that which began to be published at *Lucca* in the year 1742, as containing in it almost every thing belonging to this work. It is a pity that *Stephen Baluzius's* notes were omitted, the curious being now obliged to bind with the former the *Venetian* edition; the first part of which was published in the year 1738. Next to these are *Natalis*, *Alexander* and *Cl. Fleury*, and especially *Tillemont*, tho' he is not complete. The works of the protestants are excellent on particular points. But their ideas of church-history, by which they are limited, do not permit them to give so full an account of the Popes as to deserve notice here, except *Basnage*, the seventh volume of whose *histoire de l'Eglise* is very instructive with respect to the alterations of the see of *Rome*, till the tenth century.

Sect. 35. The Popes also for the most part are writers; and many have most distinguished themselves by this character; it is therefore necessary here to consult *Cave's Historia literaria*, *Fabricius's Bibliotheca latina medii ævi*, and *Remicellier's histoire des Auteurs sacrés & ecclesiastiques*. There are many other similar books which I am obliged to omit for brevity's sake. Many of the Bishops of *Rome* having been canonized, the writers of the lives of saints will claim to be admitted here. The *Bollandists* are indisputably the most valuable; their *Acta Sanctorum*, of which the first part was published at *Antwerp* in 1643, must be read, tho' with great caution. But it would be an endless work to give a detail of all books, in which either a Monk extols the famous men of his order, or a patriot relates the meritorious acts of his countrymen, or another in a different way aims at perpetuating the memory of great men, and thus finds or forces an opportunity of speaking of this or that Pope. So far as their narratives are useful and important, they may be taken notice of in the history itself.

Sect. 36. Among the second kind we place those books which treat of the history of the Papacy. This kind of work is not to be expected from any Papists; it suits protestant pens alone. *Peter du Moulin's Nouveauté du Papisme* is only in part to be consulted under this head; but is a well-known and useful work. This last we may affirm of the *History of Popery*, published in *England* by a society of learned men, in two volumes, 1735. It deserves to be better known among us than it is. *Mornay's Mysterium iniquitatis* is a valuable work. *Heidigger's Historia papatus*, *Samuel Puffendorf's* Historical and political remarks on the spiritual monarchy of the see of *Rome*, as published with good notes by *Christian Tomafius of Hall*, *Gaebel's*

bel's Cæsareo-papia Romana, which he published, and *Keufel's historia pontificatus Romani* deserve here to be especially recommended *.

Sect. 37. The many controversial writings for and against the Pope of *Rome*, compose the third class. These are especially of two sorts: Some discuss the spiritual supremacy over the church; a topick which is disputed on both sides with great vehemence upon historical principles. The asserters of this supremacy are obliged to show from history an uninterrupted succession of such Bishops as the universal Christian church has at all times acknowledged as infallible judges in matters of faith; such as have been actually infallible, and always had a pre-eminence over all other Bishops in the world, and an authority above councils; to whom the monarchs of the earth have been subject, and whose decrees were universally obligatory. And their opponents, whether they combat all these assertions in general, or only some of them, cannot make use of a more proper, clear and secure method of proof, than to show by the examples and testimonies of the primitive ages, the falsity of all those pretences. It is by this means that many transactions of the Popes of *Rome* have been canvassed and illustrated by those learned men. The protestants have doubtless the first rank among the adversaries of the see of *Rome*; yet the glori-

* Some among the papists, who have particularly written on the ancient government of the church, as *Marca, Dupin, Richer*, and others, have made very good and useful remarks. But they could not furnish an entire work in its true connection. *L. Maimbourg's traité historique de l'établissement & de prerogatives de l'Eglise de Rome & de ses évêques*, tho' abounding in trash, has more good in it than could be expected from a Jesuit. But the *Histoire du droit publique ecclesiastique François*, published in two volumes in 4to. without date at *London*, or rather *Paris*, is a work of much greater merit and weight.

ous defenders of the liberties of the *Gallican* church, who for the sake of truth have frequently proved more than they intended, are barely inferior to them. As it would be foreign to our purpose to enumerate these writings, it may suffice to refer the reader in general to most of the polemical tracts against popery, and to the accounts which we have of them in general collections, such as *S. Carolus* in the second volume of the *biblioth. pontif.* by *Sagittarius* in his *Introd. in Histor. Eccles. Budæus* in *Ijagog. in Univ. Theol. &c.* On the other hand, the substance of what is alledged in defence of the papal supremacy against the protestants and jansenists is to be met with in *Rocca-berti's Bibliotheca Pontificia*, twenty-one volumes, fol. Rome 1695.

Sect. 38. Others have discussed the temporal possessions and prerogatives of the Popes. It is pretended on one side, that the Pope has from the most ancient times enjoyed an unlimited sovereignty over the city of *Rome*, and the provinces subjected to the see of *Rome*; and a feudal right over many others. On the other hand, the rights of crowned heads, which are affected by these claims, are strongly asserted. This for many ages past has been a plentiful source of learned disputes, in which historical proofs are likewise best; even the middle ages produced very useful writings: Among which *Scharden's Syntagma tractatum de imperiali jurisdictione*, and *Goldest's* collection *de Monarchia S. R. imperii*, are very essential. But the paper war in this century, on the disputes concerning *Comacchio*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, &c. affords a more plentiful collection of highly valuable illustrations of the whole papal history, which may be found in the celebrated Mr. *Buder's biblioth. histor. and biblioth. jurid.* where
also

also are specified other writings belonging to this class.

Sect. 39. Among the sciences necessary to assist us in an illustration of the history of the Popes, the principal is chronology. The difficulties of computations occurring here are very often inexplicable. To avoid mistakes, we must acquaint ourselves thoroughly with the various epocha's on which histories and records are grounded; tho' this is to be understood not of the modern æra's, but only those of the middle and earliest ages; and of these the latter are the most intricate. It would not be agreeable to our design to cite general chronological works, especially as very few of them contain any thing to our purpose. But here I must mention *l'Art de verifier les dates des faits historiques*, by the *Benedictines* of *Paris*. Since, besides the tables there inserted, which compare the different computations, the chronological list of the Popes of *Rome* in p. 355—404, is the most useful piece of the book, which is in other respects very inaccurate. *Du Fresnoy's* chronological tables, tho' not perfectly accurate, are of great service to church-history. The Jesuit *Dan. Papebroch* has excelled all others in settling the entire chronology of the Popes; His *conatus chronico-historicus ad catalogum romanor. pontificum*, printed at *Antwerp* in 1685, may also be looked upon as a piece for the month of *May* in the *Bollandist acta Sanctorum*. It is written with a freedom which has provoked warm censure from other members of the church of *Rome*. Beside him, *Anton. Pagi*, *Frænc. Pagi*, and *Lud. Aut. Muratori* have taken great pains in the works already quoted to adjust the chronology of the Popes. As most of the difficulties occur in the earliest ages, great use may be made not only of *Schelstraten* and *Bianchini* already mentioned, but of the learned bishop *Pearson de serie & successione*

primorum Romæ episcoporum, and *Dodwell's Dissertat. de pontificum Romanorum primæva successione*, both which are to be found in the *opera posthuma* of the former, printed at *London* in 1688, and *Joh. Philip Baratier's disquisit. chronol. de successione antiquissima Episcoporum Romanorum inde à Petro usque ad Victoriam* *.

Sect. 40. It is necessary likewise to be acquainted with the political constitution of the court of *Rome*; but of this we have accounts in the political states of *Europe*; and particular parts we shall have occasion to mention in the course of history itself.

* *Fabricius* in his *Bibliograph. Antiq.* has inserted an alphabetical list of the Popes of *Rome*, with their chronology, according to *Papebroch*; and in *Biblioth. Græc.* Vol. XI. We have besides, a chronological list of the Popes from the Jesuit *Bapt. Riccioli's Chronolog. Reform.*



B O O K I.

O F T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

P O P E S o f R O M E,

From the Commencement of Christi-
anity to the Times of *Constantine*
the Great.

C H A P. I.

Of the History of the P O P E S o f R O M E.

S E C T. I.

Of the History of the Popes of *Rome* of the first
Century.

Sect. I. **I**T is certain, from the New Testa-
ment, that at the general propaga-
tion of Christianity by the Apostles,
there was very early at *Rome* a
Christian community, whose faith was celebrated
throughout the whole world*.

* See *Acts* xxviii. 16, 30. *Rom.* i. 8. and *J. Rambach's In-
trod. in Epist. ad Rom.*

Sect. 2. It is not known which of the Apostles first preached the gospel there. The general doctrine of the church of *Rome* is, that *Peter* was not only appointed by our Saviour, the chief of the Apostles, and head of the Universal Church, but that, after having been seven years bishop of *Antioch*, he came to *Rome*, where he was bishop twenty-five years, and suffered martyrdom under the emperor *Nero*.

68.

Sect. 3. Among all these pretences, none is probable, except that he was at *Rome*, and died there. But that he assumed a primacy, and received it from God, that he was universal Bishop, and with his see transmitted his dignity and authority to his successors is wholly groundless*.

Sect. 4. If we may judge of the Church of *Rome* by the constitution of other Apostolical Churches, she could have no particular Bishop before the end of this century: Yet the ancient lists mention several Bishops who presided over the Church of *Rome* at that time; but they are so contradictory, that it would be impossible exactly to determine either the succession of the Bishops, or their chronology; and these jarring accounts have given rise to the controversies on this head.

Some say, that *Clemens* of *Rome* had been ordained by the Apostle *Peter*, and was his immediate successor; others place *Linus* and *Cletus* betwixt

* Of his journey to *Rome*, see *Peter Franc. Foggini*, in his *Exercitat. in itinere Petri Romano*. That *Peter* never was Bishop, is demonstrated, among others, by *Budæus de Eccles. Apostol.* Of *St. Peter's Chair*, and the veneration paid to it. See *Luchefini's Catedra restituta, à S. Pietro*, and *B. Mezzadri's diff. de Romana Petri cathedra*. Of his death and other circumstances, see a full account in the many lives of this Apostle, which occur in *Walch's Histor. Eccles. Nov. Test.* and the books quoted there; besides the *Catal. Bibl. Bun.* It would not be pertinent to say any thing here of his fall, and of his two epistles, as we do not account him the first Pope.

them;

them ; a third sett indeed name *Linus*, but instead of *Cletus*, *Anacletus*, *Anencletus*, *Dacletius*. Lastly, a fourth party states the succession thus, *Peter*, *Linus*, *Cletus*, *Clemens*, *Anacletus*. In order to reconcile these contradictions, and exactly to adjust them to the supposed duration of their episcopacy, that of *Linus* being extended by some to twelve, by others to eighteen years ; and that of *Cletus* or *Anacletus* sometimes to twelve, and sometimes contracted to two. Writers have formed several conjectures : the most probable of which is, that which rests on the three following positions : 1. That *Linus* and *Cletus* were Bishops of *Rome* at the same time. 2. That *Cletus* and *Anacletus* are to be accounted the same persons. Lastly, that both of them exercised their office, while *St. Peter* was living. But that *Clemens* entered on it a little before his death, and from that time, according to the unanimous account of the ancient lists, held it nine years*.

Sect. 5. As to *Linus* in particular, he seems to be the same person, in whose name *Paul* salutes his

78.

* See the above-mentioned writings of *Pearson*, *Dodswell*, and *Barattier* : And to them add *Natalis Alexandri Dissert. de proximis S. Petri successoribus in Antiochena sede & Romana*, in his *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Novi Testamenti* ; and *Peter Coustant's Diss. de primis Petri successoribus*, prefixed to his *Apistol. pontificum*. See also *Le Moine* in *Proleg. ad Varia sacra*, who, as well as *Barattier*, observes, that in several places there were two Bishops at the same time ; the one for the Jewish, and the other for the Gentile converts. But upon this we need not insist, as we acknowledge no difference betwixt the Bishops and Elders in the Apostolic times ; and therefore judge it probable, that *Linus* and *Cletus* were eminent pastors in the Church of *Rome* at the same time. After the death of the Apostles *Clemens* might indeed be the oldest and principal Elder ; and hence might arise the ancient, but groundless tradition still subsisting, that he was the first Bishop of *Rome*. As most writers of the history of the Popes, not only distinguish *Cletus* from *Anacletus*, but make both them and *Linus* enter upon their office after *St. Peter's* time and succeed each other, they vary from us in the chronology.

beloved

beloved *Timothy*, 2 *Tim.* iv. 21. Yet it is very uncertain whether *Claudia* mentioned there be his mother: But that he was a sovereign, a writer and a martyr, cannot be proved*.

SECT. 6. Of *Cletus*, whom we look upon to be the same person with *Anacletus*, or rather *Anencletus*, except his name, we know nothing more certain than that whatever is said of him is either manifestly false, or very uncertain †.

SECT. 7. That *Clemens* is the same person whom *St. Paul* commends in *Philip.* iv. 3. cannot be decisively proved. That he was of a *Patrician* family in *Rome*, is the invention of those, who with as little ground, have made him a martyr. In both respects he is confounded with the true martyr *Flavius Clemens*. He was doubtless a writer, but not of every thing that bears his name; and it is a groundless pretence, that he appointed seven notaries in *Rome* to write the Legends of Saints ‡.

SECT.

* Concerning *Linus* I refer the reader to *Chiffet's Visitation*, and *T. Ittig's Dissertat. de Patribus Apostolic.* prefixed to his *Bibliotheca Patrum Apostolic.* and the many writers cited by *Fabricius in cod. Apocryph. Nov. Test. & in Bibliothec. Lat. Med. & Infm. Ætat.* Vol. IV. where also mention is made of the book *Martyrium Petri & Pauli*, falsely attributed to this *Linus*.

† That *Cletus* and *Anacletus* are one person has been acknowledged among the *Roman-catholic* writers themselves, by *Valesius*, *Natal. Alexander*, *Dupin*, *Tillemont*, *Halloix*, and *Bollandus* himself, whose *Acta Sanctorum* may be consulted. And this also is the opinion of the best Protestants. See *Ittig.* in the work above mentioned. The latest author who denies it is *A. Sandini in Diss. IV. ad Histor. Pontif.* The fables which we reject are the three spurious epistles attributed to him, of which see *David Blondel* in his *Pseud Isidore*; that he first built *St. Peter's Church*, of which see the notes on *Anastafius*, Tom. II. p. 61, in *Bianchini's* edition; that he divided the city of *Rome* into twenty-five parishes; and lastly, that in his epistles he made use of his greeting and apostolical benediction.

‡ Further accounts of his life and writings, as well as of the authors who have treated of him, particularly *Philip Rondini in Lib. II. de S. Clemente Papa*, may be found in *Walch's Histor. Eccles.*

Sect. 8. The successor of *Clemens* is by most named *Evaristus*, by others *Aristus*; and again by others, *Evaristes*; some again assign him nine years, others thirteen. Both the epistles and decretals attributed to him are forgeries; consequently it is false that he made regulations concerning the consecration of churches, confession, the division of the parish-churches of *Rome*, and the duty of the seven deacons to attend the preaching of their bishops*.

Sect. 9. It is pretty certain, that after *Evaristus*, one *Alexander*, the first of that name, presided over the Church of *Rome*, and it is no less certain, that he neither introduced the holy water into churches, nor enlarged the canon of the mass, which did not then exist; nor ordered the sacramental wine to be mixed with water; nor only unleavened bread to be used in the sacrament. His martyrdom is still much questioned †.

102.

Sect.

Eccles. Nov. Testam. And to this may be added *Remy Ceiller. Histor. des auteurs sacres & Ecclesiastiques Michael S. Joseph Biblioth. Critic. Vol. II. Daniel Farlati Illyric. sacr. and Nath. Lardner's* credibility of the Gospel History, Vol. ii. Among the pieces attributed to *Clemens*, the first Epistle to the *Corinthians* is the only one probably genuine; the second very disputable, and all the rest manifestly false and spurious. *P. Cotelier* and *Le Clerc* have published them all, but *Ittig. Wotton, Coustant* and *Frey* only the two first. Of these *Wetstein* first published a *Syriac* translation, adding them to his celebrated *Greek* edition of the New Testament at *Amsterdam*; but it is extremely different from the original. The authenticity of this translated letter has been contested in two pieces full of erudition, by the above-mentioned *Lardner* and *Venema*; which we the rather mention, as they remarkably adjust and illustrate the whole history of *Clemens*. See *Freidenberg's Historia Recentioris Controversiæ de Clementis Rom. Epistoli*. It is the opinion of most ancient Chronologers, that *Clemens* was Bishop to the end of this century: But *Pearson* and *Barattier* have so fully proved this a mistake, that we do not hesitate to add the two following to this century.

* See *Coustant's Epistol. Pontif.*

† Of the writings falsely attributed to him, and particularly the book against the heretic *Heraclian*, see *Coustant's* work before

S E C T. II.

Of the History of the POPES of *Rome* of the second Century.

SECT. I. **T**HE first we place here is *Xistus*, or *Sixtus I.* but we cannot determine whether he lived under *Trajan* or *Adrian*. It is almost necessary in these times to admit some chasms, which might be occasioned by the persecutions of the Christians. As we cannot here allege any chronological proof, we think ourselves warranted in following *Pearson*, and place the death of *Sixtus* in the year of Christ 127; tho' we conceive him to have been Bishop
 127. no longer than ten years. Nothing farther is known of him; for the directions ascribed to him concerning the duties of priests, that they alone should handle the consecrated vessels, and not suffer thro' their fault any one to die without baptism; concerning the introduction of the formular briefs, as they were called; and the singing of the Trisagion at the mass could not proceed from him. His martyrdom also cannot be proved*.

SECT. 2. *Telesphorus* is said to have been a *Greek*; and *Irenæus* informs us, that he was a martyr. He neither introduced nor confirmed the observation of *Lent*, nor could he direct mass to be read on

fore quoted, and *Mich. S. Joseph* in *Biblioth. Critic. Fabricius* in *Biblioth. Lat. Med. & infim. ætat. Cave Histor. Literar. scriptor. Eccles.* Other accounts of him see in *Tillemont's Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Eccles.* And the *Acta Sanctorum.*

* See *Prof. Mandosi Bibliothec. Rom. Cent. IV. Coustant. Epist. Pontif.* And *Auton. Pagi critic. in annal Baron. Tom. III.*

Christ-

Christmas-Eve, or the Doxology to be sung at
mas in general*.

Sect. 3. *Hyginus* passes for an *Albenian*. That
the errors of *Valentine* and *Cerdo* were propa-
gated at *Rome* in his time, helps to clear the
chronology, if it be true, that this happened in the
time of *Antoninus Pius*. They mistake *Ireneus*, who
imagine him to say, that *Hyginus* excommunicated
Cerdo. The edicts which he is said to have issued,
and which *Gratian* has inserted in his collection,
concerning the consecration of churches; the repe-
tition of this ceremony in certain cases; against
selling to the laity the timber of churches demolish-
ed; and the punishment of such as should set fire
to churches; and of the admission of no more
than two sponsors in *Baptism*, are all too modern.
His martyrdom is uncertain †.

Sect. 4. According to the most ancient writers,
his successor was *Pius I.* whom others have hastily
overlooked. It was before his election that the he-
retic *Marcion* came to *Rome*, and having petition-
ed the elders of the church to be admitted into
communion with them, received a memorable an-
swer. It is pity they could not consult cardinal *Bellar-
mine*, to be better informed of the privileges of the
See of *Rome*. Besides the two epistles invented by
Isidorus, two others written to bishop *Justus* of
Vienna are also attributed to him; but they are
likewise fictitious: The same may be said of nine
decretals published in his name. We meet with

* See *Scaliger's* notes on *Eusebius's Chronic. Oldoini Athe-
næum Rom. Coustant. ibid. p. 56, the Acta Sanctor. Tom. I.
Urban Godfr. Sieber's* discourse de *Vita Telesphori* 714, and
Mich. de S. Joseph, in the *Biblioth. Critic. Anton. Alegre* in his *Pa-
radisus Carmeliticus decoris* makes this bishop a carmelite monk.
It is strange that *S. Carolo* should adopt this fable in his *Biblioth.
Pontific.*

† If *Hyginus* was bishop only four years, it will be necessary
here again to admit a small chasm. But this is not evident.
See *Coustant* and *Acta Sanctor.*

seven of them in *Gratian*, viz. that of the marriage of nuns, of blasphemous forms of oaths; of the punishment of perjury; of the murder of wives; of negligence in spilling the consecrated wine; of the allowing of demoniacs to minister at the altar; two are in *Burchard* and *Ivo*, and one more concerning the celebration of Easter in *Eusebius* is also spurious. It is not probable that he died a martyr*.

157.

Sect. 5. Under *Anicetus* the difference betwixt the eastern and western churches about the celebration of Easter, first excited the attention of the clergy. It occasioned Bishop *Polycarp's* journey from *Smyrna* to *Rome*. *Anicetus* gave him a kind reception. Tho' they could not reconcile their opinions, yet no infallibility, nor a necessity of agreeing in trivial matters were insisted on, nor was the band of charity broken. *Anicetus*, who during *Polycarp's* stay, had all the aid of brotherly affection from him, was much embroiled with the *Valentinians*, who disturbed his church. He is accounted a martyr. As to what is said of a council held at *Rome* concerning Easter, and of an edict of *Anicetus* against the clergy's wearing long hair, it is notoriously false †.

168.

Sect.

* The two epistles are inserted in the collections of councils, and in *Couslant's Appendic.* who also treats of the ordinances of this bishop, in *Epif. Pontif.* His life is written at large by *Fontanini* in *Histor. Literar. Aquilei.* See also the *Acta Sancti. Tillemont. Memoir. Carse Histor. Literar. Scriptor. Eccles. Fabricius in Biblioth. Lat. Med. & Infimæ Etat.* and *Walch's Histor. Eccles. Nov. Test.* Of the sensible answer of the Roman clergy to the heretic *Marcion*, see *Dupin, Diff. II. de antiq. Eccles. Disciplin.* and *Walch* in the work above-mentioned.

† Of the circumstances of *Polycarp's* journey, see *Walch's Hist. Eccles. Nov. Test.* who also gives an account of the quarto deciman controversy of this century, which under the succeeding bishops of *Rome* became more vehement, as may be seen in *Morsheim's Com. de Rebus Christianor. ante Couslant.* The liberality

Sect. 6. Bishop *Soter* is highly commended for the noble contributions he raised among the congregations in *Rome* for the relief of his persecuted brethren even in foreign countries. Whether he wrote a book against the Montanists, is still matter of dispute. *Gratian* has four decretals of his, which are certainly very modern, of the observance of an unlawful oath; of the necessity of never reading mass alone, and of administering the sacrament on *Sundays*. Another direction against a nun's touching altar cloth, is equally spurious. This bishop also is supposed to have been a martyr*.

Sect. 7. He was succeeded by *Eleutherius*, who had been a deacon at *Rome*. In his time the churches of *Rome* received the celebrated epistle from the martyrs of *Lyons*, brought by *Irenæus*. It is certain that the Montanists were the subject, and that the aim of it was the restoration of the peace of the church; but what is said of *Eleutherius's* sentiments, and *Irenæus's* ordination is very uncertain. The account of two priests, *Florinus* and *Blastus*, who at that time maintained and spread in *Rome* the errors of *Valentinian* and *Marcion*, and were both refuted by *Irenæus*, is better supported. The whole story of an embassy from *Lucius*, a king of *Britain*, to *Eleutherius*, and of an embassy in return from the latter to the former, is fabulous. To him also are attributed two decrees concerning the celebration of *Easter*, and against the distinction of meats; but these being manifestly spurious, have

rality of *Pope Clement VIII.* in giving a corps, said to be that of *Anicetus*, to the domestic chapel of the prince of *Altemps*, at *Rome*; induced *John Angelo*, prince of *Altemps*, to write his *Vita Aniceti Papæ & Martyris*.

* See the *Acta Sanctorum*. *Tillemont*. *Constant. Epistol. Pontif.* *Fabricius in biblioth. Græc.* *Celler. in Histor. des auteurs Sacr. & Eccles.*

never

never obtained any weight, and there is very little probability in his having been a martyr*.

192. Sect. 8. Bishop *Victor* I. is more distinguished than any of his predecessors, both by the very ancient complaint against him for countenancing, at least in their infancy, the errors of *Theodotus* and *Montanus*; and by his imprudent conduct in the dispute concerning the observation of Easter. He required the *Asiatic* Churches to depart from their own usages, and keep Easter according to the *Roman* tradition; which had been approved in several synods. He went so far as to threaten with excommunication those who were neither by custom nor inclination disposed to acknowledge a visible head of the church. They signified to him the resolution they had taken in a council at *Ephesus*, by *Polycrates*, the bishop of that city. *Victor* lost all patience; and not only excommunicated all the bishops dissentient from him, but required of all the other churches to approve his conduct. They did not comply; some, and among the rest *Ireneus*, charged *Victor* with a pride destructive of the peace of the church; and the issue was, that each party adhered to their sentiment, till the council of *Nice* decided the controversy, in itself of little importance. *Victor* too is pretended by some to have been a martyr. He was a writer; but we have no remains of his works, the epistles and decretals under his name being spurious †.

202.

Sect.

* We find in *Eusebius's Hist. Eccles.* that part of the epistle of the martyrs of *Vienne*, which is still remaining. See also *Constant. Ceiller, Massinet in Ireneum, the Histoir. Liter. de France*; and *Walch's Histoir. Eccles.* Of the conversion of the *British* king, see *Usher Antiqu. Eccles. Britannic. Owen Theologus, Rapin's history of England, Spanheim, Tom. II. Oper. Of Eleutherius* in general, see the *Acta Sanctor. Tillemont and Fabricius, Biblioth. Lat. Med. & Inf. ætat.*

† Of his contests concerning Easter, besides the books quoted in Sect. 5. See *Constant. Epistol. Placcite Observ. Histoir.*

S E C T. III.

Of the P O P E S of *Rome* of the third Century.

S E C T. I.

WE have very few material accounts of the long pontificate of *Zephyrinus*. During the persecution of the Christians, under the Emperor *Severus*, he kept himself so concealed, that he escaped it. He had much trouble with the *Theodotians*, *Praxeas*, and the *Montanists*. His martyrdom is very improbable. Two epistles of his are invented by *Isidorus*; and the decretals in his name, that the clergy should be ordained in the presence of the congregation, and that the priests should assist at the Bishop's mass with glass-dishes in their hands, are also spurious *.

219.

Sect. 2. *Calixtus* I. or as the *Greeks* more properly call him, *Kallistus*, presided over the church of *Rome* in a time of peace and tranquillity. *Alexander Severus* had assigned the Christians there a public place for their worship; but it is false that *Calixtus* built a temple upon it. It is not improbable, that one of the celebrated semeteries in *Rome* derives its name from him; but we cannot exactly specify by what merit of his this honour was obtained. He is placed among the martyrs, and some singular circumstances are related

Histor. Eccles. Launois, Dupin de antiq. Eccles. Discipl. Bingham origin Eccles. and Sandini Diff. V. ad Histor. Pontif. Of Victor himself, see the Acta Sanctor. Ittig. adh. Diff. de Hæres. Casse Histor. Liter. Script. Eccles. Tillemont Memoir. Ceiller Histor. des Auteurs, (all which, to avoid repetition of these references, the reader may consult throughout great part of this work.)

* See *Mandosi biblioth. Rom. the Acta Sanctor. Constant. Epistol. Pontif. and Tillemont.*

of his death; but there is the greatest probability that he was no martyr. Some attribute to him, 222. tho' groundlessly, a decretal concerning the fasts of the Ember weeks*.

230. Sect. 3. Of *Urban I.* we have nothing certain, but his name; all that is said of him besides, resting on false authorities.

235. Sect. 4. We know as little of *Pontianus*. Most authors relate, that he was banished either to *Sardinia*, or the *Isola del Favolato*; but they are not agreed when, by whom, and on what account: He is likewise supposed to have died in his exile. *S. Jerom* mentions, that at this time the unjust sentence of *Demetrius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, against 236. *Origen* was approved at *Rome* †.

Sect. 5. *Anterus* scarce ruled a month. It is uncertain whether he gave himself that concern about the martyrologies, as is pretended; but he appears to have been a martyr ‡.

Sect. 6. *Fabianus* or *Fabius*, also *Flavianus*, is much better known. The manner of his election, whether true or false, has greatly contributed to a very erroneous doctrine in the church of *Rome*. The panegyricks which *Cyprian* bestowed on him

* The known passage of *Lampridius*, which is of importance in the church history of *Rome*, may be elucidated from Dr. *J. Wunderlich's* *Diss. de Popinis veterum* to be seen in *Act. Societ. Latin.* Tom. III. Of *Callixtus's* cemetery, see *Azzingi Rom. Subterr.* Of this Pope in general, see the *Acta S. Calixti* in *Surio's vit. sancti*, a spurious work. *Tillemont Constant. episc. pontif. S. Jcs. pb. biblioth. critic.* and *Moretti. vit. S. Calixti*.

† This passage of *S. Jerom* is in Tom. IV. *oper.* p. 430. After this Bishop, some insert one of the name of *Cyriacus*, but without grounds. See *Launoi, Libr. iv. Epist. 8.*

‡ What *Aguire* in *Conc. Hisp.* Tom. III. relates of the epistles of this and some other succeeding Bishops, to the *Spaniards*, is founded only in the impostures of *Isidorus*. However he takes occasion from them to make several very good remarks.

after his death, do him honour. He is said to have appointed seven Deacons for the care of the poor, and seven Sub-deacons for digesting the martyrologies : Which last is not well grounded. It is very improbable that he converted to christianity both the Emperors of the name of *Philip*. He died a martyr under *Decius*. His letter concerning the heretick *Privatus* is lost. On the other hand, the decretals of which some are to be found in *Gratian*, against implacable enmity, perjury, the marriage and divorce of lunatics ; of the degrees of marriage, or the dissolution of unlawful marriages ; of the duty of the laity to receive the sacrament three times a year ; of the legal age of priests ; of the offerings ; and of the immorality of some priests, are none of them genuine. The *Acta Pontii* in the *Act. Sanctor.* are not authentic materials for the history of this Bishop. *Cyprian's* epistles in this period deserve much more credit : See also the life of this great man by *Pearson* and *Don Maran*. Of the seven Deaconaries in *Rome*, see more in *Felic. Nerini's* book *de templo S. Bonifacii*. But the question of the conversion of the two Emperors belongs to another place.

251.

Sect. 7. Before a new Bishop was chosen, the celebrated letters passed betwixt *Cyprian* and the clergy of *Rome* concerning church-discipline ; and particularly of the *libellatici* : In which they seem not to have ever heard of the infallibility of their Bishop.

Sect. 8. After sixteen months, *Cornelius* was regularly chosen by the Elders and the people : And some foreign Bishops then at *Rome* consecrated him. *Novatian*, a turbulent and ambitious man, created great disturbances, in order to invalidate this election, tho' *Cyprian* and other Bishops in *Africa* had approved it. He pretended a zeal for

church-discipline, which, tho' overacted, ensnared many believers to side with him. He confederated with *Novatus*, who had already divided the church in *Carthage*, and got himself consecrated Bishop. It was with difficulty that *Cornelius* restored the peace by several councils. The friendship betwixt him and *Cyprian* was of advantage to both. The former was banished by the Emperor *Gallus* to *Civita Vecchia*, where he died. The manner of his death does not clearly appear. Two letters of his to *Cyprian*, and one to *Fabian* Bishop of *Antioch* are still extant: Some others are lost. The short letter to *Lupicinus* Bishop of *Vienne* is an interpolated piece. And of the same nature is the decretal, that an oath is to be taken fasting*.

252. Sect. 9. His successor's name was *Lucius*, of whom we know that he strenuously opposed the *Novatians*; that he was banished and died a martyr; but it is not probable, that the latter is to be understood of a violent death; at least, it did not happen under the Emperor *Valerian*. Some allow him only five months, others above a whole year. There was formerly a letter of his extant against those schismatics. *Gratian* has four decretals in his name; but all fictitious. The order attributed to him, that a Bishop should be always attended by two priests and three deacons is but slightly authorized.

253. Sect. 10. *Stephen* I. is a very remarkable person. The accounts of him must be connected in the following order. The great severity of Bishop *Martian* of *Arles*, occasioned the *Gallick* clergy to apply for his advice, but not of the imperious kind; not only to Bishop *Stephen*, but also to *Cy-*

* *Constant* has collected the letters to and from *Cyprian*, and illustrated them with useful notes in *Epistol. Pontific.* And in the *Adver.* he inserts the spurious letter to *Lupicinus*.

Cyprian Bishop of *Carthage*: And the first being somewhat remiss, they desired the latter to stimulate him. Next arose the unhappy commotions in *Spain*, concerning *Basilides* and *Martial*, who were both very justly deposed. *Basilides* went to *Rome*; and, as *Cyprian* relates the affair, so imposed upon *Stephen*, that he acknowledged him his brother; but this availed so little, that the *Spanish* Bishops preferred a complaint to *Cyprian* against *Stephen's* precipitancy: And he procured the proceedings of the *Spaniards* to be ratified by a decree of council. After this arose the vehement rupture betwixt *Cyprian* and *Stephen*, concerning the baptism of hereticks. It may easily be imagined, that the point in dispute was wrongly argued on both sides. But the fault was chiefly in *Stephen*, who manifested so little love of concord, and so much pride and affectation of superiority over his brethren, who were his equals, that he drew upon himself the just censure of the most eminent doctors of his age, as *Cyprian*, *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, and *Firmilian*. He indeed excommunicated all who differed from him; but had the mortification to find himself despised, both by his adversaries and all impartial men. He is said to have died a martyr, but this is a modern invention. Of his writings nothing remains entire*.

257.

* Of the disputes concerning Bishop *Martian*, see *Ganpred's* *hisoir. de Provence, Gallia christian.* Tom. IV. *Hisoir. Literar. de la Fr. Ceiller. Quessnell.* Tom. II. *Longueval's* *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, and particularly *Dupin's* *de antiq. eccles. disciplin.* Of *Basilides* and *Martial*, see *Dupin* and *Cenni's* *Antiq. Eccles. Hesp.* The history of the controversy concerning the baptism of hereticks rests on the letters of *Cyprian* and *Firmilian*; the authenticity of which has been disputed betwixt *Raym. Missori*, *G. Pren.* and *Sbaralæa*, of whose writings, and the whole controversy, see *Walch's* *Histor. Eccles.* See also *Sandini's* *Diff. VII. ad Histor. Pontif. Rom.* p. 61. *Mosheim* in *commentar. de rebus Christian.* and *Alexander Herdt's* *Discordia concors inter Stephan. & Cyprian.* The *Acta S. Stephani* are not genuine.

258. Sect. 11. Under *Sixtus II.* who had been formerly a philosopher at *Athens*, the dispute on the baptism of hereticks was probably brought to a period; and it is remarkable, that each side retained its own opinion and usage. *Sixtus* suffered martyrdom under the Emperor *Valerian*. The collection of short maxims, tho' attributed to him so early as by *Rufinus*, seems, in general, not to be the work of a Christian. He is also reputed the author of other writings, which are more modern; and the two decretals in *Gratian* are drawn up by *Isidorus* *.

269. Sect. 12. The persecution obliged the Christians to leave the see vacant almost a year, when they chose *Dionysius*, a *Calabrian* and a man of learning. Under him arose the disputes with *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, who was accused of error in the doctrine of the divinity of Christ. Our *Dionysius* held a council at *Rome*, and condemned a position which the other *Dionysius* himself abhorred. In forming a judgment of this conduct, it is necessary to consider the constitution of the churches at that time. Other disturbances were also occasioned by *Paul* of *Samosata*, in the condemnation of whom he also had some share. It is a mistake to place him among the martyrs. Of what he wrote against the *Sabellians*, we owe the preservation of a small piece to *Athanasius*; but his letter to *Cæsarian* is lost; other things are spurious, or falsely attributed to him by others †.

Sect. 13. *Felix I.* is the author of a letter to

* See *Sixti Enchiridion* of *Siber's* edition at *Leipsick*, 1725. This is the spurious book which *Siber* endeavours to vindicate as a genuine work of this Bishop.

† That *Johannes Damascenus* has left behind him an account of the life of this Pope, is as false as that he was the author of the little book *de Situ Orbis*. Of him and his genuine writings, an account is to be found in *Constant, Tilsimont, &c.*

Maximus Bishop of *Alexandria* against *Paul* of *Samorſata*, that he enjoined maſs to be celebrated over the graves of martyrs, is void of all proof; but his martyrdom is a point of unqueſtioned certainty.

275.

ſect. 14. Of *Eutichianus* there are alſo no certain accounts. The ſtories of his enjoining the fruits of the earth to be bleſſed at the altar; that he condeſcended himſelf to bury the dead, and was ſo ſcrupuloſly careful of the martyrologies, is either manifeſtly falſe, or deſtitute of proof; which laſt may alſo be ſaid of his martyrdom. *Gratian*, and other ſuch collections have ten decretals of his; but he could be author of none of them.

282.

ſect. 15. Biſhop *Caius* is ſaid to have been a native of *Dalmatia*, and related to the Emperor *Diocleſian*. It is pretended, that he ordered that the clergy ſhould paſs thro' the ſeven lower offices to qualify themſelves for the episcopal dignity, and that he died a martyr. But nothing of all this is certain.

296.

ſect. 16. *Marcellinus* is ſingular among all the Biſhops of *Rome*. Moſt of the popiſh doctors, and even the authors of their devotional books, repreſent him as an apoſtate, who under the perſecution of the Emperor *Diocleſian*, had ſolemnly offered incenſe to the deities of the *Romans*; whereas the proteſtants account him a very worthy man, and their opinion of him is ſo well grounded, that of late the moſt learned and ſenſible *Roman* catholicks, and even the preſent Pope *Benedict* XIV. agree with them; and likewise declare the council of *Sinneſſa* a fable; which invalidates the argument which they ground on the decrees of it, to ſhew that the ſupremacy of the Pope over the univerſal church was acknowledged. He died a natural death.

304.

C H A P. II.

Of the History of the PAPACY.

S E C T. I.

THAT Christ himself established a monarchy in his church, and appointed *Peter* his viceroy, who invested the Bishops of *Rome* as his successors with this dominion over the whole church of Christ, are tenets so often and so solidly confuted, that we may safely pass them over, as utterly unknown in these most primitive and pure ages.

Sect. 2. On the contrary it is undeniable, that when towards the end of the first century, the first and eldest of the pastors had a preference of rank, but not of power and dignity, yielded to him at *Rome*, as in other churches; he was distinguished by the title of Bishop; which then imported no more than the chief among the Elders, who were all equal in office, duty and privilege.

Sect. 3. The church of *Rome* was subject to no other, and no other church was subject to it; and it is false, that at least, the apostles instituted patriarchs and metropolitans.

Sect. 4. The union of different churches in succeeding times, however salutary in itself, was attended with many abuses; especially the union of those churches which had before, either by their situation, or by new congregations, been connected, furnished a spacious opportunity for one church to acquire more authority than others; and this was chiefly the case of those churches, which were indisputably of apostolical foundation, or in the capital of a province.

Sect.

Sect. 5. Both circumstances contributed to raise the credit and dignity of the church of *Rome*. Her Bishop gradually distinguished himself more and more from the Elders. We meet with encomiums upon that church so early as in the second century : But these by no means prove, that other churches submitted to her : The contrary manifestly appears from the instances of the *Asiatic* churches in the affair of Easter*.

Sect. 6. It is yet less demonstrable, that the Bishops of *Rome* had titles of honour superior to other Bishops, or a right to controul the conduct of other churches †.

Sect. 7. In the third century the Bishops exalted themselves highly above other pastors, and drew many dangerous consequences from the doctrine of one church. Some Bishops even claimed a superiority to others ; but they were at the same time very jealous of each other, and the doctrine of the equality of Bishops admitted of no superiority. They considered the Bishop of *Rome* as one of their brethren, and were offended at *Stephen* for pretending to prescribe laws to them ; tho' they willingly allowed the *Roman* church to be one of the principal.

Sect. 8. It is therefore impossible that the other Bishops should acknowledge him for their judge. Advice given in friendship and confidence implies no jurisdiction. It is admitted, however, that in the third century a more immediate foundation was laid for the structure raised in the following, at

* See *Irenæus Advers. Hæres.* and *Walch's Histor. Eccles.* and see chap. i. sect. 2. sect 5, and sect. 8.

† Concerning the names of *Papa*, *Episcopus episcoporum* and *Pontifex Maximus* said to have been given by *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian* to the Bishop of *Rome*. See *Walch's Hist. Eccles.*

the council of *Nice*. On the other hand, the decrees of *Sinnessa* being spurious, prove nothing.

Sect. 9. But that neither the Bishops of *Rome* pretended to be infallible, nor others thought them so, is the more clear and demonstrable. They themselves gave proofs of the contrary, both by their example and by the stress they laid on councils.

Sect. 10. The church of *Rome* consisted at first of teachers and hearers. The first were either Elders or Deacons; but to such a number were their offices encreased so early in the third century, that *Cornelius* mentions the following ecclesiastical persons, forty-six presbyters, seven Deacons, seven Sub-deacons, forty-two acolytes, fifty-two exorcists, readers and door-keepers, and above fifteen hundred widows and poor, who were maintained by the congregations. In the most important concerns, the assent of the people was required, and the usual circular letters were sent to them*.

Sect. 11. The Bishop usually obtained his office by election, in which the laity also voted. The imposition of hands in later times was performed by foreign Bishops, of whom some attended on that occasion.

Sect. 12. So that hitherto we see nothing of the dignity, office and privileges of Cardinals. The distresses of the church did not allow Christians a building of their own, even for their religious assemblies; much less could they enable the Bishop of *Rome* to live in splendor and keep a court. He was no more than a subject to his Emperor. They held their office during life, except only in case of banishment.

* See *Cornelius's* letter to *Fabius* Bishop of *Antioch*, in *Constant. Epistol. Pontific.*



B O O K I I .

O F T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

P O P E S o f R O M E ,

From *Constantine* the Great to the
Emperor *Phocas*.

C H A P . I .

Of the History of the P O P E S o f R O M E .

S E C T . I .

Of the History of the Popes of *Rome* of the
fourth Century.

Seçt. I. **A**FTER the demise of *Marcellinus*, a
very long vacancy intervened before
the election of *Marcellus* I. whom some old writers
pass over without reason. He is commended for his
zeal in the support of church-discipline, which how-
ever drew upon him much trouble, and even blood-
shed. It is very probable, that he suffered much
under

310. under the Emperor *Maxentius*. But the particulars of that, and of his death, are very dubious: And the accounts of the parishes and churches he founded entirely groundless. The decretal concerning children consecrated by their parents to the monastick life, contains some things, of which *Marcellus* could have no knowledge.

Sect. 2. The account we have of *Eusebius* is highly probable, that he was banished to *Sicely* after a very short administration by the artifices of one *Heraclius* a declared enemy of church-discipline. But it is not so clear, that he baptized another *Eusebius*, afterwards very famous as Bishop of *Vercelli*; that under him the holy cross was found; and that the festival of the invention of the cross was therefore instituted by him in a special decretal, which we find in *Gratian*. He is likewise falsely said to have issued four ordinances against double promises of marriage; against the silk vestments used in reading mass; of breaking fasts, and against the gluttony of Bishops*.

Sect. 3. The see was vacant nine months. *Melchades*, by some called *Miltiades*, was chosen. He is said to have been an *African*. Under him the emperor *Constantine* declared himself a Christian, to the immediate benefit of the church of *Rome*, for two edicts restored to them their places of worship and common effects, of which they had been dispossessed under the persecution of *Maxentius*. It is going too far to add, that *Constantine* resigned to the Bishop the imperial palace of the *Lateran*, and settled on him a princely revenue; but this is certain, that *Constantine* empowered *Melchades*, together with other Bishops of

* The most authentic piece relating to him is an ancient poem first made known in *Baronius's Annal. Eccles.* and by mistake interpreted of a later *Eusebius*.

Gaul and *Italy*, to examine the complaints of the *Donatists* against *Cecilian* Bishop of *Carthage*. They held accordingly a council at *Rome*, acquitted *Cecilian* of the charge brought against him, and passed such decrees as tended to restore peace to the church; but did not satisfy the *Donatists*, who carried their malice so far as falsely to accuse *Melchisedes* himself of that baseness and guilt which gave name to the *Traditores*. Of the two decretals, most falsely attributed to him, against fasting on *Thursdays* and *Sundays*, and on the consecrated sacramental bread; the latter, because the word leaven occurred in it, has occasioned many learned but needless disputes. *Melchisedes* died a natural death. 314.

SECT. 4. The history of the following Bishop *Silvester* I. is enveloped in so many fabulous relations, that it is difficult to disentangle the truth from falsehood. Soon after his election, the emperor *Constantine* the Great ordered a council to meet at *Arles* on the subject of the *Donatists*, at which indeed assisted four deputies from Pope *Silvester*, but they did not preside. *Silvester*, like other absent Bishops, received two letters from the fathers of the council, in which they acquainted him with their resolutions, but without desiring any confirmation from him. When the *Arian* heresy broke out, it was condemned by *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, in a council held there: 319.
 And an account of their proceedings sent in circular letters to the other Bishops. One of these letters was brought to *Rome*. Those who believe the fabulous account, that the emperor *Constantine* was baptized by Bishop *Silvester*, add another to it, which is still more insupportable, that the same emperor in a formal instrument transferred to the Bishop of *Rome*, the possession of all *Italy*,
 and

and the supreme authority over the city of *Rome*. It is impossible either to prove the story, or to vindicate the letters patent; for the author was bad enough, but wanted parts to carry on the imposture. The council of *Nice* was the most important event, which happened under this Bishop. It is false, that *Silvester* had any share in convoking this large assembly; or that *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba*, acted as his plenipotentiary, and presided in his name. On the other hand it is true, that two other ecclesiasticks, *Vitus* and *Vincentius* were sent thither by the Bishop of *Rome*, that the hierarchy was there settled, and the Bishop of *Rome* invested with the primacy over those churches, which in civil matters were subject to the jurisdiction of the *vicarius urbis*. Whatever construction be put on this famous decree; yet this consequence is fairly deducible from it, that no spiritual monarchy, nor western patriarchate was intended to be introduced. *Silvester* died, after holding his office longer than any of his predecessors. It must be further added of him, that being by some evil-minded persons accused of a crime, not named, he acknowledged the emperor *Constantine* as his judge. But all that is said of his letters to the clergy of *Gaul*, of two councils held under him, and the decrees of the first, of the epistolary correspondence betwixt him and the *Nicene* fathers; of his dispute with the Jews; of some decretals of his, such as that altars should be built of stone, must be placed among fictitious accounts. It is through ignorance, that the painters first put a triple crown on his head*.

Sect. 5.

* The letters of the council at *Arles*, we find in *Constant* and all the other writings falsely attributed to Bishop *Silvester*. The opinion that *Silvester* baptized the Emperor *Constantine* is fully refuted.

Sect. 5. This famous Bishop was succeeded by *Marcus*, of whom we have no certain accounts. What *Anastafius* relates of the Bishop of *Ostia* in his time, is no novelty, and in some respects demonstrably false. Some wrong him in fathering on him a letter to the Christians of *Egypt*, which is a manifest forgery. He died in the year of his election.

336.

Sect. 6. *Julius I.* was brought into no small perplexities on account of *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, whom the *Arians* had forced to fly. It was agreed on both sides, that these animosities should be considered in a council at *Rome*. *Athanasius* appeared, but not his adversaries. It is

337.

refuted by *Pagi critic. in Annal. Baron. Papebroch. Act. Sanct. Alexander Histor. Eccles. Noris Tom. IV. oper. and Mamachi Origin. Christian. Tom. II. Tenzel in his Exercit. Select.* See also *Fabricius in luce Salutar. Evangel.* The many writers on the donation of *Constantine*, which is hardly defensible now, are enumerated in *Fabricius's Biblioth. Græc. and Vogt. in Histor. Literar. Constant.* The remark which the late Mr. *Mosheim* made on another occasion *Institut. Histor. Eccles. p. 298.* is both new and solid. See also *Walch's Histor. Eccles.* and among the more modern papists *Affemann's Histor. Ital. Scriptor.* As all historians of the council of *Nice* have touched on the article here in question, it is necessary to be acquainted with them, tho' it must be owned, that we have not yet a full and true account of this important transaction. Next to *Schmid. in Introd. Sagettar. in Histor. Eccles. Fabricius* has given us the fullest account of it in his *Biblioth. Græc. Vol. XI.* Of the fable, that Bishop *Hosius* was president of this council, see *Ittig: Histor. Concil. Nicæni*, and others mentioned in *Walch's Histor. Eccles.* The sixth canon of the said council gave occasion to the famous controversy *de Ecclesiis Suburbicariis.* The many writings relating to this subject may be seen in *Schmid. ibid.* and *Fabricius's Lux. Salut.* where notice is taken of the late *D. Kortbolt's Diss. de Ecclesiis Suburbicariis.* To these may be added *Heinrich. Flores España Sagrada.* There are two acts extant of this Bishop, both which are very suspicious. One of them may be seen in *Menolog. Græc.* and the other in *Combes's Biblioth. Concionat. Dominic.* also in *Tillemont, Ceiller, and S. Joseph's Biblioth. Crit.*

false

344. false that *Julius* wrote in so imperious a manner to the Eastern Bishops, as some ancient writers pretend. On the contrary, he had the mortification to receive from them a letter full of disagreeable truths. The general zeal for *Athanasius* producing no good effect, by *Julius's* advice the emperor convened the famous council of *Sardica*, which however was not general, as is pretended. The letter in which the fathers stile the Bishop of *Rome* the head, is spurious. *Hofius* indeed was president, but not the Pope's representative. It is very much disputed, whether a right of appeal was granted to the Bishop of *Rome*; at least, it is certain, that it was neither unlimited, nor acknowledged valid. It is likewise groundless, that he was for some time in exile. It is pretty certain 352. that he died a natural death. Of his writings, the only genuine are the two letters to the *Eusebians* and the church of *Alexandria*. There were more formerly which were forged by hereticks. The ten decretals attributed to him by *Gratian* are all modern, as appears particularly in those relating to marriages. Nor is there any foundation in the tradition, that he passed a law exempting the clergy from the civil judicature*.

Sect. 7. Next follows *Liberius*, one of the most

* The most authentic pieces of him are his genuine letters in *Constant*. But to these may be added all the monuments existing of the proceedings of *Athanasius* and his opponents; as also all the histories of this great man, as well as of *Arius*. Of the council at *Sardica*, and its famous fourth canon, besides the records in *Hardonius. concil.* See *Richer histor. conc. general. Marea de concord. sacerdot. & imper. Dupin de antiq. Eccles. Discipl. Blondel de primat. Geddes's Miscellaneous Treats, Budæus Isagog. in univ. Theol. Carve histor. literar.* and particularly *Manfi in suppl. concil.* Tom. I. where he shews in a particular dissertation, that the council was not held in the year 347, but in 344, and rectifies the history of it from three letters first published by *Maffri*.

remarkable Bishops of *Rome*, who was chosen almost against his will, at a time when the *Semi-Arians*, countenanced and protected by the emperor *Constantius*, had the ascendant. They used great endeavours to gain over *Liberius*, whether they had any immediate success, as many believe, cannot be proved, because the question concerning the exact date of the letter, which *Liberius* sent to *Athanasius* citing him to appear and answer at *Rome*; and another to the *Eusebians*, in which he excommunicates *Athanasius* from his church, cannot be fully cleared up. It seems to me more probable, that *Liberius* acted the upright part at first, and highly disapproved of the indiscretion of his deputies at the council of *Arles* (of whom *Vincentius* Bishop of *Capua* was the principal) in subscribing to the formal condemnation of *Athanasius*. *Liberius* pressed the emperor *Constantius* to call another council. It was held at *Milan*, but with no better success. Tho' most of the Western Bishops had a share in the unjust judgment passed on *Athanasius*, yet he remained firm; which provoked the emperor *Constantius* to order him to be sent a prisoner to *Milan*. The questions and answers in the conference occasioned thereby are still extant: And they not only do great honour to *Liberius* for his unshaken attachment to the truth, but very plainly show, that this Bishop did not deny the Emperor's right in church matters. It terminated in a severe sentence, deposing *Liberius* from his office, and banishing him to *Berea* in *Thrace*. The Emperor proceeded farther, and caused *Felix*, a deacon at *Rome*, to be consecrated Bishop. We must either approve of this iniquitous expulsion of *Liberius*, or we must, with the whole church

355

of *Rome* at that time, look upon this man as an unlawful Anti-pope, and refuse those honours which are paid him by the modern church of *Rome*, which not only numbers him among the lawful Popes, but has also canonised him: whereas there is the greatest probability that he was a friend of the *Semi-Arians*: And it is certain that he was guilty of perjury. The first hope given to *Liberius* of his restoration was the solemn petition presented to the Emperor in his behalf by the principal ladies of *Rome*. But a year lapsed before it was accomplished; and not till *Liberius*, by a deplorable, but an undeniable fall, had, in several letters, which, to his infamy have been transmitted to posterity, closed with the *Semi-Arians*, approved of the deposition of honest *Athanasius*, and subscribed to the confession of faith, drawn up by the court-party in the third council at *Sirmisob*. *Felix* now was ejected, and spent the remainder of his life in retirement: But that *Liberius* presented *Felix* and his friends with fire and sword is hardly credible. However, this apostacy of the Bishop of *Rome* had this melancholy consequence, that most of the *Italian* Bishops followed his scandalous example: And *Arianism* was rendered the prevailing doctrine by the council at *Rimini*. Some charge *Liberius* with having also subscribed the *Rimini* confession of faith; but this is not evident; on the contrary, it appears that *Liberius's* sentiments took a turn; and by his repentance he acquired the respect paid to his memory by the most zealous doctors of the church. He is said to have built at *Rome* that church which is now called *Maria Maggiore* *.

Sect.

* *Consant* has carefully collected the authorities belonging to this place; and as they are most of them *Liberius's*

Sect. 8. The divisions in the church of *Rome*, even after the death of *Liberius*, were such as to occasion a double election. One party chose *Damasus*, by some erroneously thought to be a native of *Spain*, the other *Ursinus* or *Ursicinus*; and both parties were so exasperated against each other as to break out twice into open tumults, in which many lives were lost, and the churches

own writings, we think ourselves obliged to specify them, and in *Constant's* order, viz. (1) A letter from *Liberius* to *Hofus*. (2) Part of a letter of his to *Cæcilian* Bishop of *Spoletto*. (3) His letter to *Eusebius* Bishop of *Vercelli*. (4) His letter to the emperor *Constantius*. (5 and 6) Two others to *Eusebius*. (7) One to the three ejected Bishops, *Eusebius*, *Dionysius*, and *Lucifer*. (8) An address to *Eusebius* the Emperor's minister. (9) The conference betwixt the Emperor and Bishop *Liberius* (hitherto *Liberius's* writings do him honour.) The following are the records of his fall. (10) A letter to the Eastern *Arians*. (11) A letter to *Ursacius*, *Valerius* and *Germinius*, three Court-bishops. (12) Another to *Vincentius* Bishop of *Capua*. After his second change were written, (13) a letter to the orthodox Bishops in *Italy*. (14) A letter from the deputies at the synod of *Lampfacus* to *Liberius*. (15) *Liberius's* answer. The two last pieces belong to the history of the *Macedonian* heresy. There were besides these many more such letters, now lost. In the appendix *Constant* has added, (1) *Liberius's* letter to *Athanasius*. (2) Another, and (3) *Athanasius's* answer to the last; the genuineness of which however is still disputed. Several decretals also are given to *Liberius*, but they are later. Concerning *Liberius* himself and his fall, see besides the above-mentioned writers of the *Arian* history, *Tillemont*, *Alexander's Histor. eccles.* *Dupin de antiq. eccles. disciplin.* *Placcette Observat. Histor. eccles.* *Larroquanus diff. de Liberio pontifice Romano*, *Cave*, *Fabricius Biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. etat.* *Walch's Histor. eccles.* *Celler*, *Cavalcanti vindic. pontif.* and the celebrated dissertation of *M. Mansi* concerning the chronology of the council at *Sirmis*. The Antipope *Felix*, having been canonized by Pope *Gregory XIII.* in the year 1582, is by modern historians placed among the Popes by the name of *Felix II.* *Baronius* wrote a whole book concerning him, but which for certain reasons was never published.

of *Rome* became scenes of murder; nor would tranquillity have been restored for some years had not *Damasus*, who always maintained the superiority, been made easy by the further removal of *Ursinus*. Allowing *Damasus* to have been innocent of the charge of adultery, from which the emperor *Gratian* cleared him, yet his whole conduct is by no means defensible. A Pagan historian of great integrity took occasion from transactions of this kind, to write a very remarkable account of the morals and lives of the Bishops of *Rome*, which certainly does them little honour. We should be disposed to question his veracity, if other proofs, and even the imperial laws did not force our assent to what he has delivered. This accounts in the most probable way for the indecent zeal with which two Christian priests contended for the episcopacy of *Rome*. The most remarkable event under *Damasus* relating to this history was the edict, by which the emperor *Valentinian* empowered the Bishop of *Rome* to judge other Bishops, and determine ecclesiastical disputes. But this could not be meant to extend all over Christendom. *Damasus* was zealous for extinguishing the *Arian*, *Apolinarian* and *Macedonian* heresies; but no otherwise than by councils of Bishops. The schism occasioned at *Antioch* by *Meletius* and *Paulinus* produced some letters betwixt *Basil* Bishop of *Cesarea* and *Damasus*, little to the credit of the latter; but much to the advantage of the truth. *Damasus*, in a council at *Rome*, gave an instance of his fallibility, declaring the orthodoxy of *Vitalis*, a friend and partizan of *Apolinarius*. *Gratian*, at the imprudent request of the Bishops of *Italy*, was over-persuaded to publish an edict, very advantageous

tageous indeed to the Bishop of *Rome*, but yet not very injurious to the rights of the civil power. On the other hand the decrees of the general council at *Constantinople*, which was not called by *Damasus*, but by the emperor *Theodosius* II. are of such a nature as not to be approved by the adorers of the Papacy, tho' some eminent Popes have thought fit to assent to them. In the same council the profligate *Maximus*, who had sought forcibly to intrude into the See of *Constantinople*, was justly condemned; and *Flavian* was inadvertently, but legally, chosen Bishop of *Antioch*. *Damasus* and his party committed a great error in a council at *Rome*, in excluding *Flavian* from their communion. It is worth notice, that *Damasus* was the first who appointed foreign Bishops his Vicars. He died in the 80th year of his age. He was a celebrated writer. Of all the decretals attributed to him in the ancient accounts of his life and by *Gratian*, not one is true *.

* Besides the collections of councils and the imperial laws, which see in the sixteenth book; and likewise in the appendix to the *Theodosian* code, and in *St. Jerom's* works; we have the following authorities: All *Damasus's* works, as collected by *Frederick Ubaldini*, and illustrated with notes by *Sarazanius*. To these belong fourteen letters, some of which are doubtful; some false decrees, and forty *Latin* pieces of poetry, which *Maittaire* has also given us in *Corp. poet.* The collection of pieces by *Peter Coustant* in *Epistol. Pontif. Marcellini* and *Fanfini libellus precum*, which remarkable piece may be seen in *Simon's* *oper.* The remarkable passage of *Aminianus Marcellinus*, *Lib. XXVII. Cap. 3.* Besides these other writings are attributed to *Damasus*, some of which are genuine, but have been lost, and others are forged. To the last class belongs the Pontificalis mentioned in the preliminary discourse, Sect. 29. See *Fabricius's Biblioth. lat. med. & infim. etat.*

398. Sect. 9. He was succeeded by *Siricius*, a Roman. All we know of him rests on the letters and other records we have of his. Among these his letter to *Himerius* Bishop of *Turacona* is the most important, as containing the most ancient mandates sent by a Pope to other churches to be received as ecclesiastical laws. He very warmly opposed the *Priscillanists*, the *Donatists*, and *Jovinians*. He had no pre-eminence at the council of *Capua*. It is certain that *Flavian* Bishop of *Antioch* refused to acknowledge his supremacy; and *Siricius*, in an interesting letter to the *Macedonian* Bishops, himself helps to prove the contrary. It has been his misfortune since his death to fall under the displeasure of cardinal *Baronius* to that degree, that he has struck him out of his catalogue of the *Romish* saints*.

* *Constant* delivers the pieces concerning him in the following order. (1) The famous letter to *Himerius*. (2) The emperor *Valentinian's* ratification of his election. (3) letter of *Maximus* the anti-emperor to *Siricius*. (4) *Siricius's* letter to *Anysius* Bishop of *Thessalonica*. (5) His letter to the Bishops of *Africa*; but the authority of this is not entirely free from suspicion, concerning which see *Quésnel d. ff.* 15. in *Leon. M.* (6) Another letter to some anonymous Bishops (7) Another against *Jovinian*. (8) Answer from *Ambrosius* and others. (9) *Siricius's* remarkable letter relating to the heretic *Bonofus*. (10) The disputable decrees of an uncertain council of *Rome*. These are succeeded by an account of his works and decretals either lost or fictitious.

S E C T. II.

Of the History of the Popes of *Rome* of the fifth Century.

Sect. I. **A**FTER an interval not yet sufficiently ascertained, *Siricius* was succeeded by *Anastafius* I. All we know of him is, that he suffered himself to be so far misled by *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria* and *St. Jerom*, as to condemn the great *Origen*, and to exclude *Rufinus* from his communion. Yet are there sufficient proofs that the latter was not affected by this act of prerogative. He died *.

398.

402.

Sect. 2. *Innocent* I. was one of the first Bishops of *Rome*, who every way tried to extend their dominion over other bishops, and heighten their authority in the church. The first opportunity he had arose from the violent commotions in the east, on account of the celebrated *Chrysoftom*. It is false that *Chrysoftom* addressed himself to *Innocent*, as a judge. On the contrary, the latter proceeding very cautiously, till at last he openly declared for the above-mentioned Bishop of *Constantinople*; interceded for him with the emperor *Honorius*, and through him with his brother *Arcadius*, and even after his death strenuously solicited the Bishops his adversaries to restore the name of that great pre-

* Besides some passages of *St. Jerom's* works, see the records inserted by *Constant. Epist. pont.* which are *Ruffinus's* apology, and *Anastofius's* letter to *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*. Some others are lost. The decretal attributed to him, that the Presbyters are to incline their bodies at hearing the gospel read is not his.

late in the dyptichs. But that he excommunicated *Arcadius* and his consort *Eudoxia* is groundless. *Alaric* king of the *Goths* approached *Rome* with his victorious army, and forced it by famine to surrender. *Innocent* was then obliged to go as a deputy from *Rome* to *Ravenna*, in order to induce *Honorius* to a peace. But failing of success, *Rome* was plundered in the absence of *Innocent*. The charge that *Innocent* allowed the Pagans to sacrifice to their deities, is at least uncertain. He was a very laborious writer, but with many new and erroneous doctrines relating to the superiority by divine right, of those Sees which were said to be founded by *St. Peter*; to the subordination of all the western churches to the See of *Rome*, the authority of the rites and usages of the church of *Rome*; against the marriage of priests and the like. His style is every where imperious, even towards Bishops, and has served as a model to succeeding Popes. Towards the latter part of his life, he had the satisfaction of receiving an address from the

416. Bishops of *Africa*, desiring his confirmation of their decrees against the *Pelagians*, with which he complied, and this was one of his last

417. public acts *. Sect.

* Among the great number of *Innocent's* letters, which also contain his decrees, so highly respected in the church of *Rome*, the most important and remarkable are, as placed by *Constant*; (1) the second to *Vitricius* on several points relating to church ceremonies and discipline. (2) The third to an assembly of the *Spanish* Bishops at *Toledo*, of like contents. (3) The sixth to *Exuperinus*, Bishop of *Toulouse*, relating to church-discipline. (4) The 13th to *Rufus* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, in which he appoints him his vicar. (5) The 17th to the Bishops of *Macedonia*, containing several regulations on marriage, baptism and ordination, but of which the very reverse now obtains in the *Romish* church. (6) The 24th to *Alexander* Bishop of *Antioch* concerning the rank of Bishops. (7) The 25th to *Decentius* Bishop of *Gubbio*.

Sect. 3. When *Zosimus* was elected Bishop, the church was greatly disturbed by the errors which *Pelagius* and his disciple *Celestius* had propagated even in *Rome*; both had been condemned by the Bishops in *Africa*, but *Celestius* attached himself to *Zosimus*, who not only took him under his protection, and approved of the erroneous confession of faith delivered to him, but also wrote a warm letter censuring the proceedings of the *Africans*, and particularly excommunicated *Heres* Bishop of *Arles*, and *Lazarus* Bishop of *Aix*, whose zeal for the truth had exposed them to severe persecution. But the *Africans* far from being intimidated, ratified their decrees against the *Pelagians*, in a new council: And when even the emperor *Honorius* did the same, *Zosimus* thought it advisable to comply, and to cause *Pelagius's* doctrine to be condemned in a council at *Rome*. Herein he met with great opposition from some Bishops, who afterwards shewed themselves *Semi-Pelagians*. But by force, excommunication and expulsion, he compassed his ends. Afterwards he interfered in the metropolitan dispute then arisen in *Gaul* betwixt the Bishops of *Arles* and *Vienne*. He patronized the unjust cause of *Patroclus* Bishop of *Arles*; and the other Bishops of *France* being unwilling to acknowledge his jurisdiction, he excommunicated *Proculus* Bishop of *Marseilles*, which indeed occasioned great distur-

418.

Gubbio, relating to church-affairs. (8) The 36th concerning a particular case of marriage. (9) The next relating to the consecration of priests. (10) The next against the marriage of priests. Other authentic pieces are the epistolary correspondence of *Innocent* with *Cyrylosom*, with the above-mentioned *Alexander* with *Augustine*, and other *African* Bishops. See also in *Consiar's Appendix*, those which are spurious.

bances,

bances, but did not answer his end. The pride and arrogance diffused throughout his writings, occasioned bitter complaints from other Christian pastors. A little before his death *Apiarius*, of whose transactions more will appear in the sequel, appealed to him. He died, and was undeservedly canonised*.

Sect: 4. The death of *Zosimus* occasioned a very remarkable schism in *Rome*. One party chose *Eulalius*, and the other *Boniface*, son of a priest, and a man of great merit. The emperor *Honorius* was the arbitrator, and he having impartially weighed the pride and wickedness of *Eulalius*, and *Boniface's* moderation, the latter was by the emperor's favour confirmed; and further, at

* *Constant* has collected the following letters of *Zosimus*, his letter to the Bishops of *Gaul* relating to the See of *Arles*; two letters to the Bishops of *Africa* in favour of *Celestius* the *Pelagian*; a circular letter against *Urfus* and *Tuentius*, two Bishops irregularly ordained; three remarkable letters on the affair of *Proculus* and *Patroclus*, a letter to *Hefycbius* Bishop of *Salona*, on ecclesiastical patronage; two letters on the case of *Proculus*, another on that of *Celestius*; a letter to *Ravenna* against some contumacious ecclesiastics at *Rome*; another concerning the appeals of Bishops to *Rome*; a letter to the Bishops of *Byzecene* on the exemption of the clergy from lay-jurisdiction. The rest are either entirely lost, or only single fragments remain. The *Liber pontificalis* attributes to him three decrees, among which the most remarkable is against drinking to the clergy in public. In the history of this celebrated Bishop, the writers on the history of the *Pelagian* controversy will be of great use. There are specified by *Budæus* in his *Isagog.* in *Univ. Theol.* and to them may be added *Wall's* History of Infant Baptism, and *Zosimus* in *Clemente XI. redivivus* by *Frikenus*. Of the transactions in the *Gallican* church, see besides the champions for the liberties of that church. *Pet. Saxe in Arelat. pontif. Dupin. de antiqu. eccles. discipl. Marca concord. sacerdot. & emp. the Hist. liter. de la France Longueval hissoir. de l'Eglise Gallicane*; and *Gallia christiana*. Concerning *Zosimus* himself, see *Tillemont, Cave* and *Celler*.

request

the request of *Boniface*, the emperor issued a salutary ordinance for preventing the like disturbances. *Boniface* was chiefly remarkable for his zeal in maintaining the dignity of the See of *Rome*, on occasion of the disturbances arisen in *Illyrium*; and for his pacific candour in annulling the unjust decrees of his predecessor, relating to the Bishop of *Arles*. He left behind him the character of a worthy man*.

422.

SECT. 5. *Celestinus* I. who succeeded him, endeavoured to follow the example of his predecessor. He was first imbroiled with the *African* Bishops, who would not allow of any appeal to the church of *Rome*, as supreme judge in the ecclesiastical matters of their province. These confusions, which had been occasioned by *Antony* Bishop of *Fussala*, were soon appeased; but the affair of *Apiarius*, a presbyter of *Sicca*, which had taken rise so long ago as under *Zosimus*, and had lain dormant under *Boniface*, now broke out again, and raised great attention. This turbulent man, who had been deposed by *Urbanus* his Bishop, and preferred a complaint to *Rome*, had been greatly countenanced by

* See in *Constant* a representation from the clergy of *Rome* to the emperor *Honorius*, concerning the legality of *Boniface's* election; letter from the *African* Bishops to *Boniface*, concerning appeals; *Boniface's* letter to the Bishops of *Gaul* concerning a vicious Bishop; the two letters to *Rufus* Bishop of *Thesalonica*, concerning the disturbances in *Illyrium*; *Boniface's* petition to the emperor for suppressing all irregular means of attaining the episcopal dignity; the emperor *Honorius's* answer; letters betwixt the emperors *Theodosius* and *Honorius*, concerning the right of the *Romish* Bishops in *Illyrium*; letter from *Boniface* sent into *France* against the Bishop of *Arles*. Three letters relating to the *Illyrian* affairs. *Gratian* has preserved three decretals under his name, which are spurious. It is also a question whether he forbade women in general to touch the altar-cloth, to talk, and to burn incense in the church.

Zosimus. The *African* Bishops being offended at this, *Zosimus*, to maintain his iniquitous cause, laid before them two ecclesiastical laws, in the last of which appeals to *Rome*, were permitted and confirmed. These he pretended were decrees of the council of *Nice*: Whereas it was only at *Sardica* they had been made. Thus betraying either a very unbecoming ignorance, or astonishing wickedness. Nor was this all; he sent deputies to *Africa*, to enforce the observation of these groundless decrees. The Bishops met in council at *Carthage*, and the first question naturally was concerning the authenticity of the pretended decrees of the council of *Nice*: as these did not occur in their authentic manuscripts, they used the prudence and caution of writing to the Bishops of *Constantinople* and *Alexandria*, who sent them copies exactly taken from the original records which entirely corresponded with their manuscripts. This confirmed them in their resolves, and they adhered to the sentence which they had passed on the guilty *Apiarius*. He made a second application to *Rome*, and *Celestinus* patronised him, and ordered him to be restored in the presence of his Legate *Faustinus*. The *Africans* hereupon convened a second council, where, contrary to all expectation, *Apiarius* himself voluntarily acknowledged his guilt, and thus became a very signal evidence against the infallibility of the Bishop of *Rome*. The Bishops again confirmed *Apiarius's* sentence, and strictly forbade appeals to *Rome*. Of all this they gave an account to *Celestine*, desiring, that thence forward he would send no more Legates to *Africa*, to execute his pretended sovereign decisions. After this *Celestinus* was engaged in suppressing some abuses in *Gaul*, and extirpating the

the *Pelagian* heresy in *Britain*. Not long after the *Nestorian* troubles broke out in the east, and *Celestinus* embarked in them at the instigation of *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, a vehement *Anti-Nestorian*. It is to be observed, that *Celestine* was not the first in condemning *Nestorius*; that *Cyril* by his letter does not acknowledge him as supreme judge; that *Cyril* presided in the council at *Ephesus*, but not as the Pope's vicar, and even after the Pope's representatives arrived, the Bishop of *Jerusalem* presided; and that *Theodosius* had summoned this council, without the Pope's previous consent. *Celestinus*, for his zeal against *Nestorius*, which certainly few will approve, was after his death classed among the saints*.

430.

431.

S E C T.

* In *Constant. Epistol. pontif.* are the following pieces; a letter from *St. Augustine* to *Celestinus*, concerning *Antony*; remarkable letter of the *African Bishops* in *Apiarius's* case; letter from *Celestinus* to the *Bishops of Illyrium*; another to those of *Gaul*; another to those of *Apulia* and *Calabria*; two letters from *Nestorius* to *Celestinus*; *Cyril's* letter and instructions, with a fragment of a speech of *Celestinus* against *Nestorius*; four letters of *Celestinus* on the same affair; letter of *Nestorius* to *Celestinus*; letter of *Celestinus* to *St. Cyril*; *Celestine's* instructions to his representatives at *Ephesus*; his letter to the *Bishops* assembled there; his letter to the emperor *Theodosius*; report of the council at *Ephesus* to *Celestinus*; remarkable letter of *Celestinus* to the *Bishops of Gaul*, with a collection of several decrees of the *Bishops of Rome* on the doctrine of grace; concerning which see also *Fabrizius Celestinus's* letter to the council at *Ephesus*; another to the emperor *Theodosius*; another to *Maximian* Bishop of *Constantinople*; the like to the whole church of that city. There are also some dubious letters concerning the deposition of *Bishops*; and some mandates ascribed to him concerning the use of the psalms in religious worship; concerning the lewdness of the clergy with their female penitents, and two-fold vows; but none of these are his. Concerning the commotions in *Africa* are to be read, tho' with caution, to distinguish truth from

440. Sect. 6. Under his successor, *Sixtus III.* the feuds in the East betwixt *John* Bishop of *Antioch* and *Cyril* Bishop of *Alexandria* were as vehement as ever. *Sixtus* did his utmost to extinguish the flame, but without effect. He appears from some monuments to have firmly adhered to the maxims of his predecessor relating to the church of *Illyrium*. He was a writer, and died with the reputation of having for the sake of truth, retracted his former inclination to the doctrine of *Pelagius* *.

Sect. 7. On the decease of *Sixtus*, the choice fell on *Leo*, a native of *Rome*, who hitherto had been only a deacon; but his memorable transactions and eminent talents gained him the surname of Great. He was at that time in *Gaul*, employed in state affairs by the imperial court.

from falsehood. *Marc. Anton. Cappelli dissert. de Adpellation. eccles. Afric. ad Rom. sedem. Christian Lupus in divino ac immobili S. Petri circa fidelium adpellationes adserto privilegio Diss. II. Melchior Leydecker in histor. eccles. Afric. Tom. II. Dupin de antiq. eccles. disciplin. Diss. II.* and others who have written in general concerning the churches of *Africa*. See also those historians, who have wrote of *Nestorius* and the council of *Ephesus*, and these may be known from *Fabricii biblioth. Græc. Schmid's introduct. Sagittar. in histor. eccles. and Pfaff's introd. in histor. Theol. literar. Tillemont, Cave and Ceiller.*

* Among the authentic writings of *Sixtus*, *Constant* in *Epistol. Pontif.* places two letters to *Cyril*; another to the same; another to *John* Bishop of *Antioch*; also to *Perigenes* Bishop of *Corinth*; a letter to the council of *Theffalonica*, to Bishop *Proculus* of *Constantinople*, and to the Bishops of *Illyrium*. It is justly doubted whether he be the author of the *Hypognosticon* in the tenth volume of *St. Augustine's* works, and of the three *Pelagian* writings which are placed under his name in the *Biblioth. max. patr.* But the *Gesta de xyfti purgatione & Polychronii Hierosolymitani episcopi ad-cusatione*, to be met with in *Constant. adpendic.* is unquestionably spurious and interpolated.

It may be justly said, that he arose from a politician to the mitre, and brought with him the same dispositions and maxims by which the great carry on their ambitious designs. Of this he gave a manifest proof, not only in accepting of the irregular appeal of *Celedonius* Bishop of *Besançon*, who had been deposed in a council by the celebrated *Hilarius* Bishop of *Arles*; but when *Hilary* justly opposed him, he pronounced him to have forfeited his episcopal dignity and power: And, to authorise so gross a proceeding, he surreptitiously obtained an order from the emperor *Valentinian* III. conferring on the Bishop of *Rome* absolute power over the churches of *Gaul*. He aggravated this by never being reconciled to *Hilary*, though immediately after his death, he spoke highly in his praise; and the church of *Rome* places him among her saints. On the other hand, *Leo* was better grounded in his zeal against the *Manichees*, who secretly infested *Rome*, tho' it would have been more to his honour to have had no recourse to the secular arm. The *Eutychiad* heresy proved the source of greater disturbances, especially as *Eutyches* himself, after being condemned in the council at *Constantinople*, laid his complaints before *Leo* and other Bishops, and the pacific proposals of the emperor *Theodosius* II. failed of success. This occasioned the calling of the council at *Ephesus*, which, for its sanguinary issues, deserves to be branded with infamy. However it was regularly convoked, and though *Leo* had his deputies here, the Emperor nominated *Dioscurus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, president. Now *Leo* employed all his interest with *Valentinian* emperor of the West, for another council, to redress what he conceived to be
amiss;

445.

448.

451.

amiss; but had the mortification of being excommunicated by *Dioscurus*, the head of the opposite party. But the death of the emperor *Theodosius*, and the accession of the princess *Pulcherin* and her consort *Marcianus* to the throne, gave a favourable turn to the affairs of *Leo*, as he could now securely rely upon his interest in the new Emperor and Empress. In short, a fourth general council was held at *Chalcedon*, which condemned the doctrine of *Eutyches*, and confirmed the declaration relating to the doctrine of the person of Christ. It is undeniable, that the Pope was treated with a distinguished respect by this council, and his Legates presided; but if we consider the matter only on the very principles of Bishop *Leo*, and with a view to the whole of what passed, we shall clearly discern, that this proceeded from other causes than the pretended supremacy; that neither the infallibility of the Bishop of *Rome*, nor his pre-eminence over councils, were thought of; on the contrary, they adhered to the ancient doctrine of the equality of primates. We have a full proof of this in the famous canon of this council, declaring the Bishop of *Constantinople* to be next in place to him of *Rome*, but equal in dignity, and plainly assigning to the former a larger extent of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which laid ample foundation for jealousy betwixt these two prelates. It is true, that the Popes Legates at the council strenuously opposed this decree, and so did *Leo* himself, even after it had past; but the Emperor was not to be defeated in what he thought concerned his honour, tho' the repulse was softened by many fulsome and wretchedly misplaced compliments from that Prince and *Anatolius* Bishop of *Constantinople*. Not long after
Rome

Rome was alarmed by *Attila's* invasion of *Italy*. But *Leo* averted the storm, being sent as ambassador from the Emperor to persuade that Prince to a peace, tho' upon motives merely natural, not by the assistance of the pretended miracle. But all the eloquence of *Leo* could not restrain *Genferi* king of the *Vandals* from giving up the city of *Rome* to be pillaged by his soldiers. In the disturbances raised by *Ælurus* against the council of *Chalcedon*, *Leo* shewed a noble zeal. However tranquillity was restored, and *Leo* died with the character of one of the most celebrated writers of his age. Pope *Benedict XIV.* has placed him among the doctors of the church*.

* The writings of *Leo* the Great are too numerous to be here specified. Let it suffice, that we refer the reader in general to the whole collection of his works, of which the hundred and forty-one letters, published by *Quernel*, are of the greatest use to us; especially as the sixteen learned dissertations which he has added to them fully illustrate every thing that is worthy notice in the history of *Leo*. With these may be compared *Fabricius* in *Biblioth. Lat. Med. & inf. ætat. Muratori* in *liturg. Rom. vet.* has published a *Sacramentarium* of *Leo*; but its genuineness is disputed. Concerning his important dispute with Bishop *Hilary* of *Arles*, see *Peter Saxe* in *Arelat. pontific. Dupin de antiqu. eccles. discipl. Gallia Christiana*, the *Acta Sanctor. the histor. liter. de la France. Longueval* in *histor. de l'Eglise Gallic* and almost all who have writ of the liberties of the *Gallican* church. Of the council of *Chalcedon*, besides the historians of the *Eutychian* heresy, of whom an account is given by *Buddæus* in *Isag.* See those mentioned by *Schmid.* in *introd. Sagitar* in *Histor. eccles.* and by *Fabricius* in *Biblioth. Græc.* But to these, on account of the celebrated Canon, is to be added *Lequien orient. Christ.* Besides *Peter Canisius* and *Quesnel*, who in their editions of *Leo's* works, give an account of his life, see the *Acta Sanctor. Maimburg* in *histor. du pontificat. de S. Leon le Grand. Bayle's Diction. Tillmont, Cave* and *Cœllier.* Father *Orsi* has filled the whole fourteenth volume of his *Historia Ecclesiastica* with the life of this Pope; to which may be also added *Cacciari exercit* in *Leonis opera.*

- Sect. 8. His successor *Hilarius*, who is said to have been a *Sardinian*, had been very much employed by his predecessors in ecclesiastical matters; so that he was perfectly versed in those maxims of policy which were requisite to the formation of an ecclesiastical monarchy. Of this he gave a specimen, when *Rusticus*, Bishop of *Narbonne*, with the consent of the people, nominated his arch-deacon *Hermes* for his successor, who accordingly succeeded him. *Hilarius*, from very sinister views, censured this; and having in a synod of some Bishops, procured the election to be declared illegal, deprived him of the metropolitan dignity, tho' not of his chair.
463. Immediately after *Hilarius* interfered in another church affair in *Gaul*. *Mamartus*, Bishop of *Vienne*, had ordained a Bishop of *Die*, but the *Romish* Bishops unjustly pretended, that this city did not belong to *Vienne*, but to *Arles*. In the letter sent into *France* on this occasion, it is remarkable, that *Hilarius*, among all his extravagant amplifications of his See, acknowledges the pre-eminence of it to be derived from the Emperor's favour. He also made an attempt
465. to extend his authority in *Spain*, and strongly to establish it there. The *Spanish* Bishops themselves were indeed to blame; yet it is little to his honour, that in two cases he shewed a glaring partiality. He opposed the toleration which
466. Bishop *Aukemius* was for introducing into the city of *Rome*, and died*.
- 467.

Sect.

* In the collection of councils are three letters of *Hilary* to *Leontius* Bishop of *Arles*; two to the *Spaniards*; one to *Vicorinus*, and eight more to other persons; among which is one to the empress *Pulcheria*, of which *Cotellier* in *Monim. eccles. Græc.* has given a *Greek* translation concerning

Sect. 9. *Simplicius* was born at *Tivoli*, and promoted to the chair by a free election. The most remarkable event in his time was the commotions in the East under the emperors *Basilisc* and *Zeno*. In these our Pope could not but be disgusted at two particulars. *Acacius*, the haughty prelate of *Constantinople*, assisted by the imperial court, endeavoured to exalt his dignity above that of the Bishop of *Rome*; which, considering the then declining state of the western Empire, was perfectly consistent with the fundamental maxims of church government, which had so long prevailed. Another mortification was, that the vehemence with which he opposed the plan of peace of the emperor *Zeno*, and the restitution of *Peter Mungus* patriarch of *Alexandria*, and of *Peter* the Tanner of *Antioch*, which was founded on it, did not take effect, at least in the places where most necessary. That *John Talaja* being deposed, sought refuge at *Rome* is no less certain than that this was not properly an appeal. Before his death, he himself desired *Basil*, king *Odoacer's* vicar in *Italy*, to assist at the approaching election. He is said to have been the first who ordered the division of the revenues of the church into four parts *.

483.

Sect. 10. *Felix* II. whom some call the third, was chosen in the presence of the above-men-

ing *Hilarius*, whom others call *Hilarus*, see the *Acta Sanctor. Tillemont, Cave, Ceiller. histor. des auteurs, Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. etat.* Of the broils with the Gallican church, see *Longueval histor. de l'Eglise Gallie. Gallia Christian.* and *histor. Literar. de la France.*

* The transactions in the East, in which *Simplicius* had a great share, are too prolix to be related here. See the late Mr. *Mossheim institut. histor. eccles.* Of this Pope we have nineteen letters, which are to be met with in *Concil. Reg. Gratian* has also preserved some mandates. See *Fabricius, ibid.*

tioned *Basil*, who before the election, published a salutary ordonnance of *Odaecer*, concerning the revenues of the church. In the ecclesiastical affairs of the East he trod in the footsteps of his predeceffor; but carried his pride and zeal further than any before him had ventured; for the peaceable proceedings at the beginning being frustrated by the unexpected defection of the papal Legates to the opposite party, *Felix*, in a council called on purpose at *Rome*, excommunicated Bishop *Acacius* of *Constantinople*, together with *Mungus*. *Acacius* was not wanting on his part in making reprisals, and being supported by the imperial court, and far the greater part of the Eastern Bishops, a long schism broke out between the *Greek* and *Latin* churches; and even after the death of *Acacius* it was by *Felix*'s blameable deportment continued under the patriarchs *Flavita* and *Euphemius*. *Felix* died in 492.*

SECT. II. He was succeeded by *Galafius* I. of whom it is not yet certain, whether he was a *Roman* or an *African*. He vehemently profecuted the schism relating to *Acacius*, and rejec-

* Of this Pope we have sixteen letters, which mostly relate to the dispute with *Acacius*. They are in Tom. X. *Concil. Reg.* with which may be particularly compared *Sirmond's opera*. Concerning *Acacius*'s excommunication and the critical question, whether *Felix* held one or two councils, see *Basnage histor. de l'Eglise. Du Valois diff. de Duabas synodis in quibus damnatus est Acacius*, which is annexed to the third part of his *Scriptor. Hist. Eccles.* and *Rubeis dissert. de una sententia damnat. in Acacium lata in synodo Romana Felicis III.* It is highly probable, that this *Felix*, and not the Pope of the same name in the succeeding century, was the grandfather of *Gregory* the Great. He was himself the son of a priest, and therefore was probably well married. See also the *Acta Sanctor.* and *Tillemont.*

ted all the amicable propofals of the *Greeks* towards an accommodation. As he could not prevail on thefe, nor on the Bifhops of *Illyrium*, to gratify him fo far as to expunge *Acacius's* name from their registers, he called a council of his own creatures together at *Rome*. He died with the reputation of a famous writer *.

496.

Sect. 12. After him came *Anaftafius II.* a *Roman*, of whom all that we know is, that he was peaceably inclined, and fpared no pains for a friendly termination of the difputes occafioned

* Besides the fixteen letters, and the fragments of fome others, which are to be met with in the volumes of the collections of councils already mentioned, and the perufal of fome pieces relating hereto, which *Scipio Maffei* published at *Venice* in 1728, under the title of *Supplementum Acacianum*, the following writings, fome of which are inferted in the collection of councils, deferve particular notice : (1) The *Sacramentarium*, which, at leaft, is not totally without fophiftications : And, after *Tomaf* and *Mabilon* has been re-published by *Muratoni* in *Liturg. Vet.* (2) The famous *Decretum de libris facris & apocryphi.*, which *Gratian* had before inferted in his collection, but *Fontanini* in the appendix of *Antiquitat. Hortæ*, gave a more correct edition of it, and after him *Mauf* *Supplem. concl.* tho' very exceptionable as to the pretended authority of it, particularly relating to the divine origin of the primacy of *Rome*, as appears from *Budeus's Ifagog.* (3) His mandate againft the *Manichees* in *Gratian*, in which the diftribution and participation of the Eucharift, in one kind is condemned as an abominable facrilige. (4) His learned book *de duabus naturis in Chrifto*, which is printed in the *Lyon. biblioth. max. patr.* and is by fome writers of the *Romifh* church falfly denied to have been *Gelasius's*. His fentiments therein concerning the prefence of the body and blood of *Chrift* in the facrament, being oppofite to tranfubftantiation. (5) The *Tomus de Anathematis vinculo.* (6) The *Memoir.* againft *Andromachus* for the fuppreffion of the *Lupercalia*, (7) The piece againft the *Pelagians*. See the *Acta Sanctor. Fabricius biblioth. Gr. and biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. atat.* *Cave, Ceiller, and S. Jofeph. biblioth. critic.*

496. by the affair of *Acaſius*. But he died ſoon after, before he had accompliſhed his good deſigns ; ſo that it is a needleſs queſtion, how far he might have proceeded, had he lived longer *.

S E C T. III.

Of the History of the Popes of the ſixth Century.

498. Sect. I. **T**HE new election was two-fold ; one part of the council, the people and the clergy declaring for *Symmachus*, a native of *Sardinia*, who hitherto had been only a deacon at *Rome*, whiſt another party voted for *Laurence* an arch-prieſt. Both driving at particular views of policy, it is no wonder that both proceeded to violence, and *Rome* became a ſcene of robberies and murders. The matter was brought before the tribunal of *Theodorick* King of the *Goths*, who reſided at *Ravenna*, and had eſpouſed the *Arian* doctrine. His ſentence was juſt in favour of *Symmachus*, and he ſummoned an aſſembly of the clergy at *Rome*, to conſider of meaſures for preventing the like evils thenceforward. *Symmachus* was involved in the diſputes betwixt the Biſhops of *Arles* and

* Of this Pope, who is ſo unfortunate as not to be a ſaint, we have three letters : One to *Urfcinus* now not entire ; and a famous one to *Anaſtaſius*, the emperor of *Conſtantinople*, inſerted by *Hardouin concil.* Tom. II. and his congratulatory epittle to *Clowis* King of the *Franks*, on his converſion in *Dacher's Spici leg.* He is ſaid alſo to have left a piece concerning the Trinity, but this has not been printed.

Vienne. He revoked all the decrees of *Anastasius* in this affair, under pretence that no Pope could alter the resolutions of his predecessors. *Laurence's* partisans in the mean time not quite despairing of their cause, opened a fresh and bloody tragedy, with a complaint against *Symmachus*, accusing him of the greatest crimes. King *Theodorick* first sent *Peter* Bishop of *Altino* as a commissary; but he only widened the breach. The King came in person to *Rome*, and convened that council, which in church history is called *Concilium Palmare*. After much bloodshed, *Symmachus* was at last acquitted; and then for the first time was established the position, that the Pope is accountable to God only; but by the allegations of the contrary party, it appears, that this was not made an article of faith. The ordinance of *Odoacer* requiring the consent of the King of *Italy* to make the election valid, was also repealed. That *Symmachus* had afterwards a difference with the emperor *Anastasius* in the East is certain; but he denies his having ever excommunicated the Emperor. There are some decrees of his extant concerning ordination, church revenues, and marriage. At length he died as a saint *.

500.

503.

514.

Sect. 2. His successor was *Hormisdas* of *Frosilone* in the *campagna di Roma*. Under him the

* In the collections of councils twelve letters are attributed to *Symmachus*; but they are not all his. See there also the monuments relating to the several councils held at *Rome*. Among these is particularly the protest of the opposite party against the *Concilium Palmare*, and the answer to it, called, *libellus Apologeticus pro synodo* iv. its author was the famous *Magn. Felix Ennodius*; and the best edition of it is in the first part of the collection of his other writings in *Sirmond*; but has little title to be esteemed an authority in this part of history.

emperor *Anastasius* renewed his endeavours for removing the diffention which still continued between the western and eastern church; but the excessive arrogance of this Pope proved an obstacle to that good design. But the emperor *Justin I.* who was entirely devoted to the See of *Rome* ascending the throne, some progress was made towards it, tho' with several concessions on the part of the Bishop of *Constantinople*. Yet notwithstanding this reconciliation, a considerable number of the *Greek* Bishops, zealous for the honour of their irreproachable pastors, whose memory was insulted after death by the Bishop of *Rome*, steadily persevered, and were protected in it by the equity of the Emperor. On the other hand the Pope was guilty of a great precipitancy, when in the controversy arisen in the *Greek* church, he condemned as heretical the position, that *one of the Trinity had suffered in the flesh*: Which all the orthodox ever since have subscribed to and maintained. He died *.

523.

Sect. 3. Of the following Pope *John I.* only one transaction is known, and that not a remarkable one. He was sent by King *Theodorick* of *Ravenna*, with some other eminent persons to the emperor *Justin* at *Constantinople*, in

* In the collection of councils are eighty-one letters and four mandates of *Hormisdas*, of which *Fabricius in lib. i. b. Græc.* gives a list. What happened in the contents of the *Scythian* monks with the Pope is treated of in *Alexander's Histor. Eccles. Forbesius in instruct. Theol. Noris dissert. de uno ex trinitate carne passô*, which is to be seen in the third part of his works, and *Calixtus in comment. de Hormisdâ, Romano pontifice, damnante Johannem Maxentium & socios monachos Scythas, adserentes, unum è trinitate crucifixum esse*, which is annexed to his fascicul. progr. & dissert. de persona Christi.

order to bring about the revocation of a severe mandate issued against the *Arians*. The Pope did not miscarry in the main point, and on this occasion received great marks of honour; yet from some unknown cause King *Theodorick* was so displeas'd with him, that he committed him to prison. In this confinement he died: And according to the opinion of his worshippers as a martyr and a worker of miracles *.

526.

SECT. 4. Little more can be said of *Felix* whom we call the III^d. It is certain that he was nominated by King *Theodorick*; but disturbances arising, the King promis'd the *Romans*, that for the future he would leave to them the right of election, still reserving to himself the power of confirmation. At his sollicitation King *Athalaric* granted to the *Roman* clergy the privilege, that in matters of debt, they should first be summon'd before their Bishop. *Felix* was the son of a priest of *Benevento*, and died †

520.

SECT. 5. It being the opinion at *Rome*, that the papal chair was the richest benefice, the subsequent election was attended with fresh differences. One part chose *Boniface II.* son of a *Goth*, and the other *Dioscorus*, whose early death happily put an end to the growing contest. Hereupon the council of *Rome* pass'd a severe order against any symoniacal practices in the election of a Pope. *Boniface* was for preventing this evil by

* See the *Acta Sanctorum*. *Muratorii's* history of *Italy*. Concerning the two letters falsely ascribed to him, see *Blondel's* *seud Isidor.* and *Fabricius*.

† Besides some mandates, three letters are ascribed to this Pope. But that only is genuine that which he sent to *Cæsarius* Bishop of *Arles*. Vide *Sermond's* *concil. Gall. Toppi* addit. alla *biblioth. Neapol.* *Ceiller* and *Fabricius' biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.*

a method entirely illegal, that of appointing a successor himself; but afterwards he condemned his own indiscretion. He was imbroiled in the affair of *Stephen* Bishop of *Larissa*; but it appears that neither his mandate, nor that of a council convened on this occasion, made any impression on the Bishop of *Constantinople*. He died in a short time *.

532. Sect. 6. The new election again occasioned the greatest excesses and outrages, till at last it fell on *John II.* surnamed *Mercurius*. He himself was the occasion of king *Athalrick's* making that very memorable act, confirming the order of the council of *Rome* against simony, and reserving to himself the confirmation of the election, and even fixing the sum, which the Pope, no less than the other patriarchs, were to pay for the royal confirmation. The controversy in the east concerning the expression, *One*
 533. *of the holy trinity was crucified*, being revived, and application made to *Rome*, *John*, who probably had no high thoughts of his infallibility, suffered himself, by the arguments of learned persons, to be convinced, that the doctrine was right. Thus having amended what *Hormisdas*
 535. some years before had corrupted, he died †.

* In *Labbe's concil. Tom. IV.* are two letters, of which the first to *Eulalius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, is rejected even by *Baronius*; but the second to *Cæsarinus* of *Arles* is very remarkable, on account of the doctrine of the *Semipelagians*, condemned it. See *Noris histor. Pelag. lib. ii. cap. 23.* There are also some decrees of his still remaining.

† Only seven genuine letters are preserved, some written by *John*, and others written to him. The letter to Bishop *Valerius* is spurious. They are all together in *Tom. IV. Labbe concil.* See also *Fabricius biblioth. Græc.* Concerning king *Athalrick's* order, see *Henman's diff. de regis Gothici Athalrici edito de eligendo Papa.*

Sect. 7. *Agapetus* I. son of a priest, was scarce exalted by a quiet election, than he annulled *Boniface's* excommunication against his competitor *Dioscurus*. On the other hand he confirm'd the sentence of his immediate predecessor in the controversy of the *Scythian* monks, but could not be brought to comply with the desire of the Emperor *Justinian*, in behalf of the converted *Arians*. He was obliged to go to *Constantinople*, as envoy from *Theodotus* king of the *Goths*. If some weighty causes traversed him in the discharge of this employment, yet some other affairs occurred to him there. He had a great share in the dispute concerning *Anthimus*, the new Bishop of *Constantinople*, who had been appointed, but not consecrated; and likewise in the installation of the patriarch *Mina*. But in order to pass a right judgment, without attributing too much to him, or detracting from him, every thing must be very fairly and impartially stated. Soon after he ended his life at *Constantinople*, but his body was brought to *Rome* *.

Sect. 8. That after *Agapetus*, *Silverius*, the son of Pope *Hormisdas*, was chosen, and that king *Theodotus* had a great share in it is unquestionable. But whether by simony and violence is not yet proved. *Belisarius*, the Emperor's general, made himself master of the city of *Rome*. He was employed by the Empress *Theodora*, to *Silverius*, and exalt the ambitious *Vigilius* on his ruin. This is certain, and that *Sil-*

536.

* In the collections of councils are two interpolated, and nine genuine letters of this Pope. Of these the seventh to *Cesarius* Bishop of *Arles* is particularly remarkable for the acknowledgment, that the Pope is bound to observe the decrees of councils.

537. *verius* was exiled to *Patara*. But the causes and nature of this event are enveloped in such darkness, that there is no entering into particulars with any certainty. A more difficult question still is, whether *Silverius* or *Vigilius*, was to be accounted the legal Pope, whilst both were living. The doctors of the church of *Rome*, from a particular bias, generally declare for the first, and rightly, tho' their conclusions cannot affect the truth*.

538. Sect. 9. Thus *Vigilius* got into the *Roman* chair, a man whose natural pride and obstinacy carried him to such excesses, that he is with very good reason placed among those Popes, who disgraced their dignity. He was very near losing it, as he had attained to it. Many persons of great worth, and the Emperor *Justinian*, a prince of eminent justice, took up the cause of the good *Silverius*. But the wicked *Vigilius*, assisted by *Belisarius*, found means to get *Silverius* into his power. He immediately sent him away into a desolate island, where, in a manner not yet cleared up, he was deprived of his life: Before this happened, *Vigilius* fulfilled his promise to his great patroness the Empress *Theodora*, and declared himself for the *Eutyrians*, and soon after assured the Emperor, who was entirely orthodox, that his sentiments were absolutely conformable to his. But he was brought into a worse dilemma, occasioned by the so famous *three chapters* of that zealous, but at the same time, peaceable Emperor. They had not only caused great disturbances among the eastern Bishops, but likewise among those of *Italy*, *Africa*,

541.

* *Silverius* is said to have written the three letters to be seen in *Harduin's Concil.* Tom. II. but it is certain that they are counterfeit.

and *Gaul*, *Vigilius* being among those who opposed the Emperor's pleasure, was summoned to make his personal appearance before him. As the political air of *Rome* disagreed with him in other respects, he set out amidst the loud imprecations of the people, by the way of *Sicily*, and under a good guard arrived at *Constantinople*. The earnestness of the Emperor soon bought him to condemn the three chapters, by which he drew upon himself the universal indignation of all the western clergy, of whom the *Africans*, in a council, formally condemned the sentence of the Pope, called *Judicatum*. The Pope now was sorry for what he had done, and had recourse to a new council, which, contrary to his expectation, espoused the imperial party. At this he grew so outrageous, that the Emperor found it necessary to secure his person. He escaped by flight, but voluntarily returned, and it was hoped that a new council would mend matters: But herein also the Pope, tho' wily and insidious in all his proceedings, was disappointed. This, which is called the fifth œcumenical council was held at *Constantinople*. No manner of regard was shewn to all the Pope's remonstrances: And tho' in a formal ordinance he had declared for the three chapters, yet they were unanimously condemned, and the Pope's arguments solidly confuted. The Pope remaining immoveable in his opinion, the Emperor caused him to be banished to the island of *Proconnesus*. Here distress humbled him. He professed a change of his mind; and whatever the Emperor required, he complied with. And even condemned that opinion for which he had begun to be a martyr. Now leave was given

given him to return, but he died on his passage at *Syracuse* *.

SECT. 10. The death of *Vigilius* did not remove the hatred of the *Romans*, (who now like the other inhabitants of *Italy*, were subjects of the *Greek Emperors*) against his person, his friends, and his opinion on the three chapters. One of his most faithful adherents, *Pelagius I.* who owed his promotion to his noble descent, and the address with which he discharged several embassies, had procured from the Emperor *Justinian* a kind of reversion of the papacy, of which he accordingly took possession, tho' the inhabitants of *Rome* openly declared, that being a friend of hereticks, and a corrupter of the confession of faith of the council of *Chalcedon*, they would have no communion with him. All this how-

* Among *Vigilius's* letters, in the *concil. reg.* the most remarkable are the third, in which he accedes to the *Euty-chians*, and which is unjustly rejected by *Baronius*; the *Judicatum* as it is called, and the *Constitutum de tribus capitalis*: As also in general the collection of the acts of the five general councils; *Peter* of Antioch's letter in *Cotelier's mon. eccles. Græc. Liberati breviarum causæ Nestorianorum & Euty-chianorum*; *Facundus's* writings for the three chapters in *Sirmond's* works, and other writings relating hereto, which are the best evidences in this case. See *Fabricius biblioth. Græc.* Concerning *Vigilius's* election, see *Wernsorf's diff. de Silverio & Vigiliis*. Concerning *Virgilius's* disputes in the affair of the three chapters, see among the moderns *Marca dissert. de decreto Vigilii pro confirmatione Synodi V.* to be met with among the treatises annexed to his work *de concordia Sacerdot. & imp. Norris's dissert. de Synodo quinta. Garnier diff. de quinta Synodo. Alexander histor. eccles. Catalini concil. illustrat. Cavalcanti vindic. Pontif. and Calles annal Eccles. Ger-* But as most of these learned men had the defence of *Vigilius* in view; with them should be also compared *Basnage histor. de l'Eglise, Richer histor. concil. general. and Carve. An* account is also given of *Vigilius* by *Maudosi*, in *biblioth. Rom.*

ever was only striving against the stream. The Emperor, as he promised himself a great deal from *Pelagius*, had a suitable value for him. And *Narses* the governor soon influenced the greatest part of the nobility and clergy of *Rome* to acknowledge him for their Bishop. He thought it behoved him to assert the authority of the fifth council, but met with insuperable difficulties from the western Bishops, who nearly one and all opposed it, confirmed the three chapters in several councils, and formally separated from the church of *Rome*. Some indeed were brought to alter their minds; but most of them tenaciously adhered to their first sentiment. *Pelagius* was desirous of taking violent measures against them; but this *Narses* could not be brought to. *Childebert*, king of the *Franks*, demanded an account of his faith, which the Pope sent him. He died at a time when the greatest part of the western churches detested him as a teacher of false doctrines*.

557.

560.

SECT. 11. After the death of *Pelagius* was chosen *John III.* a person of eminence, and a native of *Rome*, but his inauguration was not performed till the Emperor *Justinian*, by his Exarch, had confirmed the election. In his time *Alboinus*, king of the *Lombards*, conquered the greatest part of *Italy*; yet *Rome* remained under the imperial dominion. All he did as Pope was to order the restoration of *Salonius* Bishop of *Embrun*, and *Sagittarius* Bishop of

569.

* In the above-mentioned parts of the collection of councils, is one interpolated letter, fifteen genuine ones, and some fragments first published by *Holsenius* and *Baluzzi*. Some of them are very remarkable. See *Cave's histor. literar. Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* *Muratori's history of Italy* and *Celler.*

Gap, who had been most justly deposed, and appealed to his supremacy; king *Guntbram* approved of this in opposition to the *Gallic* clergy, who asserted their independency. He died*.

573.

Sect. 12. Of his successor *Benedict* I. we know

574.

no further than that he was not made Pope till

578.

ten months after, and died †.

Sect. 13. *Pelagius* II. was chosen when *Rome* was invested by the *Lombards*, and on this account consecrated without the Emperor's confirmation, which however took place afterwards. He made it his chief business to gain over to his side such Bishops as hitherto had not joined in censuring the three chapters, and to this effect employed both artifice and violence, especially against the Bishops of *Istria*, who in a particular council, and before the Pope's legate, declared against that opinion, which had been supported by all the Bishops of *Rome* since *Vigilius*. But his endeavours were fruitless; the Bishops would hear nothing of the infallibility, which *Pelagius* sometimes claimed, and himself

584.

again confuted. A council held at *Constantinople* confirmed to the patriarch of that city the title of Universal Bishop, which he had borne for sometime. This gave such offence to *Pelagius*,

588.

that in a letter now lost, he called it an execrable, profane and diabolical procedure, but

* Of all the writings attributed to him, not so much as one is genuine. See *Fabricius*. Concerning *Salonius* and *Sagittarius's* affair, see *Dupin de antiquit. eccles. discipl. le cointe annal. eccles. Francor. Longueval histo. de l'Église Gallicane, histo. litter de la Fr.*

† *Isidorus* falsely ascribes to this Pope a letter to *David*, a *Spanish* Bishop, on the unity of the three persons. See *Blondel's pseudo Isidor.* p 619.

his invectives were disregarded. He died soon after of a contagious disease*.

590.

Sect. 14. *Gregory the Great*, who succeeded, was a person of high birth, being descended from Pope *Felix II.* He was both a statesman and a scholar, and had been governor of *Rome*, which splendid post he suddenly resigned, and putting on the cowl, became universally remarkable for austeritv and devotion. *Pelagius* made him a deacon, and appointed him his envoy to the imperial court: At his return he again betook himself to his monastery, of which he afterwards became abbot, but his administration plainly shewed that he preferred human ordinances to the divine law; yet in those times such a man was accounted most worthy of the Papacy. Accordingly the choice fell on him, and refusing to accept of it, and endeavouring both by craft and force to evade it, he was compelled to acquiesce in the election. A great deal of him is known, but all of little importance. He began with sending to the other patriarchs a confession of faith in many respects very remarkable; and failed in his repeated endeavors to bring the other Bishops to join with him in condemning the three chapters. His zeal for amending the corruptions of his clergy, does greater honour to him than to that system of doctrines, which rendered the prevailing vices necessary. He was greatly pleased that *Theodelinda* queen of the *Lombards*, successfully made use of her authority in her nation, which con-

594.

* Of the ten letters in *Concil. Reg. Tom. XIII.* four are the spurious productions of *Isidorus's* pen. Concerning the letter to *Aunacharius* Bishop of *Auxerre*, see *Assmann, scriptor. histor. Ital.* besides these in *Gratian* are several decrees; and in *Baluzen's miscell.* some fragments of letters.

sisted of Pagans and *Arians*, for converting them to the catholic religion. The election of *Maximus* Bishop of *Salona* would have occasioned great disturbances, had not the prudence of the court, and the peaceable disposition of Pope *Gregory*, which was even in those days a rare virtue, seasonably extinguished the flame. He manifested the same commendable temper in his obedience to his prince the emperor *Mauritius*, when the latter forbad his soldiers to turn monks. On the other hand he unseasonably engaged in politicks, offering himself as mediator betwixt the Emperor and the King of the *Lombards*, but without meriting the thanks of either party. The greatest weakness he betrayed was in his quarrel with the two patriarchs of *Constantinople*; *John* and *Cyriacus*, concerning the title of universal Bishop, where he too much exposed his predominant affection and political talent of dissimulation. He was however much to be commended for declaring this appellation to be antichristian and diabolical; and blaming the adulation of those who offered to give him such an exalted title. On the other hand the name of servant of the servants of God, which he first used, was a manifest hypocrisy. His zeal for the conversion of the *Saxons* in *England* was likewise exceptionable, for it was in several respects prejudicial to the truth. But the greatest stain on the memory of this Pope was an extravagant panegyric, which he pronounced on that profligate wretch *Phocas*, who by the murder of the emperor *Mauritius* and his family, made his way to the imperial throne; and upon his consort the accomplice of his guilt. At length 604. *Gregory* died, and must be acknowledged to have been learned, eloquent, and a good politician.

But

But he is also justly accused of giving his imaginations and passions the dominion over his understanding. Hence proceeded his fondness for miracles, which in all his writings he very industriously propagates; this sottish contempt of the most masterly pieces of the ancient heathen writers, and that childish fable of purgatory, which he held to be an article of faith. As many were indebted to him for the reputation of workers of miracles, it was but equitable to confer the same honour on him after his death; and lest particulars might be wanting, he was said to have removed the soul of the emperor *Trajan* from purgatory to heaven*.

* Unquestionably of all the Popes he was the most voluminous writer. The best edition of his works has been published by the *Benedictine* monks of *Paris*. Among these the most remarkable are; *Moralium, libri xxxiv.* which very unjustly are called an exposition of the book of *Job*. His treatise entitled *De cura sacerdotali*; his dialogues, which, though his meanest performance, serves to give an insight into the character of this Pope; his letters, which are divided into twelve books; and are, among the principal authorities in his history, the *Sacramentarium*, which *Muratori* has reprinted in his *Liturg. Rom. vet.* See Mr. *Lilienthal's* learned treatise *de Cannone missæ Gregoriano*. His decrees published by *Gratian* are mostly taken from his letters. The ancient writers of the life of this Pope are *Paul Warnefried, Johannes Diaconus, Petrus Diaconus*, and some anonymous. Concerning these see *Fabricius' biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* where also those learned authors are referred to, who have disputed *Gregory's* being a monk. Among the moderns, see the *Acta Sanctor. Heron. Muzio in coro pontificale. Maimbourg histoir. du pontifical. de Gregoire le Grand Dion. of St. Martha, Bayle's Dictionnaire, Oudin Comen. de script. eccles. Cave, Ceiller, and Gradonici, S. Gregorius, M. Pontifex, à criminationibus Oudini vindicatus.*

C H A P. II.

Of the History of the PAPACY.

Sect. 1. **T**HIS period contains those transactions of the Popes of *Rome*, which laid the immediate foundation of that monarchical grandeur and power to which they afterwards rose.

Sect. 2. One of the first and most essential steps was the erection of the dignity of patriarch, which was confirmed in the *Nicene* council. And thus the hierarchy, or government of the church became modelled according to the constitution of the *Roman* empire. This being the rule, another fundamental principle was added to it, that the precedence and authority of Bishops over others should be determined by the rank of the cities where they resided.

Sect. 3. It was however agreed, that the patriarchs should be upon an equality: And in the sixth century it continued to be an article of faith, that the name and idea of an universal Bishop was a contradiction, and a mark of Antichrist. The Popes also ever held the other Bishops to be their brethren and colleagues.

Sect. 4. We cannot therefore, in any part of this period, consider the Pope as the head of all the churches in the world. He was a patriarch; and had the chief place among his brethren, because he resided at *Rome*, the capital city of the whole empire; and hitherto the Popes had desired no more. They began indeed to arrogate to themselves that pre-eminence which

which they pretended the scriptures had given to the Apostle *St. Peter*. But they were still ingenuous enough to acknowledge, that their privileges were of human origin.

Sect. 5. At first the Pope's superintendency was limited to those communities, which in civil cases were subject to the government of the city. But on one hand the reverence paid by other churches to the See of *Rome*; and on the other the insatiable ambition of its Bishops put them upon attempts to enlarge their borders, and subject to themselves the western churches. But the little success they met with appears from the contests on appeals with the churches of *Gaul* and *Africa*.

Sect. 6. The infallibility of the Pope of *Rome* was unknown as yet. Amidst the enormities, errors and contradictions of several of them, it would have been a ridiculous inconsistency to give oracular authority to the sentences of such men.

Sect. 7. The superiority of councils to the Pope was therefore a point not yet disputed. The Popes themselves desired such assemblies: And declared that so far from having a power of altering their decrees, their opinions and doctrines were to be subjected to the examination of councils.

Sect. 8. Notwithstanding this authority of these Bishops was sufficiently great, and they were not wanting to keep it up among the people by a pomp and splendour, as indecent as the arrogant style which some of them affected*.

* *St. Jerom* records a memorable saying of a Pagan, 'Make me a Bishop of *Rome*, and I'll immediately become a Christian.'

Sect. 9. It was indeed a rule, that the Bishop obtained his office by election, but the corruption of the times was such, that money had frequently a great share in it. Hence those princes who were protectors of the *Roman* city, are by no means to be blamed, that in order to prevent frequent bloodshed, they not only published several salutary laws concerning the election; but also introduced the confirmations for which a considerable sum of money was to be paid, and sometimes indeed named the Popes. Whereas *Boniface* could not prevail to have the nomination of his successor*.

Sect. 10. During a vacancy of the chair, the superintendency was lodged with the three chief ecclesiasticks in *Rome*. We read also of an *interim* Pope, who had the title of *Visitor*. It was by an innovation, that the Popes gave foreign Bishops the title of *Vicars*. The *Apocriefarii* were their envoys, who particularly resided at the Emperor's court. In the councils they had their *Legates*.

Sect. 11. They were subject to the civil magistrate of *Rome*. Instances are not wanting of Popes punished by Emperors, and of others who were sent as ambassadors by the kings of *Italy*.

Sect. 12. Nothing is more certain, than that the city of *Rome* was not given to the Popes, but acknowledged for its sovereign sometimes the Emperors of *Rome*, and afterwards the foreign kings of *Italy* †.

* At the end of this period, and for very good reasons, the persons chosen were generally deacons.

† In general not the least trace is to be found during all this period, that any city or province was subject to the Bishop of *Rome* in civil matters, as *Affeman* pretends in *Histor. Ital. script.*

Sect. 13. It appears from the canon law that the usages of the *Roman* church, and the letters or epistles of the Popes gradually acquired the authority of laws; yet it is certain, that even in *Rome* itself the canons, that is, the decrees of councils, had the superiority, which is particularly manifest from the *African* controversies.





B O O K I I I .

O F T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

P O P E S o f R O M E ,


From the Time of the Emperor *Phocas*
to the Death of *Charlemagne*,
Emperor of the *Romans*.

C H A P . I .

Of the History of the P O P E S o f R O M E .

S E C T . I .

Of the History of the Popes of *Rome* of
the seventh Century.

604. Sect. 1. REGORY the Great was succeeded by *Sabinianus* of *Volaterra*, a deacon, who had been envoy at the imperial court, a man, who endeavoured at accumulate wealth by oppressing the
the

the poor; and to exalt himself by calumniating his predecessor. Hence arose that just hatred of the people, which vented itself even after his death. He died after a reign rather short, but too long for such a tyrant. The story invented to make his death remarkable deserves no credit. 606.

Sect. 2. After an interval of near a whole year, the Romans chose *Boniface*, a native of Rome, who had hitherto been a deacon; and as envoy from the Pope had insinuated himself into the favour of the profligate emperor *Phocas*, who conferred on this sycophant a very distinguished favour, for at his request, and thro' hatred of the worthy patriarch *Cyriacus*, he deprived the latter of the title which he had hitherto born, of universal Bishop, and granting it to *Boniface*, or rather declared the church of Rome the head of all other churches. Yet *Boniface* did not long enjoy this antichristian honour, as *Gregory* the Great justly called it; but died in this very year, after having, by a very arrogant decree of a council, taken a long stride towards improving the title into actual power. *. 607.

Sect. 3. The Roman chair having continued vacant four months, *Boniface* IV. was chosen. He was a *Marisian* by birth, and the son of a physician, called *John*. One of his merits upon record is, that with the permission of the usurper 608.

* Of this and the foregoing Popes, we have no letters or mandates now extant. All we know of this very remarkable transaction is founded on the accounts of *Anastasius* and *Paulus Deaconus de rebus gestis Longobardor*. And probably they may not mean so much as has been understood by *Baronius*, and other writers, which is plainly intimated by *Mosheim* in his *Instit. histor. eccles.* other writers to be consulted relating to Pope *Boniface*; and this change are *Launori in epist. Heidegger histor. Papat.* and *Muratori's* history of Italy.

Phocas,

Phocas, he dedicated the Pantheon at *Rome* to all the saints, thus retaining the thing by a different name. He convened a council at *Rome* on account of some disturbances in *England*. He died not long after with the reputation of a faint*.

610.

615.

SECT. 4. Of his successor *Deus dedit* we know nothing interesting. The questions, whether he or his father were subdeacons; or whether it be true that he gave a miraculous kiss to a leper, are frivolous. After his death, but not till the latter ages, he was ranked among the saints †.

618.

619.

SECT. 5. The chair now continued a whole year vacant, when the choice fell on *Boniface V.* a *Neapolitan*. He has the character of a good man, but without any thing being known of him than that he died, and even the time of this is uncertain ‡.

625.

SECT. 6. It is very probable, that *Honorius I.* a native of *Campania*, and of eminent rank, was chosen immediately after the demise of his predecessor, and that he was installed soon after, the Emperor's exarch of *Ravenna* being then at *Rome*. He is said to have espoused in vain the

* *Holstenius Coll. Rom.* gives a decree of this Pope, made in the above-mentioned council, concerning the right of monks to officiate as priests, and a letter to king *Ethelbert* of *England* on the same subject. See also *Harduin's concil.* and *Spelman's concil. Angl.* But their genuineness are justly questioned. See *Dupin's biblioth. des Auteurs eccles.* and *Fabrianus in biblioth. Lat. med. & inf. ætat.* See also the *Acta sancti. Cave, histor. liter.* and *Maraugoni delle cose gentilesche trasportate ad uso della chiesa.*

† The letter to Bishop *Gordian* of *Seville*, which bears his name, is spurious. It may be seen in *Aigure's concil. Hispan.* and in *Gratian.*

‡ We have three letters of his which he sent to *England* in *Spelman's concil. Britannic.* In one of them he speaks something unguardedly about the work of redemption. See *Cællier's Histor. des auteurs.*

cause of *Adaloald* the deposed King of the *Lombards*. He also complimented the prelates of *Canterbury* and *York* with the archiepiscopal mantle, in order to cajole the *English* into a closer connection with his See: Yet he could not prevail with all the churches there to conform to the church of *Rome* on the subject of Easter. He also consecrated a patriarch of *Grado*, and shewed great zeal in building and ornamenting churches. But his fame was somewhat eclipsed in the violent controversy then agitated in the East, concerning the question, whether Christ had one or two wills? In two letters to *Sergius*, patriarch of *Constantinople*, he evidently declared for the *Monothelites*. Some indeed among the moderns have laboured hard to extenuate this fault, but in vain, it being undeniable, that at the sixth general council at *Constantinople*, *Honorius* was publicly condemned as a heretick; and this sentence was solemnly confirmed by the following Popes, even in their usual oath of religion. The common tradition, that *Honorius* amply compensated for his fault, by setting an orthodox Bishop over the *Maronites*, is grounded on monuments palpably false. He died *.

627.

633.

634.

668.

Sect. 7. After the death of Pope *Honorius*, was chosen *Severinus*, a *Roman*, but his consecration

* Among *Honorius's* writings, the most remarkable are his two letters to *Sergius*, which are in the *Act. Concil. œcumen.* Six other letters in *Tom. XIV. Concil. reg.* a *Latin* poem on Christ's ascension, which some do not allow to be his, *Tom. XII. Biblioth. max. patr.* an elegiac ode on his predecessor in *Gruter's Theol. inscript.* and *Fleetwood's Syllog. inscript.* There is also an elegy of the like kind on *Honorius* in *Gruter.* See *Fabricius's biblioth. med. & inf. œtat.* Besides those writers who have treated of the history of the *Monothelites*, and of whom an accurate account is given by *Fabricius* in *biblioth. Græc.* see the following; *Richer histor.*

639. cration was for a long time retarded, the deputies sent to *Constantinople*, not being able to obtain the confirmation, till they promised to prevail with the new Pope to accept of the monothelitical form of faith, published in the name of the emperor *Heraclius*. About this time the *Roman* soldiers plundered the palace of *Lateran*, where great treasures had been laid up by *Honorius* and his predecessors. Two of the Emperor's officers are accused of being concerned in this violence. At last *Severinus* was confirmed; but how he behaved with respect to the conditions above-mentioned, does not clearly appear. He died not long after*.

640.

SECT. 8. *John IV.* a *Dalmatian*, was elected in his room. Before his consecration he jointly with the archpresbyter, the archdeacon, and the primicerius of the church of *Rome*, answered a letter sent to *Severinus* by some of the clergy of *Scotland*; the subject of it was the feast of *Easter* and the *Pelagian* doctrine, which had gained ground in that country: But the heat of his zeal was pointed at the *Monothelites*. He is said to have prevailed with the Emperor *Constantine* to invalidate the famous *Ecthesis*, having himself before condemned this heresy in a council. He was a friend of the monks, and did

641.

hister. concil. general, Dupin de antiq. eccles. discipl. Placette observat. hister. eccles. Garnier diff. II. ad libr. diurn. Basnage hister de le Eglise. Bossuet. defens. declarat. Cbladenii diff. de Monothelismo Honorii papæ. Among his advocates, besides *Baronius* and others, see *Harduin's op. select. Cavalcanti vindic. pontif.* and *Bartholi Apolog. pro Honorio.* The account of the *Maronite* Bishop has been contradicted by *Affeman in scriptor. hister. Ital.*

* Father *Sirmond* first published the *Commemorat. de Papæ Severini legati*, which has been re-printed in *Labbe's concil. Tom. V.*

many

many good works. He died after a short pontificate *.

642.

SECT. 9. He was succeeded by *Theodore I.* a native of *Greece*, and son to the patriarch of *Jerusalem* of the same name, who seems to have obtained his confirmation from the Exarch of *Ravenna*. All that is known of him relates to the *Monothelite* disturbances which were increased by *Pyrrhus* the deposed patriarch of *Constantinople*, who at this time renounced his opinion, and again embraced it; also by the patriarch *Paul*; and lastly by the *Typus* of *Constantine*. One of the most remarkable transactions was the council of *Rome*, where *Theodore* subscribed the condemnation of *Pyrrhus* with consecrated wine. But that the Emperor's *Typus* was rejected at the same time is false. On the other hand it is certain, that *Theodore* excommunicated the patriarch *Paul*; and thereby he drew a severe persecution on his Legates and other orthodox men in the East. His nominating *Stephen* Bishop of *Dore* to be his Vicar in *Jerusalem*, proceeded from political motives. The expressions of the *African* Bishops must be extremely misunderstood, to imagine that they acknowledged a papal supremacy. He died as a saint, which honour he derived from his good works †.

648.

649.

SECT. 10. The next elected was *Martin I.*

* In the above-mentioned collection of councils are, a letter of his to the *Scots*, another to the emperor *Constantine*, and a third to *Isaac* Bishop of *Syracuse*. See *Oudin. comment. de scriptor. eccles. Cæve, histor. literar. and Ceiller's histoïr des auteurs.*

† In *Harduin's Concil.* are only two letters sent to *Constantinople* by this Pope; But other pieces relating to him are to be met with there. The bull sent by Pope *Theodore* to the abbot of *Bobbio*, does not seem to be genuine, see *Muratari's history of Italy.*

who

- who being of a good family at *Todi* in *Tuscany*, had a liberal education, and was possessed of some excellent qualities. His inauguration was performed without waiting for the imperial confirmation. He begun with holding a council of *Italian Bishops* in the *Lateran* church, which condemned the doctrine of the *Monothelites*, the Emperor *Heraclius's* *Ec̄thesis*, and likewise the *Typus* of the reigning Emperor *Constantine*: And this at a time when the Emperor used his utmost endeavours for enforcing that decree in *Italy*; and had sent orders to the Exarch *Olympius* to proceed to violence against the Pope himself. But
650. for this time, by *Olympius's* treachery, the storm blew over. However, the Emperor *Constantine*
653. persisted in his resolution; and the Pope, being seized by the new Exarch *John Calliope*, was
654. carried away to the island of *Naxia*, and from thence to *Constantinople*. A judicial enquiry was commenced against the Pope, who must have suffered for high treason, which was the charge brought against him, had not the patriarch *Paul*, who then lay dying, prevailed on the Emperor to mitigate the capital punishment into exile. *Martin* was transported to *Chersonesus*, where he died soon after. His sufferings
655. have gained him the title of a saint. It is certain, however, that he was one of those Popes who asserted their dignity with pride and insolence. Of this, among others, his proceedings against *Paul* of *Thessalonica* are a sufficient evidence*.

* The principal authorities here are the seventeen letters, which are remaining of this Pope, together with the acts of the *Lateran* council in the *Concil. reg.* See *Fabricius* in *biblioth. Græc.* We have also some account of this Pope in *Sirius's vit. sanctor.* See *Simond, Cave, Maius, Affeman,* and *Ceilers.*

SECT. 11. Whilst Pope *Martin* was still living, the *Romans* proceeded to elect *Eugenius I.* of whom it is remarked, as something singular, that he was a priest in his cradle. It cannot be proved, that Pope *Martin* gave his consent to this election. All that we know of *Eugenius* is, that his deputies at *Constantinople* were very near committing a false step: That he was obliged to reject the confession of faith of *Peter* the new patriarch of *Constantinople*, and that after his death he was classed among the saints*.

SECT. 12. His successor was *Vitalianus*, a native of *Campania*. He immediately sent deputies to both Emperors, and at the same time the usual confession of faith to the patriarch. The gracious reception these deputies met with, and the rich presents which the Emperor *Constantine* sent by them to *Rome*, would reflect little honour upon the Pope, were it not manifest, that the *Monothelites* looked upon him as their enemy. *Vitalian* was as haughty and insolent toward his brethren, as he had been submissive to the Emperor when at *Rome*. One specimen of which appeared in his vehement proceeding against *Maurus* Bishop of *Ravenna*, which however was so far from answering his ends, that it occasioned the Emperor, by a particular instrument to confirm the independency of the See of *Ravenna* on the Pope. Of the same kind was his conduct towards *John*, a *Cretan* Bishop, but the issue is unknown. Among the artifices of this Pope was his nominating *Theodore* to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and conferring privi-

* In *Gratian* are only four ordinances of his which shew that *Eugenius* was a strict disciplinarian over the clergy. See *Fabricius's biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. atat.* and the *Acta Sanctor.*

leges on that church, which strengthened the union betwixt the *Englifo* church and his See. He is extolled as a strict disciplinarian: He died, and is also a saint*.

672.

Sect. 13. All that we know of his successor *Adeodat* is, that he was a *Roman* and a monk, and died a Pope †.

677.

Sect. 14. Hereupon *Domnus* I. a *Roman*, was chosen. He had the satisfaction, that *Reparatus* Bishop of *Ravenna*, and his successor *Theodore*, behaved to him in a manner perfectly agreeable to his desires: But this good understanding did not last long. In his time the Emperor *Constantine Pogonatus* endeavoured to

677.

679.

restore the tranquillity of the church. But *Domnus* died before the Emperor's letter came to his hands ‡.

Sect. 15. The next Pope was *Agatbo* a *Sicilian*. He held two remarkable councils at *Rome*. In one of them *Wilfred*, Bishop of *York*, who had been deposed, was acquitted; and, in the other, were chosen the Legates to assist at the sixth oecumenical council at *Constantinople*, where the *Monothelites*, and *Honorius* by name, were con-

680.

* In the collection of councils are five letters of this Pope; as for the sixth to the monks of *Sicily*, even *Baronius* allows it to be spurious. *Wernsdorf*, in *bist. Lat. ling. in sacris publicis*, explodes the pretence of some modern writers, that *Vitalian*, by a decree, appointed public worship to be performed in *Latin*. See the *Acta Sanctor.* and *Ceiller*. Of the proceedings against Bishop *Maurus*, see particularly *Muratori*.

† Only one letter of his to the Bishops of *France* is still remaining, which relates to the exemption of the convent of *St. Martin* at *Tours*; its genuineness however is much disputed; it may be seen among others in *Hardouin's concil.*

‡ Some make *Domnus* a poet; but this is very uncertain. See *Fabricius bibliotb. Lat. med. & inf.*

demned,

demned, which *Agatho* himself had before done in his letter. On this occasion the Emperor *Constantine* released the Popes of *Rome* from the usual payments for their confirmation, but expressly retained the right of confirmation. *Agatho* himself died a short time after *. 682.

SECT. 16. The most remarkable passage known of Pope *Leo II.* who was also a *Sicilian*, is, that he was installed by the three Bishops of *Ostia*, *Porto*, and *Veletri*, the See of *Alba* being then vacant; that he maintained a good understanding with the Emperor *Constantine*; approved of the decrees of the above-mentioned council of *Constantinople*; condemned *Honorius*, and died as a faint †. 683.

SECT. 17. The election fell on *Benedict II.* but he was obliged to wait almost a whole year before he was confirmed and consecrated. In his time the Emperor *Constantine* gave permission, that for the future the ordination of the Popes should be performed without any delay, a favour in general not clearly understood, and to which the Emperor's successors paid no regard. *Benedict* shewed great zeal in confirming the authority of the sixth council, especially in 684.

* Besides the two letters inserted in the acts of the sixth general council, and some very arrogant decrees to be met with in *Gratian*, two very doubtful pieces are attributed to *Agatho*, one of them a letter to King *Ethelred* of *England*, and another to a fictitious Bishop of *Vienne*; see *Dupin biblioth. des auteurs*, the *Acta Sanctor. Mongitore biblioth. Sicul.* *Heidegger. histor. papat.* *Ceiller and Mazzuchelli Scultori d'Italia.*

† In the collection of councils are five letters of his, of which the first in *Harduin's Tom. III. concil.* is the most remarkable, and questioned by *Baronius* without sufficient grounds. See *Acta Sanctor. Mongitore, Fabricius's biblioth. Lat. and Ceiller.*

685. *Spain.* He was obliged to adopt the two imperial Princes. He died with the reputation of liberality, and was canonised *.

686. Sect. 18. Of *John V.* we know, that he was a native of *Syria*, was chosen Pope, was consecrated; endeavoured to subject the *Sardinian* churches to the papal chair; was infirm in his health, and died †.

687. Sect. 19. At the new election the voters were divided. The clergy were for the arch-priest *Peter*; and the soldiers for one *Theodore* a priest: At last the election fell on a third person, one *Conon*, a native of *Thrace*: He was a weak man both in mind and body, and died within eleven months.

688. Sect. 20. *Paschalis* the archdeacon had before the death of *Conon*, by a promise of money, procured an order for his election from *John Flatyn*, exarch of *Ravenna*. It must be confessed, that he had besides a powerful party. Another faction of the electors chose the arch-priest *Theodore*, and a third *Sergius I.* who was born at *Palermo*, or brought up there, but of *Syrian* extraction. The exarch himself came to *Rome* and declared for *Sergius*, who was obliged to pay him down the sum of money promised by *Paschal*. One of his first transactions was to baptise *Cedowalla*, the devout King of the *West-saxons*, and he had frequent opportunities of extending and establishing the authority of the papal chair, by the reverence paid to the missionaries, who converted the remaining pagan nations. The Emperor *Justinian II.* held at

691.

* There are only two letters of his to the *Spaniards* in *Aguirre's concil. Hisp.*

† His letters and treatise *de dignitate palii* are of little repute.

Constantinople the famous council of *Trulla*. Its decrees related to church discipline, some of them were very prudent, reasonable and just, but therefore unfavourable to the selfish tenets of the *Roman* church. The Emperor desired *Sergius* to subscribe to them, but he refused with indecent obstinacy. *Justinian* sent an officer of his court to apprehend the Pope, but he contrived to escape by the protection of the soldiers, which had very much the air of a tumult. We know nothing further of him, than that by his admonitions he greatly contributed to the removal of the schism in the churches of *Aquileia*, which still subsisted on account of the three chapters. He died with the reputation of a saint*.

692.

698.

701.

S E C T. II.

Of the History of the Popes of the eighth Century.

Sect. 1. **J**OHN VI. was a native of *Greece*. He appeased the mutiny of the soldiers against the exarch *Theophylactus*, when he

702.

* Whoever takes the monumental inscription of this Pope to be genuine, as we find it in *Baronius's annal. ecclcs.* must make some little alteration in the account of his election. The story of the miracle performed by St. *Aldhelm*, which nearly concerns *Sergius* is fabulous. Besides some ordinances to be found in *Gratian*, relating partly to publick worship, we have remaining only a letter sent to the abbot *Ceolfreid* in *England*, to be met with in *Wilkins' concil. Angl.* See the *Acta Sanctor. Mongitore biblioth. sic. Ragusa eleg. sa* and *Cave's hist. liter.*

was at *Rome*. He also had an opportunity, in the affair of *St. Gisulf* of *Benevento*, of shewing his liberality. In his time, *Wilfried*, archbishop of *York*, who was become odious in *England*, for his too great attachment to the Pope, was acquitted in a council held at *Rome*. *John* died soon after.

704.

705.

SECT. 2. Next succeeded *John VII.* a *Greek*, and a man of learning, but timorous, as appears from his behaviour towards the Emperor *Justinian II.* with regard to the council of *Trulla*. What is mentioned of a grant made by *Aribert* King of the *Longobards* has hitherto been little understood. He died *.

707.

708.

SECT. 3. *Sisinnus* was chosen Pope, and died twenty days after.

710.

711.

SECT. 4. Upon this, *Constantine*, a native of *Syria*, was chosen, who took a great deal of pains to subject the Bishop of *Ravenna* to the papal See. He was obliged, by order of the Emperor *Justinian*, to go to *Constantinople*, and from thence to *Nicomedia*. Tho' he had all manner of respect paid him, and the Emperor even kissed his foot (which is the first instance of this submission recorded in history) yet the particular reason and consequences of this journey are not known. *Philippicus* being now advanced to the imperial throne, his inclination to the party of the *Monothelites* would soon have occasioned great disturbances; but his death,

712.

713.

which happened immediately after, and the zeal of the Emperor *Athanasius*, for the orthodox faith, preserved the peace. *Constantine* passed

* *Wilkins* in *concil. Angl.* has a letter of this Pope to two Kings of *England*, and *Balluzi* in *Miscel.* likewise another letter to the *English* in general. See *Muratori's* history of *Italy*.

an unjust sentence in the affair of the Bishop of *Milan*, with regard to the bishoprick of *Pavia*. He died *.

Sect. 5. The next Pope is *Gregory II.* a native of *Rome*, who wanted not abilities to pursue the maxims adopted in *Rome*, for extending the authority of his See. The political disturbances in *Italy*, and the commotions in the church, contributed to this. He was the first who endeavoured to gain the friendship of *Charles Martel Maire du palais*, or *major-domo* of the *Franks*, in order to make use of it against the power of King *Luitprand*, which began to grow formidable to him. He was zealous for the doctrine of celibacy, and knew how to avail himself of *Boniface*, the celebrated converter of the pagans. But the most important transaction in his time was the dispute about image-worship, which first began under the emperor *Leo Isaurus*. *Gregory* strenuously opposed the Emperor, who being thereby provoked either to depose, or even to dispatch him, the Pope secured himself by means of insurrections among the people, and even the assistance of King *Luitprand*. In the course of this conduct he was extremely insolent, and died with the character of a saint †.

715.

716.

724.

726.

731.

* A letter of his to *Brithwald* archbishop of *Canterbury* may be seen in *Harduin's concil.* Another also to *Edald* Bishop of *Vienne*, is attributed to him. See *Fabricius' biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* and *Muratori*.

† Concerning the fifteen letters remaining of his, see *Fabricius Biblioth. Græc. and biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* See also the *Acta Sanctor. Mabillon. Act. Sanct. ord. Bened. Alexand. hist. eccles. Sandini diss. ad vit. Pontif. Muratori, Affemand.* the historians of image-worship, among whom the principal is *Spanheim*. To these times also belongs the *liber diurnus*, a very ancient piece of great use, see *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. Med. æt. and Cave's hist. literar.*

732. Sect. 6. The new election fell on *Gregory III.* a native of *Syria*, who zealously trod in the footsteps of his predecessors. His first business was by vehement writings and repeated councils, to oppose the emperor *Leo*, who still persevered in the suppression of image-worship. *Leo*, so far from being intimidated, made not only the Pope's Legate, but the Pope himself, feel his displeasure, for he confiscated the papal revenues in *Sicily* and *Calabria*, which were very considerable. On the other hand, *Gregory* was indefatigable in alienating the hearts of the Emperor's subjects from him, as a heretick; and in attaching to himself the above-mentioned *Boniface*, who, on his part was active in propagating the authority of the Pope in *Germany*.
733. Towards the close of his days he drew on himself the resentment of *Luitprand* and *Hildebrand*, two Kings of the *Lombards*, by supporting with men and money, the revolt of *Thrasmund* duke of *Spoletto*. On this occasion he sent a splendid embassy to request the aid of *Charles Martel* of *France*, with an infamous promise of withdrawing himself and the city of *Rome* from their allegiance to the *Roman* emperor. *Charles* was too much a politician absolutely to comply with the Pope's request; yet he took care to enter into a close connection with him. But the decease both of *Charles* and the Pope put a period to all these extensive schemes. *Gregory* is also reputed
740. a saint*.
- 741.

* It is matter of doubt, whether the *Capitula 33 de penitentibus in Harduin's concil.* belongs to this *Gregory*. In the collection of councils are preserved seven letters of his; but we do not there find the letter to St. *Ursus* of *Venice*, which is to *Sabellicus*, nor that to the Bishops of *Lombard-Tuscany*, which was made public by *Fontanini*.

Sect. 7. After him was chosen another *Greek*, named *Zacharias*, a man very expert at gaining his ends by fair words and flatteries. He cheerfully made two journeys to *Luitprand* King of *Lombardy*, and one to *Rastius* King of the same country; in both which he greatly promoted his interest. He was also on such good terms with *Pepin*, that he gave his previous approbation to the latter's design of dethroning his sovereign, and thereby firmly attached the *Carolingian* race to himself. He is accounted a man of learning, tho' his judgment in the controversy about the *Antipodes*, is but an indifferent specimen of this. He died, and is also classed among the saints*.

742.

742.

743.

751.

752.

Sect. 8. *Stephen*, a priest, who was chosen next was never consecrated; for he died three days after his election; on which account most historians omit him from the list of the Popes, and call his successor *Stephen II.* whom others stile the III^d. This Pope, who was a native of *Rome*, had the good fortune in a journey he made into *France* to prevail with King *Pepin*, not only to deprive King *Aistulphus* of the exarchate, which he had unjustly taken from the *Greeks*, but likewise by his famous donation to lay the first foundation of the temporal power of the Popes in *Italy*. *Pepin* adopted among his titles that of a patrician of *Rome*. This Pope

753.

* We are obliged to this Pope for the *Greek* translation of the dialogues of *Gregory* the Great. In *Harduin's concil.* is the epistolary correspondence betwixt this Pope and *St. Boniface*, which is not without its use here; and with it may be compared *Basnage's* edition of *Canisius' Lect. antiq.* In the other collections, particularly *Tom. XVI. reg.* are more letters.

757. shewed a great zeal against the doctrine of the Greeks concerning images ; and died *.

767. Sect. 9. During the illness of Pope *Stephen*, two parties arose ; one declaring for *Theophylactus* an archdeacon, and the other for *Paul* the deacon, brother to the late Pope, who at length carried the point, tho' in all appearance by no very justifiable means. He kept up a close friendship with King *Pepin*, to the prejudice of the emperor *Desiderius* and of the Greek emperors ; who, as was natural, would not patiently see themselves deprived of their property, yet had not strength to defend it. The Pope, to cover his rebellion with the mantle of religion, declared them hereticks. *Paul* died after building several churches, and collecting the bones of saints, which hath procured him a place among the saints †.

768. Sect. 10. On the decease of Pope *Paul I.* duke *Toto*, by a notable fetch of policy, placed his brother *Constantine* in the papal chair. He maintained himself in it above a year, when

* Besides the letters in the *Codex Carolinus*, which we shall have occasion to cite, see *Responsa ad Gallas* in *Harduin's concil.* in which occurs a glaring proof of this Pope's fallibility, or rather ignorance ; and the *Revelat. Stephani II.* in *Labbe's concil.* The reciprocal behaviour of the Pope and *Pepin*, and the true nature of the grant, have in modern times produced many learned pieces on both sides, see *Muratori's history of Italy*, and the late *Mr. Meibem's institut. histor. ecclæs.* where also are quoted many other writings belonging to this article. To these must be added *Affemann.* See also *Caræ's histor. uiter. Ceiller's bysioir. des auteurs*, and *Fabricius's biblioth. Lat. med. & infm. atat.*

† The thirty-one letters from *Paul* to King *Pepin*, are in the *Codex Carolinus* ; besides some other documents to be found in *Labbe's concil.* and *Harduin's concil.* See *Acta sanctor.* and *Fabricius's biblioth. Lat.*

Christopher

Christopher and *Sergius*, two men of turbulent dispositions, by the help of the *Longobards*, forcibly dethroned him; confined in a convent *Philip* the priest, whom another party had chosen; and promoted their friend *Stephen* III. or IV. who, accordingly from this time is accounted the legal Pope. He behaved with extreme cruelty towards the adherents of the two, who had been chosen before. On this occasion it was enacted in a council, that no layman should be eligible, but that the Pope should always be a priest or deacon of the church of *Rome*. He carefully cultivated the friendship of the emperor *Charles* the Great, which was of eminent use to him in his perpetual broils with the emperor *Desiderius*. He died *.

772.

SECT. II. His successor was *Hadrian* I. a *Roman*, of noble birth. Under him the emperor *Charlemagne* over-running the kingdom of *Italy*, became master of *Rome*. *Hadrian* having greatly promoted this important enterprize, *Charles* in return for his services made repeated grants to the see of *Rome*. *Charles* however did not lose sight of his own dignity, nor pay a servile submission to the Pope. He arrested the Pope's Legates; and by causing the decrees of the second council of *Nice* (which had been so agreeable to the Pope) to be rejected in the celebrated ecclesiastical assembly at *Frauncfort* on the *Maine*, he plainly shewed, that he

774.

777.

787.

792.

794.

* All the letters remaining of him may be found in the *Codex Carolinus*, and some of them betray the selfish and litigious disposition of the Pope. The acts of the *Late-ran* council held in the year 769 were first published by *Cajet Cenni* at *Rome*, 1735, whose dissertation annexed to it is also to be consulted. See *Mongitore biblioth. scil. Muratori's* history of *Italy*, and *Cailler's* *histoire des auteurs*.

would not be prescribed to in civil, nor even in religious matters. At that time the doctrine of the *Spanish* Bishops *Elipand* and *Felix*, concerning the mystery of the incarnation, made a great noise. *Hadrian* manifested a most vehement zeal, but also a very shallow knowledge of the fundamental articles of faith; his death was much lamented by the Emperor *Charles* the Great*.

795. Sect. 12. *Leo* III. a native of *Rome*, was no sooner chosen than he notified it to the Emperor *Charles*, with actual marks of his submission: And the Emperor in the persons of his own ministers, received homage from the *Romans*. *Leo* held a council at *Rome*, in order to repeat the condemnation of the adoptian heresy. But in the *interim* a violent rebellion broke out against him, headed by *Paschal* and *Campulus*, two persons of great note, who by very cruel treatment obliged him to make his escape, and seek redress from the Emperor *Charles*. He ordered the Pope to be reconducted to *Rome*, by his ambassadors, and soon after going himself in person, held a council of such of the clergy as were on the spot, where Pope *Leo* cleared himself by oath from the accusations brought against him; and

800. * Of this Pope forty-six letters are to be found in the *Codex Carolinus*, that is, in the collection of letters written by the Popes from *Gregory* III. to *Hadrian* I. to the princes of the *Carolingian* house; and of which the Emperor *Charles* the Great ordered a collection to be made in 791. See them in *Muratori scriptor. rer. Italici*. Besides these, other letters from this Pope are to be found in the collection of councils. The *codex Canonum*, presented by Pope *Adrian* to the Emperor *Charles*. And the eighty *capitula* attributed to him in *Sirmond's concil. Gall.* deserve likewise some notice. Concerning the celebrated grant of the Emperor *Charles* to Pope *Hadrian*, see *Mosheim institut. hist. eccles.*

the authors of the tumult were punished. At the end of this year the Emperor *Charles* annexed the title of Emperor to his sovereignty over the city of *Rome*. The truth may suffer, if the share Pope *Leo* had in this be not rightly understood. From some unknown motives, he, a few years after, paid a fresh visit to the Emperor *Charles*, and a year or two after this, found himself aggrrieved by the imperial commissaries in *Italy*, who possibly attended to their master's interest, with more fidelity than was agreeable to the Pope. But he met with no countenance from the Emperor, the indecent procedure of the Pope's Legates in *England* having raised a well-grounded jealousy in *Charles*. In the disturbances arisen in the church, concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, Pope *Leo* shewed himself rather a politician than an infallible doctor. On the demise of *Charlemagne*, the *Romans* again revolted. Pope *Leo* caused some to be executed, which displeased the new Emperor, who erected on that occasion a special commission at *Rome*, but by the Pope's address it turned out to his advantage. He died soon after*.

804.

807.

808.

809.

814.

816.

816.

* *Leonis III. Epistolæ ad Carolum*, first published by *Herman Coving*, are, together with the letter to the Patriarch *Fortunatus* of *Grado*, preserved in the collection of councils. *Baluzius miscel.* gives us this Pope's confession of faith. Among other mandates of his is, that which *Grægotian cap Nos se in competenter* 9. vii. by mistake attributes to Pope *Leo IV.* Among the monuments belonging to this place, are to be added the *Carmen de Carolo Magno & Leonis ad Carolum adventu*, which goes by the name of *Alcuin*, and has been most correctly published by *Bosnuge*, and the stately monument of *Mosaic* work in *Alemann's diss. de Lateran. Pariet.* in *Grævius's Thes. hist. & antiqu. Ital.*

C H A P. II.

The History of the PAPACY.

Sect. 1. **I**N this period the Papal dignity received a remarkable increase. With respect to the church, the Popes not only assumed the title of universal Bishop, or head of the church, but strenuously laboured to improve this at first unmeaning title, into something more substantial.

Sect. 2. Tho' the eastern patriarchs were not wanting in a vigorous opposition, yet the Bishops of *Rome* were so fortunate as to subject to themselves most of the western churches. The means made use for this purpose were the superstitious veneration of the pretended chair of *St. Peter*, cherished by them. The divisions among the clergy, which produced the custom, of appealing to the Popes; the obligation carefully laid on the missionaries among the Pagans to preach the Pope together with Christ; the zeal for maintaining the dignity and authority of the Popes against the just claims of inferior ecclesiasticks and laymen, which dignity was heightened by the grant of privileges, and particularly by sending the pallium, to which may be added the fantastical desire of some prelates, to be consecrated by the Pope himself; the separation from the eastern church, which was always decried as heretical; the strict care taken to attack the body of the monks to the service of the See of *Rome*; the collections of the Papal decretals, and of the canon laws of *Rome*, &c.

Sect. 3. The extent of this authority cannot be precisely determined, though it is certain that it was much larger in the churches newly planted, of the number of which it was the misfortune of those in *Germany* to be, than in the ancient.

Sect. 4. Infallibility could not be admitted against the evidence of the fall of *Honorius*, and of the manifestly wicked lives of some Popes. Nor does it appear to have been a doctrine, since it was thought necessary, that the Pope should not only transmit his confession of faith, but also at his elevation, take the solemn oath of religion.

Sect. 5. Besides, the decrees of councils were preferred to the sentences of the Popes; whole churches, those of *Africa*, for instance, and *Aquileia* endeavoured to assert their freedom; some Bishops, he of *Ravenna*, for instance, did not allow the Pope to be their judge; and the Emperor and kings of *Spain*, *France* and *England* still exercised the supreme power in ecclesiastical matters.

Sect. 6 It is a ridiculous pretence, that the Pope was acknowledged to have a power of creating and deposing kings.

Sect. 7. On the other hand it is an undeniable truth, that the sovereigns of the city of *Rome*, who were first the *Greek* Emperors, then *Charlemagne*, looked on the Popes as their subjects: And did summon them judicially to appear, and even inflicted punishments on them.

Sect. 8. Now the Bishops of *Rome* became possessed of territories and subjects, which at first proceeded from the princes and kings of *France*, of the *Carlovingian* line, who in a great measure owing their promotion to the friendship of the Popes, in the warmth of their gratitude

tude first bestowed possessions in *Italy* on the See of *Rome* *.

SECT. 9. Nothing is more difficult, than precisely to determine what *Pepin* and *Charlemagne* granted to the Pope. *Muratori* mentions the following cities and places to have been subjected by *Pepin* to the See of *Rome*, *Ravenna*, *Rimini*, *Pesaro*, *Cæsena*, *Fano*, *Senigaglia*, *Fesi*, *Forlimpopoli*, *Forli*, *Montefeltro*, *Acerragio*, *Monte di Lucaro*, *Serra*, *S. Marino*, *Bobio*, *Urbino*, *Cagli*, *Luceolo*, *Gobbio*, *Comaccio*, *Narni*. This grant was indeed enlarged by *Charlemagne*, but it is impossible that he should have given to that See almost all *Italy*, and even *Corfica*.

SECT. 10. As it is certain that these princes properly conveyed to the Pope no more than an usufructuary enjoyment of these territories, retaining to themselves the sovereignty; so it is past doubt, that the city of *Rome*, tho' the Popes were invested with certain prerogatives, was not comprehended among them; but was subject to *Charlemagne*, as it had been before to the *Greek Emperors*, who accordingly exercised the several branches of supreme power †.

SECT. 11. The elections of the Popes were still carried on by violence and bribery; and the *Greek Emperors* always strove to promote some creature of theirs. The right of election still remained in the clergy, the senate, and the people, and the very soldiery, were not excluded from it. Mention is made indeed of cardinals, but in an indeterminate sense. The exclu-

* See *hiftoir du droit publique ecclesiastique Francois*, and *Abbé Velly's hiftoir de France depuis l'etabliffement de la Monarchie*.

† See *Muratri droit de l'empire sur l'etat ecclef.*

sion of the laity from passive suffrages at the election was an innovation.

SECT. 12. As the death of the Popes, so also their election was notified to the sovereign of the city of *Rome*, who by himself, or his vicegerent at *Ravenna*, confirmed the latter. The *Greek* Emperors exacted a sum of money for their ratification, and if this impost was for a while intermitted, yet it was again restored. The deposition of Pope *Martin* was something extraordinary.

SECT. 13. The new elected Pope was consecrated by the neighbouring Bishops of *Ostia*, *Porto* and *Alba*.

SECT. 14. We must in the last place mention the kissing of the foot, a token of respect which had before been paid to the high priest among the Pagans.






B O O K IV.
 O F T H E
 H I S T O R Y
 O F T H E
 P O P E S of R O M E,
 Under the *Carlovingian* and *Saxon*
 Emperors.

C H A P. I.

Of the History of the P O P E S of R O M E.

S E C T. I.

Of the History of the Popes of *Rome* of the
 ninth Century.

816. Sect. 1.  N the death of *Leo* was
 chosen Pope *Stephen IV*, or
V. He paid a visit to *Lewis*
the Pious, which is said to
 have been of great advan-

817. tage to him, and died*.

* Of this Pope we have no remains. The decretal con-
 cerning the election of a Pope attributed to him, being
 none of his.

SECT. 2. The Romans hereupon choosing *Paschal* I. and having consecrated him, without the Emperor's confirmation, the new Pope found himself under a necessity, by an express embassy, to excuse himself to the Emperor, who for this time was pleased to overlook the offence, but was afterwards the more rigid in maintaining his right. Pope *Paschal* was very zealous for image worship, and had the honour of placing the imperial crown on the head of young *Lotharius* at *Rome*; but he lost his process against the convent of *Farfa*. Soon after the city was disturbed by a sedition, for which *Leo* and *Theodore* lost their heads. This being an invasion of the sovereignty of the Emperor, he sent hither a particular commission. *Paschal* indeed acquitted himself by oath, yet protected the rebels; but died soon after. He was publicly hated after his death, yet the church of *Rome* worships him as a saint*.

824.

SECT. 3. The new election was tumultuous; one side voting for *Zinzimus*, and the other for *Eugenius* II. a native of *Rome*, who obtained the majority. The Emperor *Lotharius* was obliged in the name of his father to suppress some abuses, which had crept in, to the detriment of the imperial dignity. He published a remarkable edict; and among other things not only confirmed the freedom of election, but likewise enjoined, that every Pope when chosen should take an oath of fidelity to the Emperor before

* Of this Pope three letters are to be found in the *Concil. reg.* But the most important document would be the famous letter of *Donation*, which King *Lewis* the Pious is said to have sent to this Pope in the year 817, were it not a notorious fact, that it was first forged in the 12th century, as I hope to have proved in the *Censura diplomatæ quod Ludovicus Pius Paschali concessisse fertur.*

- the imperial minister. The controversy about images again revived. The synod of *Paris* declared against image-worship. *Eugenius* had the merit of calling a council at *Rome*, for the observance of church-discipline, and died *
- 826.
827. Sect. 4. *Valentinus*, the following Pope, who before had been only archdeacon, died at the end of five weeks †.
- Sect. 5. The new election fell on *Gregory IV.* a *Roman*, but he was not consecrated till the imperial ministers, had examined and approved the election. Sometime after the Pope was prosecuted by the convent of *Farfa*, and was cast. Pope *Gregory* was deeply concerned in the detestable and repeated rebellion of king *Lewis's* sons against their father. He went himself into *France*, where, if he met with any disagreeable treatment from the Emperor, and even the Bishops, it was thro' his own fault. Afterwards he conceived himself to be ill-used by the Emperor *Lotharius*; and *Lewis* the Pious countenanced his complaints. He built a new town near *Ostia*, and died ‡.
- 829.
- 833.
- 836.
- 844.

Sect.

* In the collection of councils we find a letter from *Eugenius* to *Bernard* Bishop of *Vienne*; an instrument for the archbishop of *Lorch* first published by *Gerold* in *appendic. chronie. Reichersb.*; a letter to the Bishops in *France*; the letter to *Michael* the *Greek* Emperor, relating to images, and the decrees of the council of *Rome*. The other pieces gathered on him by *Gratian* and others, are none of his. See *Fabrici* *biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* The famous *capitulare Romanum Lotharii* is to be found in *Baluzzi's capitul.* and *Harduin's concil.*

† See *Muratari's* history of *Italy*.

‡ Of this Pope are still remaining a letter to the Bishops of the *Franks* in *Agobard's* works; another to all the Bishops concerning the dignity of the Pope of *Rome* in *Sirmond's concil. Gall*; a letter from the convent of *Fleury* in *Baluzi*
mis-

SECT. 6. It was chiefly owing to the bad state of the empire, under the Emperor *Lotharius*, that *Sergius II.* whom the *Romans* had chosen in a competition with *John* the deacon, was consecrated without waiting for the imperial confirmation; but *Lotharius* so resented it, that he sent his son to *Rome* whom he had nominated King of *Italy*, together with *Drago* archbishop of *Metz*, among other affairs, to enquire into the election, which they confirmed. They also acquitted *Sergius* of the charges brought against him by the archbishops of *Milan* and *Ravenna*. The *Saracens* having passed over into *Italy* from *Africa*, plundered *St. Peter's* church, and the suburbs of *Rome*. It was *Sergius* who caused to be built the so famous *Scala Sancta*; soon after he died *.

846.

847.

SECT. 7. *Leo IV.* was also chosen and consecrated without the previous approbation of the Emperor; but the reasons were important, and the manner of it was such as to be in no wise injurious to the imperial dignity. He crowned the young Emperor *Lewis II.* at *Rome*, and added to the city a suburb, by which *St. Peter's* church came to be within the city itself. He likewise in the scite of *Centumcella*, a ruined town,

849.

854.

miscell. a diploma for *St. Auscarius* in *Lindenbrog. scriptor. rer. septintr.* But the letter to the orthodox in *Sirmond*, *Tom. III.* is spurious. See *Marca concord. sacerdot. & imp. Mabillon annal. ord. Bened. Cave histor. liter.* and *Fabricius's biblioth. lat. med. & infim. etat.*

* Of this Pope *Platina* says, but falsely, that he was the first, who changed his name, which originally signified *Hog's snout*. See *Bonani numif. pontif. Harduin concil.* has a letter of his to the transalpine Bishops. Other letters are also ascribed to him, for which see *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. &c.* See *Murator's history of Italy, Afferati diff. de nova apocba Ludovici II. imp.*

built that of *Leopolis*; which by a second vicifitude was altered to *Civita Vecchia*, a revolt happening at *Rome*, the Emperor *Lewis* effectually exerted his power as fovereign of the city. *Leo* died, and is a faint *.

855.

SECT. 8. They who give credit to the famous story of Pope *Joan* infer her in this place. In our judgment this history is not fo much a fable as a riddle, of which the folution has not yet been fufficiently attempted: But it is very grofs to pretend that the proteftants are the authors of a story which was public, at leaft three hundred years before the Reformation; however we do not include her, that we may avoid a breach in the chronology †.

SECT. 9. Of *Benedict* III. nothing is more remarkable than his promotion. When the Emperor *Lewis* II. on notice of his election, in order to his confirmation fent minifters to affift at his inauguration, an oppofite party found means, with the aid of the imperial deputies to fubfti-

* Of *Leo's* decretals the moft remarkable is, that in *Gratian dift. x. cap. 9.* he is reputed the author of the *Sermo de cura pastoralis* in *Harduin*; but it is of an earlier date; but the collection of councils has four letters of his which are of unqueftionable authenticity.

† The writers concerning Pope *Joan* are carefully enumerated by *Sagittarius introd. in hift. ecclef. Fabricius in biblioth Græc. Hafæus biblioth. Brem.* and *Dufeſnoi in catalogue des hiftor.* Among thoſe who difpute this ſtory, *David Blondel*, and among the defenders of it *Fred. Spanheim* and his tranſlator *l'Enfant* are undoubtedly the beſt among the moderns, ſee *Eccard. hiftor. Franc. oriental. Lequien orient. Chriftian. Heumann. in Syllog. differtat. ſacrar.* The history of Popery and *Lambertini de beatif. & canonif.* In *Webre's Specim. ſecund. paramiar. hiftoricar.* is to be found an investigation of this history, which probably would not have been looked for there.

tute a noted person, called *Anastafus* ; but *Benedict* maintained his ground. He died *.

858.

Sect. 10. *Nicolas* I. chiefly owed his election to the authority of the present Emperor *Lewis* II. His abilities were accompanied with pride and ambition, which he first exposed by accepting the extravagant honours paid him by the Emperor *Lewis*. The same passions led him to espouse the cause of *Ignatius* the deposed patriarch of *Constantinople*, against the Emperor *Michael* and *Photius* the new patriarch, in hopes of recovering the provinces, which the *Greek* Emperors had sequestred from the See of *Rome*, and subjected to that of *Constantinople*. His disappointment in this provoked him to the total separation of the *Greek* from the *Latin* church. In his time matters were carried to such an extremity, that *Nicolas* and *Photius* mutually excommunicated each other, and the latter charged all the western churches with departing from the pure doctrine : But on a change in the government, he was deposed. The disturbances however still continued. *Nicolas* also dexterously availed himself of the disputes which arose among the Kings of the *Franks*, and of the famous affair of the divorce of king *Lotharius* the younger and *Thietberge*, to extend his power to the detriment of those Kings ; tho' *Lewis* II. on this occasion countenanced, as he had done before, *John* archbishop of *Ravenna*, so now the archbishops of *Treves* and *Cologne*, who had been

860.

861.

864.

* In the collection of councils are four pieces of his ; among which the diploma for the abbey of *Alcorvey*, first published in *Dacher's Spicil*, is remarkable, see *Mabillon de re deplom.* Besides *Muratori's* history of *Italy*, *Garampi's dissertation. de nummio argenteo Benedicti* III. gives a great insight into the history of this Pope.

excommunicated by the Pope; and even himself took a journey to *Rome*, yet the haughty Pope, by his dexterity, always carried his point: At last he died, after having by his zeal acquired the surname of *Great*, and the honour of canonisation *.

867.

Sect. II. The new election was not entirely free from disturbances; but what rendered it most remarkable was the exclusion of the Emperor's deputies: However the Emperor *Lewis* confirmed the election of *Adrian II.* He had been married; but immediately after his pro-

868.

motion his wife and daughter were murdered. In the matter of *Photius* every thing went according to the wishes of the Pope. The troublesome affair of King *Lotharius* seemed also to be drawing towards a conclusion; but it was not terminated till the decease of that Prince. His succession, and the frequent animosities among the Kings of the *Carlovingian* race, gave the Pope frequent occasion to interpose with a high hand of authority; but they were not wanting in their turn sometimes to answer him in very plain terms. He died †.

869.

872.

* Of this Pope we have near a hundred letters, which are to be met with entirely perfect in *Coleti's* collection of councils, see *Fabricius's biblioth. Græc.* and *biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* where also mention is made of other writings attributed to this Pope. It is observable, that *Nicholas* was heterodox in the doctrine of baptism. Of his remarkable contest with *Photius*, see *Mosheim's institut. histor. eccles.* and *Walch's histor. controuv. de process. spir. sancti.*

† Of *Adrian II.* the *Concil. reg.* furnishes us with thirty-two letters, most of which relate to the disputes among the Kings of the *Franks*: And in the same work, among the records of the fourth general council, are also his letters relating to *Photius*. In *Baluzius* we also find a decretal of his relating to marriage, see *Muratori, Usser de script. sacræque vernac.* and *Fabricius' biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.*

Sect,

Sect. 12. *John VIII.* who was now chosen, is particularly remarkable for his conduct in the two vacancies of the imperial throne. *Charles the Bald* prevailed with Pope *John* by presents, to crown him, tho' the right was evidently on the side of *Lewis the German King*. That the Emperor at that time granted the city of *Rome* to the Pope, is false; but he did resign *Capua* to him. As the Pope continued faithfully attached to this Emperor, so he took great pains to hinder the succession of the *German Princes* to the Kingdom of *Italy*, and even endeavoured to raise *Boso* duke of *Provence* to the imperial throne, and excommunicated the states of *Lombardy*, particularly the archbishop of *Milan*, for their fidelity to the emperor *Carlomannus*. At last however he was obliged to perform the coronation of *Charles the Gross*. He had also other secular disputes, especially with the marquisses of *Toscana* and the dukes of *Spoletto* and *Naples*. The popish ecclesiastical historians censured him for approving of the new exaltation of *Photius* to the chair of *Constantinople*. His turbulent life appears to have ended by violence *.

875.

877.

878.

879.

881.

882.

Sect. 13. The new election which was carried in favour of *Marinus* called *Martin II.* was a master-piece of the *Tuscan* party, and very detrimental to the imperial rights, tho' the new

* They who admit of the above-mentioned female Pope, call him *John IX.* we here follow the herd; and if we did not, *Joan*, as a woman, could not vary the list with respect to any Pope of the name *John*. In *Concil. reg.* are three hundred and twenty letters, and one oration of this Pope, see *Fabricius' biblioth. Græc. Balurius in Miscel.* gives us an account of his life, and two letters of his. *Mura-tori* in his history of *Italy* throws a great light on the history of this Pope. Of his behaviour in *Photius's* affair, see *Lequien's orient. christian.*

Pope spared no good words to ingratiate himself with the Emperor: He released his friends from that excommunication which had been pronounced against them by his predecessor, and even reinstated *Formosus* into the bishopric of *Porto*. On the other hand, he condemned what had been done by *John* in the affair of
 884. *Photius*, and died *.

885. Sect. 14. He was succeeded by *Adrian III.* a Roman, who soon after died at *Worms*, in his way to a Diet †.

Sect. 15. Tho' *Stephen V.* or according to others VI. was chosen in the presence of the imperial ambassador, yet *Charles the Gross* highly resented the performance of the consecration without his formal consent. He had thoughts of deposing the Pope; but good words brought him to temper. *Stephen* had the pleasure of seeing *Photius* deposed by *Leo the Wise*, the new Greek Emperor; but was not yet thoroughly satisfied. The decease of the Emperor *Charles* threw both the whole empire of the *Franks*, and also *Italy*, into violent confusions. *Beringarius* duke of *Friul*, *Wido* duke of *Spoletto*, and *Arnulphus* the new German King, were competitors for
 888.

* It is clear why *Marinus* is generally called *Martin*, see *Lenfant histoir. du Concil. de Constance*. All that remains of Pope *Marinus* is a charter granted to a *Benedictine* monastery in *France*, for which see *Sirmona's concil. Gall.*

† *Adrian* is said to have made two decretals concerning the election and consecration of the Pope, and likewise the election of the Kings of *Italy*, both derogatory to the Emperor. But the silence of the most ancient writers, and the differences among those who mention them, with respect to the true contents of the first decretal, and the subsequent history, justify the suspicion of those who look upon the whole as a fable. See *Eccard de reb. Franc. orient.*, and *Muratori's history of Italy*.

the succession. The Pope sided with *Wido*, and placed the imperial crown on his head. But in that same year he died*.

SECT. 16. *Formosus*, the celebrated Bishop of *Porto*, who had been excommunicated by Pope *John*, and absolved by Pope *Martin*, was promoted thro' the general opinion of his abilities to the chair of *Rome*. Whether the impious *Sergius* was chosen by another party is uncertain. The latter however took part with *Adelbert* marquis of *Tuscany*, and occasioned *Formosus* a great deal of trouble. He continued the epistolary correspondence with the *Greeks*, relating to *Photius*: And tho' at first he seemed to side with the Emperor *Wido* and his son *Lambert*, even crowning the latter as Emperor; yet afterwards, the injuries he received from them obliged him twice to solicit the assistance of *Arnulphus* the German King, on whom, when he had taken *Rome*, he placed the imperial crown. He died soon after †.

891.

892.

893.

894.

* The few genuine letters remaining of Pope *Stephen* are to be met with in *Harduin's Concil.* with which should also be compared *Mausi's Supplem. Concil.* another said to have been sent by him into *Spain* is forged, see *Marca de Marc. Hispan. Baronius' Annal.* where is to be seen a small speech of his against talking in church. Among his decrees the most famous is that in *Gratian Dist. xix. cap. enim. vero*; but that he suppressed the fiery ordeal, wants proof. In the history of this and the succeeding times, it is indispensably necessary to know what passed in *Italy* and the *Roman Empire*, after the extinction of the *Carlovingian* line.

* In the collection of councils are the letters relating to *Photius*; and in *Flodoard's histor. eccles. Rheim.* Some others which passed between archbishop *Fulco* and this Pope. Of the writings falsely attributed to him, see *Fabricius' biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. etat.* See *Mabillon præfat. & dissert.* the history of Popery, *Carre histor. liter.* and *Muratori's history of Italy*. The German historians record the separate oath which the *Romans* took in doing homage to the Emperor *Arnulf*.

SECT.

Sect. 17. *Boniface VI.* was Pope no longer than fifteen days; whether it was death, or any other accident that put an end to his dignity is uncertain. Some, tho' wrongfully, omit him in the list of Popes.

897. Sect. 18. Now the *Tuscan* party found means to exalt to the papacy *Stephen VI.* or *VII.* Bishop of *Anagni*: He sided at first with the Emperor *Arnulf*, afterwards with the Emperor *Lambert*. His indecent procedure in a council against the reputation, and even the body of *Formosus*, are a blot on his memory. But the *Romans*, in a tumult, recompensed his wickedness, by strangling him*.

898. Sect. 19. The election fell on *Romanus*, brother, or rather nephew to Pope *Martin*. He gave orders, that *Formosus's* body should be again buried, and declared his acts to be legal and valid. He died in the fourth month of his pontificate †.

Sect. 20. His successor *Theodore II.* was a friend of *Formosus*, and died after twenty days.

Sect. 21. The *Tuscan* party now made an effort for promoting their favourite *Sergius*, but their enemies carried the election in favour of *John IX.* a native of *Tivoli*. He became particularly famous for two councils held at *Rome* and *Ravenna*, which not only fully restored the honour of *Formosus*, confirmed the coronation of the Emperor *Lambert*, tho' to the prejudice of

* The genuineness of the two letters in *Labbe's Concil.* is still suspected. *Floard* has another. Of the council at *Rome*, and the cruel treatment of *Formosus*, see among the ancient *Auxilius's libri duo de ordinatione Formosi* in the seventeenth volume of the *Bibl. Marc. patr.* Likewise his dialogues published by *Mabillon anal.* p. 28. Also *Labbe's concil.*

† Two letters of his are in *Marca's hij. Hispan.*

the Emperor *Arnulf*, and punished *Sergius* and his adherents, but enacted several wholesome laws concerning the election of the Pope and the imperial prerogatives at *Rome*. The Emperor *Lambert*, who had hitherto supported himself, died. *Berengarius I.* recovered his power, and Pope *John* did not long survive the former *. 900.

S E C T. II.

Of the History of the Popes of the tenth, and the beginning of the eleventh Century.

SECT. 1. OF Pope *Benedict IV.* we know nothing more remarkable, than that he crowned, as *Roman Emperor*, *Lewis*, the new King of *Italy*, who had inherited, from his father *Boso*, the recently erected kingdom of *Arles*. This Prince exercised the imperial power in the city of *Rome*; but was soon after deprived of his new empire, as *Benedict* was of his life by *Berengarius*, whom *Adelbert* marquis of *Tuscany*, strongly supported †. 901.

SECT. 2. *Leo V.* a *Benedictine* monk succeeded him, but was obliged not long after to resign, by the wickedness of his successor *Christopher I.* or according to others, *Christophanus*. But the 903.

* Documents relating to the above two councils are to be found in *Harduin's concil.* There also are the only four letters remaining of Pope *John*; but relatively to the first must be compared *Mabillon's Mus. Italic.*

† We have two letters of this Pope in the collection of councils. *Mabillon* has published a third, see *Fabricius's biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. aet.*

latter met with the fate he deserved, and both died in prison *.

904. Sect. 3. At last the *Tuscan* party obtained their ends, and raised the notorious *Sergius III.* to the station, after which he had so long aspired in vain. What is said of him is not confirmed, that he ordered the body of *Formosus* to be a second time dug up. He rebuilt the *Lateran* church and died, leaving a memory detested by posterity, on account of his amours with *Marofia*; and many other vices †.

907.
911.
913. Sect. 4. *Anastafius III.* a native of *Rome*, was created Pope, and died.

* Of *Leo* nothing remains; and of *Christopher* only one letter in *Labbe's concil.* It is necessary here to mention, that in these times lived at *Rome* the celebrated *Theodora* with her two daughters *Marofia* and *Theodora*: They had been both entirely devoted to the *Tuscan* party, as it was called, of which marquis *Adelbert* was the leader. They not only lived in the most scandalous debauchery with the chief of the *Roman* nobility, but at a time when it might be truly said, there was no King in *Israel*, got the whole government into their hands. The chief circumstances relating to this are to be met with in *Luitprand*; and tho' among the moderns, *Eccard*, *Muratori* himself, and especially *Nerini de templo*, *Bonifac.* represent him as a defamer and superficial propagator of the calumnies of the opposite party; yet there are testimonies from other authors of undoubted credit, as *Sieghert* of *Gemblours*, *Alberic*, and the author of the chronicle of *Furfa*, which sufficiently confirm the accounts of the infamous lives of these women.

† The accounts of this Pope vary. Most of the ancients do him little honour. *Johannes Diaconus*, whose book *de ecclesia Romana Lateranensi* is published in *Mabillon's Musæum Ital.* and his epitaph in *Muratori's* history of *Italy*, are more favourable to him: But it must be owned, that the authority of the latter is in itself suspicious, and that the former, by reason of the age of the author who was born only in the thirteenth century, cannot preponderate against the concurrence of others. Two letters only remain of *Sergius*, see *Sabricius' biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. etar.*

Sect. 5. As little is known of his successor *Laudo* who is said to have been a *Sabine*. 914.

Sect. 6. *John* was chosen next. He owed his election chiefly to his favourite *Theodora* the mother, who had also before procured him the bishopric of *Bologna*, and afterwards the archbishopric of *Ravenna*. The illegality of this election was matter of great complaint. His most famous exploit, tho' in some respects exceptionable, was a signal victory over the *Saracens*. He crowned *Beringarius I.* Roman emperor, who not long after was overthrown by *Rudolphus* the new King of *Italy*, as this last was by the new duke of *Burgundy*. At *Rome* every thing was swayed by *Marosia*, who on the death of her first husband *Alberic*, married *Wido* duke of *Tuscany*. Pope *John* being on ill terms with them, they secured his person, and he died in prison *. 915.

Sect. 7. Of *Leo VI.* who succeeded, we only know with certainty, that he possessed the chair seven months and five days, and died †. 916.

Sect. 8. We know as little of *Stephen VII.* or *VIII.* tho' his pontificate lasted two years. 926.

Sect. 9. *John XI.* was elected very young, thro' the influence of *Marosia*, whose son he was by Pope *Sergius III.* and thus she got the whole 928.

* In the *Concil. reg.* are two letters of this Pope. He is also author of the *Chronicon. Comitum. Capuae*, which was re-printed by *Burmann* in *Thesaur. hist. Ital. see Cav.'s histor. liter.* 929.

† *Luitprand* is mistaken in leaving out this and the succeeding Pope; neither the time of his election, nor his death is known with any certainty, see *Muratori's* history of *Italy*: That it was not *Leo VI.* but *Leo IX.* who wrote the letter to *Leodegarius* of *Vienne*, has been already observed by *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. aetat.* 931.

- government into her hands. But as she was taking some steps towards dividing her power with her new husband king *Hugo*, her own son 932. *Alberic* headed the revolt of the *Romans* against her. He put his mother and brother into safe custody, yet without prohibiting the latter from exercising his function. Of his death nothing 936. more is certain than the time *.
939. Sect. 10. *Leo VII.* a *Roman*, was chosen. It is not clear that he had been a monk. After many fruitless endeavours to restore the peace of *Italy*, he died †.
942. Sect. 11. His successor is termed *Stephen VIII.* or *IX.* The accounts of his being a *German*, and promoted to the papacy by the assistance of *Otho* the Great, and of the ill usage he had in *Rome* from *Alberic*, are too uncertain to be hastily credited. He died.
946. Sect. 12. The next Pope is by some called *Marinus II.* and by others *Martin III.* He was a *Roman* and a benefactor to convents. In his time King *Hugo* was dethroned; his son *Lotharius* continued King for some little time. This Pope died †.
950. Sect. 13. The chair next devolved on *Agapetus II.* a *Roman*. In the mean time *Beringarius II.* on the decease of King *Lotharius*, ascended the re-

* The dispute whether *John* was the bastard of a Pope, is quite needless. For two letters of this Pope, see *Ducherne histoire des Papes*. Some particulars relating hereto are to be found in *Ratherius's* letters, which were in *Dacker's Spicil.*

† In the collection of councils are three letters, of which that written to *Gerard* archbishop of *Lorch*, is of importance to the history of *Germany*. See *Mabillon's Annal. ord. Bened. and Muratori*.

‡ Besides some bulls in favour of monasteries, there is a remarkable letter to *Sico* Bishop of *Capua*, the contents of which see in *Leo* of *Ostia Chron. cassin.* in *Muratori's Script. rer. Italic.*

gal throne : But his tyrannical treatment of *Adelbeida* the queen dowager, and others, obliged her to fly for refuge to the Emperor *Otho* the Great, who made his first expedition into *Italy* with some success. By what is known of this Pope's death, it is placed in a wrong year *.

951.

956.

Sect. 14. The election fell on *Octavianus*, a grandson of *Marofia*, who hitherto had governed *Rome*, and rendered himself odious by most scandalous excesses : He was the first who changed his name, taking that of *John XII. Beringarius II.* was still King in *Italy*, but reigned with such cruelty, that the Pope, together with other states, both ecclesiastical and secular, applied to the Emperor *Otho* for succour : He marched into *Italy*, came to *Rome*, where Pope

960.

John put the imperial crown on his head : He knew very well, that as Emperor, he was sovereign of *Rome*. Pope *John* being accused both of treason and perjury, and the complaints of his profligate life encreasing daily, the Emperor *Otho* repaired to *Rome*, and in an assembly of the clergy caused him to be, for weighty reasons, deprived †.

963.

Sect. 15. At the same time *Leo VIII.* a native of *Rome*, was chosen Pope, and many prudent acts passed for confirming the rights and supremacy of the Emperor in ecclesiastical

* Besides two letters which are in the collection of councils, there is in *Lambecci's Comm. de bibl. Casar.* Tom. II. p. 65. and *Mansi Supplem. concil.* Tom I. p. 585. another of some use in the *German ecclesiastical history*, see *Mozzuchelli's Scrittori d'Italie.*

† A few letters of this Pope still remain in *Labbe Concil.* and *Wilkins Concil. Britan.* Of the Emperor *Otho's* grant on occasion of his coronation, and which, among others, *Harduin* has printed in *Concil.* Tom. VI. See also *Codring. de Germ. Imp. Com. Fleury in histoir eccles.* and others who have enquired into such grants.

causes,

964. causes, and over the Pope. But after some unsuccessful attempts, *John*, who had been deposed, by the help of his partisans of both sexes, returned to *Rome*, took most furious revenge of his enemies, and forced *Leo* to fly to the emperor *Otho*. But before any advice of these disturbances reached the emperor, the perjured Pope *John* died. The *Romans*, instead of acknowledging Pope *Leo*, as by their oath they were engaged, proceeded to a new election, and chose *Benedict* a cardinal, deacon; but *Otho* again came before *Rome*, and having taken it, he convoked a new assembly of the clergy, which declared *Benedict*'s election void, banished him, and restored *Leo*. Both died almost at the same time, *Benedict* at *Hamburg*, and *Leo* at *Rome* *.
- 965.

- Sect. 16. The *Romans* did not fill up the vacancy, till the arrival of the imperial ambassadors, when *John XIII.* Bishop of *Narni* was elected. A malecontent party, with which even *Rofried* the governor had joined, drove the Pope out of the city, and he fled to *Capua* for safety. This occasioned the Emperor *Otho* the Great to go a third time in person to *Rome*, where he reinstated Pope *John*, and chastised the rebels with due severity. Pope *John* crowned young *Otho II.* and his wife *Theophania* a young lady of
- 966.
- 967.

* The most remarkable record of this Papacy is the decree passed in the council of *Rome*, confirming the Emperor's prerogative in the choice of a Pope, and in other specified cases. It is in *Gratian's Dist.* 63, cap. 23. In *Baluzi's Miscel.* is another letter of Pope *Leo*. The only memorial of the pretended Pope *Benedict* is his tomb at *Hamburg*, which may be seen in *Stephens's histor. eccles. Ham.* For illustrating this part of the papal history, see *Mascov. com. de rebus Imp. à Conrado I.* the history of Popery, and *Muratori's history of Italy*.

Greece, and passed the whole remainder of his life in tranquillity. He is falsely said to have introduced the baptism of bells *.

SECT. 17. The new Pope *Benedict VI.* a Roman, probably obtained this dignity with the consent of the emperor *Otho*, but lost it, together with his life, in a sedition raised by *Crescentius* in the beginning of the reign of the Emperor *Otho II.* †.

972.

974.

SECT. 18. The rebels having placed cardinal *Franco* in the chair, he took the name of *Boniface VII.* and rendered himself so odious, that after some acts of sacrilege, he fled to *Constantinople*.

SECT. 19. Hereupon the *Tuscan* party, now well affected to the Emperor, carried the election in favour of *Donus II.* who soon after died.

975.

SECT. 20. The Emperor *Otho II.* earnestly solicited the election of *Majolus* an abbot; but he declining the promotion, it was conferred on *Benedict VII.* Bishop of *Sutri*. Tho' his pontificate lasted some years, all we know of him is, that he held two councils, and that the Em-

* In *Labbe's Concil.* are not only the four remaining letters of this Pope, but likewise the acts of some councils relating to this history: *Mausi's Supplem. Concil.* has also a letter which had been before published by *Martini Thes. monument.* See *Caxe hist. liter.* *Muratori* cites a passage from an ancient chronicle, where we learn that this Pope, from the colour of his hair, was nicknamed the *White Hen*. An epitaph of him is to be seen in *Baronius' Annal. eccles.*

† Some by mistake place Pope *Donus II.* before *Benedict.* Some err in their accounts of the death of the latter. We here follow the generality, tho' it be certain, that *Benedict V.* mentioned Sect. 15. should not be reckoned. In *Harduin's Concil.* Tom. VI. p. 690, is a memorable letter of his to *Frederic* archbishop of *Salzburg*.

983. peror in his time came to *Rome*. *Benedict* died *.

984. Sect. 21. The Emperor *Otho* was assisting in the election of *John XIV.* his chancellor, then Bishop of *Pavia*. After the Emperor's decease, the flagitious *Boniface VII.* came again to *Rome*, slew Pope *John*, and kept possession of the papal chair for some months.

985. Sect. 22. Upon the demise of *Boniface*, one
987. *John*, son of *Robert*, is said to have been chosen, who for reasons unknown is not classed among the Popes. Hereupon succeeded *John XV.* a son of *Leo*, who, though soon after expelled, was restored again. His conduct in the disturbances which had arisen in *France*, on account of *Arnulf* Bishop of *Rheims*, did him little honour, and his avarice provoked very loud complaints. He died †.

996. Sect. 23. The Emperor *Otho III.* tho' not
997. yet in possession of the imperial throne, found means however to get his young cousin *Bruno* chosen Pope by the *Romans*. He took the name of *Gregory V.* and crowned the Emperor *Otho* at *Rome*. Soon after broke out the dangerous rebellion of *Crescentius*. *Gregory* made his escape to *Pavia*, and there he excommunicated the rebel, who in the mean time raised to the papal chair *John* Bishop of *Placentia*, a native of *Calabria*, and a very artful man. Upon this the

* In *Lambecci's com. de biblioth. Aug.* is a letter and a grant of freedom from this Pope. The intricacy of chronology here renders it proper to compare *Muratori's* notes in his history of *Italy*.

† Some letters of his are in *Labbe's Concil.* and *Wilkins's Concil. Brit.* See the pieces written by Pope *Sylvester*, as archbishop of *Rheims*, against the papal See, of which an account is given in the sequel. Concerning the transactions in the affair of *Rheims*, see *Gallia christian.* the *hispir liter. de Fr.* and *Longueval's histoir d'Eglise Gallic.*

Emperor *Otho* coming to *Rome*, *John* was punished most ignominiously, and *Gregory* restored, who in a little time after died in the flower of his age *.

998.

Sect. 24. The Emperor *Otho* was at that time present in *Rome*, and could therefore more easily forward the promotion of his beloved preceptor *Gerbert*, abbot of *Bobio* and archbishop of *Rheims* and *Ravenna*. He assumed the name of *Silvester II.* and very much distinguished himself by his learning, which however occasioned him to be suspected, without grounds, of witchcraft. We know but little of his transactions. He lived upon good terms with the Emperor and the people of *Rome*, and tried the ecclesiastical causes brought before him. Among these the complaints of the Bishop of *Hildesheim* against the archbishop of *Mentz*, are indeed remarkable, but belong to the church history of *Germany*. He died with the character of a celebrated writer, who deserved a better treatment than he met with, even from the cardinals †.

1003.

Sect. 25. The next Pope, by a general mistake,

* In *Labbe's Concil.* are five letters of Pope *Gregory*; also a diploma in *Baluzius's Miscellan.* The spurioufness of the decree of the seven electors is now beyond doubt. See *Museov. Commentar. de rebus imperii à Cour. I.* *Murator's* history of *Italy* and *Fabricius' biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. et.*

† The most complete collection of letters written by this Pope, both before and after his exaltation to the papal dignity, we find in *Duchefne's Script. rer. Franc.* Among which the twenty-eighth is remarkable for containing the first exhortation to the *Croisade*. We also meet with more of this kind in *Baluzius's*, and other collections, of which, and the other pieces written by this Pope, we have an account in *Fabricius's biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. etet.* To these is also to be added an ancient diploma in *Mu-*

mistake, but which we must keep to, is called *John XVII.* He was surnamed *Sicco*, sat in the *Roman* chair half a year and died.

1009. Sect. 26. *John XVIII.* surnamed *Fasan*, held it longer; but we know nothing more of him, than that in his time peace was restored betwixt the See of *Constantinople* and that of *Rome*, and lasted some little time*.

Sect. 27. Of *Sergius IV.* we know no more than his christian name, which was *Peter*, and his surname was *Sauruffel*, which some moderns groundlessly deny; and that he formerly was bishop of *Alba*. He died †.

1014. Sect. 28. At last *John*, Bishop of *Perto*, ascended the papal chair, and took the name of *Benedict VIII.* He maintained his ground against the Anti-pope *Gregory*, after the latter, and not *Benedict*, had in vain applied to the Emperor *Henry II.* when this Prince came to *Rome*, Pope *Benedict* crowned him and his consort *Kunigund*. Upon the *Saracens* invading
1016. *Italy*, from *Sardinia*, he not only delivered the
1017. city of *Luni* from that yoke, but also prevailed on the cities of *Pisa* and *Genoa* to undertake an expedition against the infidels. Soon after the *Normans* began to settle in *Apulia*, which was

ratori's antig. Ital. med. ævi. See *Boulay histor. acad. Paris, Gallia christian. histo. liter. de la Franc. Nande apologie des grands hommes; Suarez vindiciæ Selvestri II. Cave histor. liter. Oudin de script. eccles. Mascov. com. de rebus imp. Koler's diss. de Gerberto and Brucker histor. crit. phil. Vol. III.*

* What is said of the *Greek* church is founded on a piece of *Peter* of *Antioch* in *Cotelier's monument. ecclesj. Græc.* Concerning the epitaph falsely ascribed to him by *Baronius*, see *Muratori*.

† There are only some bulls of his which we find in *Baronius, Marca* and *Mabillon*. The account of his surname is defended by *Muratori*.

still

still subject to the *Greeks*. The victories which the army of the *Greek* Emperor obtained over these foreigners, occasioned Pope *Benedict* to apply in person to the Emperor *Henry* for assistance, who, on that salutation, undertook a new expedition against them. Both he and Pope *Benedict* died almost at the same time *.

1020.

1021.

1024.

C H A P. II.

Of the History of the P A P A C Y.

SECT. 1. **I**T is very necessary not to lose sight here of the three principal divisions of this period of time. The first reaches from the reign of King *Lewis* the Pious to the end of that of the *Carlovingians* in *Italy*; the second begins there, and ends at the exaltation of *Otho* the Great to the imperial throne; and the third includes all that space, during which the *Saxon* princes so gloriously filled the imperial throne.

SECT. 2. It is next to be observed in general, that the *Roman* chair was in no century disgraced by so many profligate Popes as in the tenth; which, together with the public disturbances, would have brought destruction on *Italy*,

* In *Labbe Concil.* we find a piece written by this Pope to the Bishops of *Burgundy* in favour of the convent of *Clugny*. There are also some other records of his remaining. Here it must be mentioned the grant said to have been by the Emperor *Henry* II. to the Pope, in *Labbe Concil.* the spuriousness of which is fundamentally shown by *Goldast* in *replie pro Henrico IV. Conring de Germ. imper. Rom.* and particularly *Muratori*.

and especially on the city of *Rome*, had not the Emperor *Otho* put a stop to them. Hence very few of the transactions in this period are sufficient to prove, in a regular way, the claims of the See of *Rome* *.

Sect. 3. It is unquestionable, that the power which the Popes endeavoured to gain in the church, at least in the western provinces, was very much confirmed and enlarged: They were considered as Bishops of the world, and their jurisdiction was admitted in matters at least which are called ecclesiastical, which included all causes relating to matrimony and the clergy. Not only Bishops and other leading ecclesiasticks, but Princes too sought their friendship, and found their account in it. It was therefore no wonder, that the received tenets concerning the authority of the successors of *St. Peter* in matters of faith, should daily gain ground and credit.

Sect. 4. However there was some opposition, not only from the *Greeks* and their leader *Photius*, but also from the western Bishops †.

Sect. 5. It is very certain, that the Popes were not only not infallible, and gave unquestionable proofs of it, but most of them, by the

* See the just complaints of cardinal *Baronius*, *Annal. eccles. Anno DCCC*. See also *Mabillon's præfat. in Seculum V. Act. Sanctor. ordin. Bened. and Heidegger's histor. papat.*

† To what has been said of *Photius*, and of the contest between *Arnulf* and *Gerbert*, on account of the archbishopric of *Rheims*, may be added the affair of the celebrated *Hincmar*, of which see the *histoire du droit publique eccles. François*, and also the well-known piece of Bishop *Ulrick* of *Augsburg* against the ordinance of Pope *Nicholas I.* relating to the infamous lives of the clergy. See *Fabricius' Biblioth. Lat. med. & inf. ætat.*

grosseſt extravagancies, and the moſt ſcandalous lives, have rendered themſelves deteſtable, even to thoſe who are otherwiſe zealous for their honour.

ſect. 6. Tho' the Popes had ſufficient opportunity in the diviſions of the *Carlovingian* Princes, and the more violent contentions of thoſe Princes, who ſtrove for the ſucceſſion to the *Italian* and imperial crowns, to intermeddle in theſe controverſies, or at leaſt to make ſome attempts leading thereto ; yet the ſupremacy of the Emperor over the Popes, which extended even to the puniſhing of capital crimes, was ſtill acknowledged and exerciſed by the *Carlovingian* and *Saxon* Emperors.

ſect. 7. *Capua* is the only evidence of any extenſion of the papal territory during this period. The Popes ſeem rather to have been leſs powerful in the diſtricts belonging to the Exarchite of *Ravenna*, than formerly. *Rome* continued under the dominion of the Emperor. The grants made by King *Lewis the Pious*, *Charles the Bald*, *Otho the Great*, and *Henry II.* are mere chimeras.

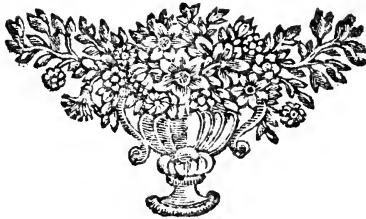
ſect. 8. There are inſtances indeed of precipitate and irregular elections of Popes ; but hiſtory manifeſtly ſhews, that the Emperors more ſtrenuouſly maintained their right of ſending ambaffadors to the election, and confirming it ; and that the frequent attempts of the *Romans* to infringe this right were conſtantly defeated.

ſect. 9. The right of election was ſtill lodged in the people, and the collective body of the clergy, and the cardinals had no excluſive prerogatives in it. The title of Cardinal was likewiſe in uſe in other large churches. There are

genuine and spurious decrees relating to the manner of election, which consequently should be distinguished from each other.

Sect. 10. Lastly, It is certain, that the Popes began to change their christian names for others; but this was not yet formed into a general rule or invariable custom *.

* It is very justly observed by *Muratori* in the history of *Italy*, that the appellation of Pope was not in those days peculiar to the Bishops of *Rome*, but also borne by other considerable Bishops.





BOOK V.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

POPES




Under the *Frank* and *Swabian*
Emperors.

CHAPTER I.

The History of the POPES of ROME.

SECTION I.

The History of the Popes of *Rome* of the
eleventh Century.

Sect. I.  JOHN XIX. brother to the 1024.
 preceding Pope, who was be-
 sides a layman, paved the way
for his exaltation to the papal dignity, partly by
money, and partly by the power and figure of
his family, he being the son of count *Gregory*
of

of *Tuscany*. In his time the patriarchs of *Constantinople* began to raise fresh disturbances on account of the title of Universal Bishop. Pope *John* crowned the Emperor *Conrad*, and died *.

1034. Sect. 2. *Benedict IX.* succeeded: He was son of *Alberic* count of *Tuscany*, and a near relation of the two preceding Popes, and very young: But that he was exactly ten years of age, and had been before called *Theophylact*, is not evident. This is certain, that as the manner by which he obtained his dignity, was notoriously scandalous, so he disgraced it by a dissolute life. It is therefore no wonder, that another party drove him from *Rome*, and chose *John* Bishop of *Sabina*, who took the name of *Silvester III.* *Benedict* however reinstated himself by force: But seeing that he could not long support himself, he sold his dignity to his successor †.

1044. Sect. 3. The successor's former name was *John Gratianus*; but he now assumed that of *Gregory VI.* He drew upon himself the detestation of all good men, and at last the Emperor *Henry III.* was persuaded to hold a council at *Sutri*, which pronounced all the three Popes *Benedict*, *Silvester*, and *Gratianus* to be usurpers ‡.
1046. Sect.

* In *Latbe's Concil.* are some letters of this Pope; among which the most remarkable is that to *Jordan* Bishop of *Limoges*, for containing an ingenuous confession, that the Pope is fallible.

1033. † Of this profligate wretch no memorials remain. The accounts of him in Pope *Victor III.* *Dialog.* in the eighteenth vol. of the *Lyons Biblioth. patr.* are very remarkable. He will occur again in the sequel. The manner of his death, for which may be consulted *Muratori's* history of *Italy*, is still doubtful.

‡ The original name both of *Silvester* and *Gregory* being *John*, has led some writers into the error of inserting a fourth

Sect. 4. The Emperor *Henry* went himself to *Rome*, and ordered the election of a new Pope, which fell on *Suidger* Bishop of *Bamberg*, a reputable man. He stiled himself *Clement II.* and crowned the Emperor and his consort *Agnes*. Both united their endeavours to check the growth of simony, which was then very prevalent in *Rome*; but at the same time the imperial rights in the election of a Pope, were confirmed. Pope *Clement* died soon after, not without suspicion of poison: His body was carried to *Bamberg* *.

1047.

Sect. 5. Tho' the deposed *Benedict* had found means to reinstate himself in the papal chair, which he maintained eight months; yet *Poppo* Bishop of *Brixen*, who had been chosen by order of the Emperor *Henry III.* obliged him to yield. This Pope stiled himself *Damasus II.* and died at *Palestrina* within twenty-three days; after which the chair remained vacant for a considerable time.

1048.

Sect. 6. The Emperor *Henry* nominated his uncle *Bruno* Bishop of *Toul*, who accepted of the dignity against his will; but was persuaded by

fourth Pope by the name of *John XX.* Another mistake is, that instead of representing *Gregory* as deposed, he is said only to have resigned: With this is to be compared the history of the council of *Sutri.* in *Harduin's Concil. Gregory* was carried away into *Germany*, where he died in a convent.

* In *Labbe's Concil* are some pieces of this Pope; but more charters and other pieces are since come to light. The writings of *Peter Damianus*, an author of great repute in that age, contain several accounts of these particulars, which may be looked upon as authorities. See *Schmid de triumviris Halberst. Leibnitz script. rer. Brunsv. Ludw. Scriptor. Bamberg. Fabricius' biblioth. Lat. med. & inf. etat. Muratori's history of Italy, &c.* where a new discovery is made concerning the place of his death.

the

- the artful monk *Hildebrand*, previously to permit the clergy and people of *Rome* to proceed to a new election in form. He took the name of
1049. *Leo IX.* And being very zealous for reforming the depraved manners of his clergy, he held several councils for that purpose. He was always in motion: He travelled into *Germany* to confer with the Emperor, and was scarce returned and had called a fresh assembly of the clergy relating to *Beringarius's* doctrine on the sacrament, than he again took a second journey
1050. to his diocese of *Toul.* On his return he had an interview with the Emperor at *Augsburg*, where the differences betwixt him and *Humphry* archbishop of *Ravenna* were composed. The daily growing power of the *Normans* in *Italy* obliged
1052. him again to travel into *Germany*, where he not only concluded an exchange with the Emperor *Henry*, by which he gained either the city or the whole dukedom of *Benevento*, probably as an imperial fief, and a body of troops. After this he returned to *Italy*, held a council at *Mantua*,
1053. and in person encountered the *Normans*, but it cost him his liberty. Whether he recovered it before his end, which followed soon after, is uncertain. *Michael Cerularius*, patriarch of *Constantinople*, revived, not long before, the dissensions betwixt the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, which occasioned not only some letters, but also an embassy from Pope *Leo*, tho' the indiscretion of the persons employed, only inflamed matters. *Leo* is said to have granted, during his captivity, to the *Norman* princes the lands they had conquered, and should afterwards conquer; which was the first instance of the power so long aimed at by the Popes, of distributing provinces

vinces and states. The church of *Rome* places him among her saints *.

Sect. 7. After a long vacancy of the See, 1055.
the people of *Rome* sent the above-mentioned *Hildebrand* to the Emperor's court, where he managed matters so artfully, that *Gebhard* Bishop of *Eichstat* was chosen, contrary to the wishes both of himself and the Emperor. The election was solemnly performed at *Rome*, and the new Pope took the name of *Victor II.* He was zealous both in the reformation of manners, and in opposing *Beringarius's* doctrine. At the desire 1056.
of the Emperor *Henry III.* he took a journey into *Germany*, where the death of the Emperor detained him for some time; and he himself died soon after his return. What is said of a 1057.
miracle, by which he was preserved from an eminent danger, has much the air of a fable †.

* See the nineteen letters of this Pope, which first came to light separately; and were afterwards reprinted in *Labbe's* and *Harduin's* *Council.* But there are also some other pieces and devout orations of his. See *Fabricius's* *biblioth. Græc.* and *biblioth. Lat. med. & æv.* We have two ancient lives of this Pope; that by *Wibert* archdeacon of *Toul* is in the *Act. Sanctor.* in *Eccard's* *origin. Hapsburgo Austriac.* And in *Muratorius's* *Scriptor. rer. Ital.* where also is to be found that left by the cardinal of *Arragon.* The author of the second was *Bruno* Bishop of *Segna*, and is in the aforementioned collection of *Muratorius.* On the other hand, the *Itinerarium Leonis IX. Papæ*, by *Anselm* of *Rheims*, is not yet printed. Some think that *Aug. Bentems* wrote the history of this Pope in a *Latin* epick poem. Among the moderns see *Henschemius* in the *Act. Sanctor.* *Giannonè* *histroir Naples, de Histroir de la France, Mascoo. de rebus imp.* and *Muratorius's* history of *Italy.* What is said of the dutchy of *Benevento* has been already cleared up by me in *Censura diplom. Ludovici pii.* as the dispute with *Michael Cerularius* has by *Christ. Lupo* and by my father in *histor. controuv. de process. spiritus sancti.*

† Only one letter of his is to be found in *Harduin's* *Council.* See *Falkenstein's* *antiq. Nordgau.*

1058. Sect. 8. Very little is known of his successor *Stephen IX.* His original name was *Frederic*, and he was a son of *Godfrey* duke of *Tuscany*, and had hitherto been abbot of *Monte Cassino*, and a cardinal. Had he lived somewhat longer, there is the greatest appearance, that in conjunction with his brother, he would have engaged in several enterprizes to the prejudice of the imperial power *.

Sect. 9. Tho' *Stephen* had in his last hours earnestly desired the *Romans* after his death to wait the return of *Hildebrand*, his ambassador to the Emperor's court, yet in contempt of that admonition, and of the imperial prerogative, a strong party, led by the counts of *Tusculi*, exalted to the chair *John Mincius* Bishop of *Veletri*, by the name of *Benedict X.* But the better sort, with whom *Hildebrand* joined, applied to the Empress *Agnes*, who nominated *Gerard* Bishop of *Florence*; and by the assistance of *Hildebrand* and *Godfrey*, placed him in the papal chair. *Benedict* acquiesced, and soon after died in obscurity †.

Sect. X. *Nicolas II.* for so *Gerard* stiled himself, distinguished the beginning of his reign by a council, and a decree made in it concerning the election of a Pope. Tho' very different accounts are given of this decree, the most probable is, that it limited the election to the cardinals alone; but left the clergy and the people in possession of their power of consenting, and the confirmation to the Emperor; tho' the

* *Harduin's Concil.* has only two letters; but he is said to have left behind him some other pieces, particularly on the sacramental controversy. See *Fabricius' biblisth. Lat. med. ætat.*

† See *Ughelli Ital. sacr.*

latter was pretended to be a papal exemption. The next remarkable occurrence is, that he was the first who sought the amity of the *Normans*, now settled in the lower parts of *Italy*, and bestowed on them, as fiefs, the provinces which they had conquered in *Apulia* and *Calabria*, a transaction of very great advantage to the chair of *Rome*; but which will not admit of any apology. In opposing vice and heresy he showed a proper activity and firmness; but died before he could do any thing else *.

1069.

1061.

Sect. 11. After his decease great disturbances arose in *Rome*; for a party headed by cardinal *Hildebrand*, attempted during the minority of the Emperor *Henry IV.* to finish an election without his consent and confirmation. But some patriots, the counts of *Tusculo* and cardinal *Hugo* in particular, opposed this iniquitous proceeding, and made a report of it by their ministers to *Agnes* the Emperor's guardian. The opposite party sent likewise a deputy, but he not succeeding, they proceeded to elect *Anselm* Bishop of *Lucca*, a native of *Milan*, who assumed the name of *Alexander II.* This was the fatal step, which in its consequences proved the most detrimental to the rights of the Emperor. The Empress discharged her part, and called an assembly of the clergy at *Basil*,

* Among the letters and writings of this Pope in the collections of councils, and in *Gratian*, to which must be added some from *Baluzens Miscellan.* and his *Adpendic. ad Marc. Hispanic.* and *Wilkins Concil. Britan.* the *Decretum de electione Roman pontific.* is unquestionably of the greatest importance. The most correct copy of it is to be found in *Muratori's Script. rer. Italic.* Nicol. cardinal of *Arragon*, has published *Vita Nicolai II.* which see in *Muratori.* Consult also *Cave histor. literar.* the *histoire, liter. de la France*, and *Mossheim's institut. histor. eccléf.*

where

- where *Cadalous*, Bishop of *Parma*, was elected, who took the name of *Honorius II.* He had a strong party in *Italy* and *Germany*, and it is a question whether a strenuous zeal for the maintenance of the imperial rights had not a greater share in this, than the hopes (which were imputed to them as a crime) that *Cadalous* would inquire strictly into the prevailing practices of simony and concubinage. An action happened between both parties, to the disadvantage of *Alexander*, who would have been totally crushed, had not the ambitious *Hanno* archbishop of *Cologne*, after he had wrested the person and tutelage of the young Emperor from the hands of his mother, a most excellent woman, declared himself for *Alexander*, and held a council in his favour: Yet *Cadalous* continued a strong competitor, and in the absence of Pope *Alexander* was very near making himself master of the city of *Rome*; but he was taken and confined in the castle of *St. Angelo*; where he remained a prisoner for the space of two years. In the mean time *Alexander*, or rather *Hildebrand*, who managed every thing, interfered in the affairs of particular churches, which mostly turned on complaints of simony. At last *Hanur* arrived as ambassador from the Emperor. He either was, or affected to be, very inexperienced in politics, in a council which he held at *Mantua*, *Cadalous* was deposed for non-appearance, and *Alexander* having previously purged himself by oath from the suspicion of simony, was acknowledged lawful Pope. Pope *Alexander* lived indeed a long time after; but nothing remarkable concerning him has been transmitted to us*.

Señt.

* In the collection of councils are forty-five letters of Pope *Alexander*, with some remains. See *Fabricius biblioth. Græc.*

Sect. 12. During the obsequies of the former Pope, the people of *Rome* elected *Hildebrand*, of whom so frequent mention has been made, a *Tuscan* of mean birth, and in his younger years a monk in the monastery of *Clugny*, from which he arose to be archdeacon and cardinal, and now assumed the name of *Gregory VII.* Few Popes have been more distinguished in the world than this *Gregory.* His abilities natural and acquired, were eminent, but he misapplied them grossly to the purpose of aggrandizing the power and dignity of the See of *Rome.* For the prosecution of this design, which was attended with the greatest consequences both in church and state, he established two fundamental maxims, by which he steered his whole conduct. First, the spiritual monarchy of the Pope was to be established, enlarged, and propagated to the utmost extent, partly by the unlimited subjection of all ecclesiastical persons, causes and possessions, to the power of the Pope; the prerogatives of temporal sovereigns, other great ecclesiasticks and whole societies being curtailed or abolished: All which could most conveniently be brought about at that time, under the pretext of the great duty of suppressing the enormous prevalence of concubinage and simony; partly by enforcing the admission of the rites and usages of the *Romish* church, contrary to the liberty which other churches had hitherto

Græc. Gratianus also has some decretals, and a bull is to be found in *Cherubini bull. Mag. Vita Alexandri II.* by cardinal *Nicolas* of *Arragon* is in *Muratori Scriptor. rer. Ital.* *Benzo's panegyricus* is also an authentic piece. See *Masco-vius de rebus imp. sub Henrico IV. and V. Picet's h'stoir. de l'Eglise & du Monde, Part I. Argelati's biblioth. Scriptor. Mediolan. and Mazzuchelli's Scrittori di Italia.*

enjoyed; partly by persuading the Princes of the world, that they were indispensably obliged to pay an unreserved obedience to St. *Peter* and his pretended successor and vicegerent, threatening them with the forfeiture of their dominions and states, at the Pope's pleasure, as being fiefs of his; and by many more such extravagancies. The next design meditated by *Gregory* was to render the sword of St. *Paul* as formidable as the keys of St. *Peter*; and to enlarge the possessions of the See of *Rome*, a proof of which is the countess *Matilda's* will, tho' *Hildebrand* himself did not live to see the happiness take place after which he had aspired. These premises serve to clear up the connection and springs of the transactions, which we shall now proceed to relate. *Gregory* immediately gave a specimen of his policy, in notifying his election to the imperial court by a legation, and requesting the confirmation, which was granted, after count *Eberhard*, ambassador from the Emperor on that occasion, had examined the merits of the election. But soon after he took the first step towards the execution of his great designs, by two capital decrees, in a council which he held at *Rome*, against the marriage of the clergy and simony, which in those days occasioned infinite confusion and disturbance. At the same time he excommunicated duke *Robert Guiscard*, and was earnestly intent on the design of a croisade, which however could not then take place. Soon after he took a further step in a council held likewise at *Rome*. The Emperor *Henry IV.* being the object of most of the complaints concerning simony, several counsellors and officers of his, who had been accomplices in it, were excommunicated, and an ordinance passed, that for the

the future no Bishop or Abbot should receive his investiture from the hand of any layman whatsoever: And thus he openly invaded the rights which Christian Emperors and Sovereigns had enjoyed thro' a long succession of years. Amidst these dispositions *Gregory* was in danger of losing his liberty, if not his life, by the hands of the famous *Cencius*, but was rescued by the populace. The person most aggrieved by *Gregory's* innovations was *Henry* Emperor of *Germany*, and no one perhaps had more spirit to oppose them than he, and indeed he was the greatest thorn in the eyes of *Gregory*. The Pope having ventured to summon him before his tribunal as a delinquent, he not only received mortifying answers, but in a Diet at *Worms*, *Gregory* was declared an illegitimate Pope, and a new election was resolved on. Besides this, a letter of exile, with an imperial order annexed to it, was with great formality delivered to the Pope at *Rome*. It was natural now for the Pope to excommunicate the Emperor; but he carried it farther, and at the same time declared him to have forfeited the empire, and absolved his subjects from their obedience: However, the Emperor's cause was too good to have suffered by all this, had not, at that very juncture, some of the states of the empire, both ecclesiastical and secular, broke out upon some discontent into open rebellion, and having espoused the part of the Pope, reduced the Emperor to agree to the convention of *Oppenheim*, by which the Pope was acknowledged and appointed judge of these interior domestic concerns of the empire. It must be mentioned to the honour of the *Italian* Bishops and Princes, that they magnanimously patronised the cause of justice, and in a synod at *Pavia*

1076,

- even excommunicated the Pope. The Emperor *Henry*, from unseasonable devotion, or a real love of peace, went himself to *Italy*, in order
1077. to obtain his absolution from the Pope. *Gregory* was at that time with the countess *Matilda* at the castle of *Canossa*, and received the Emperor with such insolence and indignity, that it may justly be stiled an unparalleled penance. One circumstance of it was that disgraceful promise of the Emperor to abstain from all acts of sovereignty in the empire, till the disputes there depending had been examined and adjusted by the Pope. As all this was in itself invalid, so the *Italian* states declared it such, and obliged the Emperor *Henry* not to observe it. On the other hand there arose in *Germany* the novelty of an anti-emperor in the person of *Rudolf* of *Swabia*.
1078. *Gregory*, tho' he had so great a share in this transaction, at first affected an indifference and acted a neutrality in a very masterly manner; but he at the same time assumed the province of an arbiter, and having caused himself to be appointed such in a council, he excommunicated the patriot *Italian* Bishops. About this time
1079. Pope *Gregory* was likewise attentive to the affair of *Berengarius*, who was severely prosecuted as a heretick, for his doctrine of the sacrament. The conduct of *Gregory* on this occasion was such, that on which-ever side it be considered, it was an actual contradiction to the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope: He also sent ministers of peace into *Germany*, but they returned *re infecta*. The Emperor *Henry* showed a noble resolution; his victory over *Rudolfus* was succeeded by two defeats; and this was the critical moment Pope *Gregory* had to declare in favor for *Rudolfus*, which he did in a council at *Rome*,
1080. and

and a second time excommunicated the Emperor *Henry*. Now it was that the latter manifested a greatness of soul. When his affairs were at the worst, he called a council of ecclesiasticks at *Brixen*, when *Gregory* was deposed, and *Guy* Bishop of *Ravenna* chosen. These revolutions induced Pope *Gregory* to make the first advances towards an agreement with duke *Robert Guiscard*, in order to employ his friendship and power, as likewise that of *Matilda*, against the Emperor *Henry*. A campaign was opened in *Italy*; and it is remarkable, that the imperialists on the same day gained one victory in *Germany* and another in *Italy*; the latter of which was completed by the death of the anti-emperor *Rudolf*. The malecontents indeed chose in his stead *Herman* duke of *Luxemburg*; but he was not of consequence enough to divert *Henry* from the prosecution of his grand design, which was to make Pope *Gregory* feel the effects of his just resentment; and accordingly he penetrated into *Italy* with an army. The territories of *Matilda* suffered the most; and after some difficulties the Emperor became master of *Rome* itself. *Gregory* took refuge in the castle of *St. Angelo*, where his safety differed not in the least from imprisonment. *Guido* in the mean time being received as Pope, by the name of *Clement III.* crowned the Emperor. After the return of the latter to *Germany*, duke *Robert* released *Gregory*; but he would not trust himself longer in a city where he was publickly hated. He removed to *Salerno* for protection from the *Norman* Princes, and soon after ended a life, which his character had filled with troubles. His extravagant maxims concerning the power of the Pope, and his indefatigable zeal to put them in force, gained

1081.

1084.

him the honour of a festival instituted by Pope *Paul V.* as to a faint; yet without the consent of other nations, who tho' of the same religion have not yet been brought to worship as a faint, a man, whose sole object and employment was a violation of the rights of Princes*.

Sect. 13. After the death of *Gregory, Clement* supported himself in *Rome*; and, as it appears to the satisfaction of the greatest part of the city. The enemies of the Emperor *Henry*, who at present were assisted not only by countess *Matilda*, but also by the *Norman* princes, lett no

* Of Pope *Gregory VII.* remain a great number of letters, which are in *Harduin's Concil.* Among these the most famous piece is the *Dictatus.* The author of which is still uncertain. *Rechenberg* and *Flessa* have particular dissertations upon it, and *Lupus* has illustrated it at large. Concerning his other writings. see *Fabricius' Biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. etat.* There is scarce any Pope, of whom we have so many, not only ancient and contradictory, but exaggerated accounts on both sides. We have two collections of them, one by *Gretser*, and the other by *Goldest.* As most of them relate only to the contests betwixt the Emperor and the Pope, and some impeach the Pope's conduct, and others vindicate it, historical narratives being only occasionally interspersed. The following are all which deserve notice, cardinal *Benno de vita & gestis Hildibrandi, Paul Bernried. Vita Gregorii VII.* which see in *Mabillon* and *Muratori. Pand. Pisoni Vita Gregorii VII.* together with the cardinal of *Abragen's* account of his life, published by *Muratori.* A further account of the rest, see in *Sagittarius' introd. in histor. ecclsi.* With these also must be consulted the history of *Henry IV.* and that of the countess *Matilda* in the *origin. Gaelic.* where many enquiries of indispensable utility to our purpose may be met with. Of Pope *Gregory's* proceedings, with respect to simony and lay-vestiture and the dispute relating to it, called *Inter sacerdotium & imperium*, see the writers mentioned in *M. Heim's instit. histor. ecclsi.* Of the division in the church or *Rome* concerning the canonization and worship of this Pope, see a piece intitled, *L'Avocat du diable, ou Memoires historiques & critiques sur la vie & sur la legende du pape Gregorie VII.*

means

means untried to retrieve their affairs by a new election. But a long time intervened before *Desiderius* the abbot of *Monte Cassino*, one of the candidates proposed by *Gregory* on his death-bed, was chosen: And even then he was with great difficulty prevailed on to accept of the dignity; and having again endeavoured at a renunciation to re-assume it under the name of *Victor* III. His party caused him indeed to be solemnly consecrated at *Rome*, but he soon found himself obliged to yield to *Clement*. In a council at *Benevento*, he approved of all *Gregory's* proceedings without exception. He died very early *.

SECT. 14. The *Matildine* party being again without a Pope, they chose in a council at *Terracina*, *Otho* Bishop of *Ostia*, who took the name of *Urban* II. At the beginning of his pontificate, fortune seemed to favour the Emperor more than him, but his affairs soon mended. He gained a considerable advantage over his adversary Pope *Clement*, and the marriage of the countess *Matilda* with the young duke *Guelfo* V. added considerable strength to his party.

* *Victor*, when abbot, wrote the dialogues *de miraculis S. Benedicti*, which are to be found in *Mabillon's Acta Sanctorum*. A speech which he made when Pope at the above-mentioned council may be seen in *Chronic. Cassinens.* The two letters of *Hugo* Archbishop of *Lyons* to the countess *Matilda*, extant in *Labbe's Concil.* do little honour to this Pope: Besides, what *Leo* of *Ostia* mentions of this *Desiderius*, in his famous chronicle of *Monte Cassino*, we have also a short account of his life by *Pandolphus* of *Pisa*, and one more full by *Bernard Guido*, both to be found in *Muratori*. Among the moderns *Hartmann* has written a separate life of him, as we shall hereafter have occasion to mention. See also *Mabillon Act. Sanctorum*, and *Cave's bishop. liter.* The account, that he was poisoned is a mere fable.

- This however spirited up the Emperor *Henry* to march an army into *Italy*. This was attended
1091. with some success, and tho' *Urban* at the council of *Benevento*, renewed the excommunication against *Clement*, yet the latter returned to *Rome*, where the revolted inhabitants had made themselves masters of the castle of *St. Angelo*. The
1092. affairs of *Urban* daily declined, the Emperor *Henry* obtaining continual advantages over the haughty *Matilda*. He resided indeed near *Rome*,
1093. but *Clement* had the superiority there. It was certainly malice rather than policy that moved the *Matildine* party to seduce *Conrad* King of the *Romans* to a defection from his father, and to vindicate this unnatural iniquity by the most
1094. scandalous defamations of the latter. *Urban* indeed came to *Rome*, but the castle of *St. Angelo* continued in the hands of Pope *Clement*; and *Urban* himself appears soon after in a council at *Clermont* to have set the first croisade on foot.
1095. The subsequent differences betwixt the above-mentioned duke *Guelfo* and *Matilda* and their divorce was of great advantage to the Emperor, and no less detrimental to Pope *Urban*. The
1096. latter having excommunicated *Philip* King of *France* returned to *Rome* after a fruitless attempt to dislodge *Clement's* party from the castle of *St.*
1097. *Angelo*. The Emperor *Henry* now thought it advisable to return into *Germany*. *Urban* held a
1098. council at *Bari*, where the former dispute betwixt the *Latin* and *Greek* churches, concerning the procession of the holy spirit from the son, came into deliberation. At last *Urban* got sole
1099. possession of *Rome*; and having in a new council, with the utmost asperity, renewed the excommunication against all his enemies, he ended
his

his life. *Clement* soon followed him, which put a final period to this division *.

S E C T. II.

Of the History of the Popes of the twelfth Century.

SECT. I. *Clement* was still living, when the *Matildine* party chose another monk of *Clugny*, *Rainerius* a cardinal, who stiled himself *Paschal* II. The opposite party soon set up three Popes against him, *Albrecht Diederic*, and *Maginulphus*, or *Silvester* IV. But they could not stand their ground; and it is doubtful whether the Emperor *Henry* ever declared for any of them. *Paschal*, exceptionable as the model was, closely imitated the conduct of his immediate predecessors, which might, in some measure, arise from the similarity of their tem-

* Besides a considerable collection of letters of Pope *Urban* in *Harduin's concil.* more are to be found in the writings of *Marca Baluzen*, *Datchor Habn*, and others. In *Baluzous' Miscellan.* is to be found an old piece concerning his first coming to the convent of *Clugny*. *Muratori* has preserved the two accounts of his life left by *Pandulfo* of *Pisa*, and *Bernard Guido*. Of the moderns *Ruinard* has writ the life of Pope *Urban*, which with several other pieces is to be found in the third part of *Mabillon's oper. posth.* See also *hisoir. liter de la France*, and *Muratori & Pièet.* Concerning Pope *Clement*, see *Rubæi histor. Raven.* & *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* *Ecchard's corp. histor. med. ævi seq.* has some letters of his. Several miracles have been attributed to him after his death, but they could never gain credit even in the church of *Rome*.

pers

- pers and manner of living. A council held in the Lateran was obliged to ratify the excommunication against the Emperor *Henry*; and *Matilda* was forced to renew her promise of bequeathing her estates to the See of *Rome*. *Conrad*, the Emperor's rebellious son, being dead, his brother *Henry* was spirited up to the like conduct towards his father. It is probable that *Paschal* himself was among the incendiaries; at least it is certain, that he publicly approved of the crime, and gave it his apostolical Benediction. Soon after a revolt began in *Rome*, the quelling of which proved a work of time.
1104. *Henry V.* having deprived his aged father of the crown, and soon after by extreme sorrow, brought his grey hairs to the grave, the partisans of the papacy hoped, that now was the time for a complete victory over the majesty of princes; but *Henry* soon gave them to understand, that he inherited all his father's firmness and spirit, in asserting his prerogative against the unjust demands of the Pope. *Paschal* went into *France* to visit his ancient residence, the monastery of *Clugny*; and at the same time to engage the aid and protection of that crown against the Emperor *Henry*. A very splendid embassy from the
1106. Emperor came to *Chalons*, and there in very plain terms signified to him their master's unalterable resolutions. In a council at *Troyes*, the former decree touching the investitures was confirmed; and it was matter of surprise, that *Henry*
1107. II. king of *England* should be persuaded by *Anselm* archbishop of *Canterbury*, into a renunciation of
1108. the right of investiture. *Paschal*, at his return to *Rome* found the city full of such disturbances and combustions, as it required time and pains to
1109. suppress. The Emperor *Henry* had now resolved
1110. on

on a journey to *Italy*, which seems to have been not very agreeable to the Pope. He armed himself, with fresh decrees of councils against lay-investitures, and a defensive alliance with the *Norman* princes of *Apulia* and *Calabria*. At length *Henry* came to *Rome*, full of hopes that his salutary, but impracticable proposals of peace, by which the clergy would have been restored to their primitive apostolical state, would put an end to the animosities, which had so long subsisted. But the Bishops and abbots, who were present, determined not to give up any thing, opposed him with such vehemence, that no hopes of a reconciliation were left. Hereupon the Emperor *Henry* now attacked the Pope, whose adherents in *Rome* took some steps, which were attended with bloodshed. But *Henry* was resolute, and *Paschal* promised, and solemnly swore to whatever the former required; upon which ensued the coronation of the Emperor. This rendered *Paschal* so odious, that the zealous cardinals openly called him a betrayer of the church. In several councils which were held on this account both in *Italy* and *France*, every thing was annulled. *Paschal*, tho' doubtless perfectly pleased at what passed, acted as if he had no manner of share in it. The Emperor *Henry* was by the same means involved in great troubles in *Germany*. The death of the countess *Matilda*, to whose succession he put in a double claim, occasioned another journey into *Italy*; and this a second council in the Lateran, where the Pope, to prevent the imputation of heresy himself, excommunicated the Emperor. Another rebellion, which broke out in *Rome*, obliged Pope *Paschal* to quit the city. *Henry* came to *Rome* himself, when *Paschal* left it, and fled for protection

1111.

1112.

1116.

1117.

tection in vain to the *Norman* princes. The Emperor gave evidence of his pacific intentions, and caused himself to be crowned by the celebrated *Burdino*. *Paschal* died in the midst of mighty armaments, and some efforts towards supporting himself by force *.

1118.

Sect. 2. The party which opposed the Emperor chose *John* of *Gaeta*, who took the name of *Gelasius* II. The election was scarce over, when the Emperor *Henry* made his appearance in *Rome*, and the new Pope was obliged to secure himself by flight. He adhered to the maxims of his predecessors, and instead of listening to the pacific overtures of the Emperor, he excommunicated him. *Henry* therefore ordered a new election, which fell on the above-mentioned *Maurice Burdin*, archbishop of *Braga*, who took the name of *Gregory* VIII. He supported himself in *Rome* against all the attempts of his adversary, who was obliged to fly to *France*,

1119. where he soon after died †.

Sect.

* In the collection of councils are an hundred and seven letters of this Pope, besides others in the known collection of ancient records. See *Fabricius' biblioth. lat. med. & infim. etat.* and *Carve's histor. liter.* Besides the writers on the inheritance of countess *Matilda*, and her invalid grant to the See of *Rome*, see the *Origines Guelficæ*, and *Mosheim's instit. histor. eccles.* See *Meibom.* on the investiture, which is reprinted in the 3d volume of *Scriptor. rer. Germanicæ.* and *Mabillon in annal. ord. Bened.* *Muratori's history of Italy*, and the history of popery. The accounts of his life in *Muratori script. rer. Italicæ.* are written by *Pandulf* of *Pisa*, and the cardinal of *Aragon*.

† In *Harduin's* collection of councils are seven letters of Pope *Gelasius*. Some others are to be found in *Eccard's corp. histor. med. ævi.* He is also the author of some legends of saints. In *Muratori's script. rer. Ital.* is the life of this Pope by *Pandulf* of *Pisa*, with the circumstantial remarks of *Constantine*

Sect. 3. *Gelasius* in his dying hours, and the few cardinals who attended him, had turned their thoughts on *Otbo* Bishop of *Palestrina*; but he not willing to embarrass himself, prevailed with them to choose *Guy* archbishop of *Vienne*, or *Calixtus* II. He was by birth a prince of *Burgundy*, and, as such, allied to the most illustrious houses in *Europe*. He was besides more able and politic than his predecessor. Having been assured of the consent of those members of the party, who had remained at *Rome*, he was consecrated at *Vienne*. In an ecclesiastical synod at *Rheims*, he excommunicated both the Emperor and *Gregory*. The former was in *Italy*, but returned to *Germany*, on advice of some disturbances there, which the papal party had industriously fomented. *Calixtus* now removed into *Italy* and to *Rome* itself, *Gregory* having quitted it, and retired to *Sutri*. The *Norman* princes assisted him with a strong army: He went in person, laid siege to the place, and took it and *Gregory* along with it. The captive Pope was treated with great indecency, and suffered to die in prison, tho' as to the last circumstance authors are not entirely agreed. In this state of affairs it was not strange, that his party increased in *Germany*, and in the Diet at *Wurtzburg* paved the way for a peace, which, by the reciprocal concessions of both parties, was concluded at the Diet of *Worms*. The Pope acquired the investiture, and the Emperor retained the right of confirmation by the sceptre. And for the rati-

1120.

1121.

stantine Cajetan, which contain many useful records. There is another life in the same work by the cardinal of *Aragon*. See also *Peter Diaconus de vir. illustr. Cave's histor. liter. script. eccles. Fabricius in biblioth. lat. med. & infim. atat.* and *Muratori* in his history of *Italy*.

fication

- fication of the several articles, another council
 1123. was held at the Lateran. After this *Calixtus*
 1124. lived in quietness, and died *.
- Sect. 4. In the next election there was again
 a division, but cardinal *Theobald* having volun-
 tarily renounced his claim, *Honorius II.* was the
 Pope elect. His original name was *Lambert*. He
 was a native of *Bononia*, and at this time Bishop of
 1125. *Ostia*. All we know of him is, that he opposed
 by force of arms the succession of duke *Roger*
 to the dutchy of *Apulia*; but with so little success,
 1127. that he was obliged to submit to a disadvanta-
 geous agreement. Being a friend to the Empe-
 ror *Lotharius the Saxon*, he excommunicated
 duke *Conrad*, who was endeavouring to get foot-
 ing in *Italy*, together with his adherents, and
 1130. died †.

* See the letters betwixt the cardinals at *Rome* and those in *France*, concerning the election of *Calixtus*, in the *codex epistolar* of *Ulric of Pabenberg*, published by *Eccard*. Likewise the letters of this Pope himself, of which only thirty-five occur in *Labbe* and *Harduin*. More are to be met with in *Dacher's speceleg.* *Bolzani's miscell.* *Martene thes. anecdot.* *Eccard corp. histor. med. ævi*, and *Wilkin's concil. Britan.* Besides these we have also four sermons of his on *St. James the apostle*, in the twentieth volume of the *Lyon biblioth. max. patr.* Of the convention with the Emperor *Henry*, which see in *Cherubini's bullar. M.* and more correctly in *Harenberg's treatise de secula non timentium Deum.* *Hoffman* treats in *diff. ad concordat. Henrici V. & Calixti II. de investitura Episcop. & abbatum.* *Muratori* has three lives of this Pope by *Pand. of Pifa*, the cardinal of *Arragon*, and *Bernard Guido*. Among the moderns see *Gallia Christiana*, and *Hartman in vitis Roman. pontificum, Victoris III. Urbani II. Paschalis II. Gelasii II. Calixti II.* *Bolzani in miscell.* has an account of the life of *Gregory*, or *Maurice Bardan*, besides two letters.

† Besides the twelve letters of his in the collections of councils, some others of his are to be found in *Cave's hist. liter.* The accounts of his life by *Pand. of Pifa*, the cardinal of *Arragon*, and *Bernard Guido* are in *Muratori's script. rer. Ital.* Compare also *Mascew's comm. de rebus Imperii sub Lothario II. & Conr. III.*

Sect. 5. The struggles of the two parties, which at that time distracted *Rome*, caused a division in the new election. Some cardinals chose *Gregory*, a *Roman*, who was cardinal *de S. Angelo*, and now took the name of *Innocent*, whilst others declared for *Peter Leonis*, cardinal of *S. Maria in Trastevere*, who took the name of *Anacletus II.* and by his superior force made himself master of the *Vatican*. Both solicited the favour of foreign princes. *Anacletus* made a league with duke *Roger of Sicily*, on whom he conferred the title of King. *Innocent*, who had been obliged to retire to *France*, had the good fortune of contracting a friendship with *St. Bernard*, abbot of *Clairvaux* by whose high reputation *Lotharius*, emperor of *Germany*, *Lewis* king of *France*, *Henry* king of *England*, and others, were chiefly induced to acknowledge him as legal Pope. The Emperor *Lotharius* had a conference with *Innocent* at *Liege*; but for reasons well known, could not prevail upon him to restore to him the right of investiture. A council at *Rheims* excommunicated *Anacletus* with his party, who was in the mean time embroiled with the people of *Benevento*. *Innocent*, in confidence of the Emperor's assistance, set out on his return to *Italy*. *Lotharius* also made an expedition thither, and both came to *Rome*. *Innocent* took possession of the *Lateran*, and crowned the Emperor, and this whilst *Anacletus* himself was at *Rome*, and kept possession of the *Vatican* and castle of *S. Angelo*. The Emperor *Lotharius* attempted on a solemn day of judgment to compose the matter; but *Anacletus* would not submit to a judge who had already so effectually declared for his antagonist. The Emperor succeeded better with Pope *Innocent*, in a convention relating to the inheritance

of

- of the countess *Matilda*. His setting out soon after for *Germany*, and the failure of the assistance promised from *England*, obliged *Innocent* once more to leave *Rome*. He repaired to *Pisa*, where he held a new council against his competitor. At length the Emperor *Lotharius* returned to *Italy*, and put the affairs of *Innocent* in so good a posture, that he became again possessed of the Lateran. However he could not intirely expel *Anacletus*. At *Lotharius's* departure the new king of *Sicily* offered his mediation; but the best mediator was the death of *Anacletus*, after which all animosities subsided. His friends indeed elected a cardinal who changed his name of *Gregory* for that of *Victor IV*. But *St. Bernard* being present, prevailed so far, that he of himself declined it, and perfect tranquillity was restored at *Rome*. About this time the famous *Arnold* of *Brescia* had spread his doctrine, which was very disagreeable to the court of *Rome*, and accordingly he was condemned in a council held at the Lateran. But *Innocent* had a powerful enemy in king *Roger*. In attempting to force him to a compliance, the Pope was taken prisoner, and was obliged to accept of such a peace as the conqueror thought fit. After this nothing remarkable occurs of *Innocent*. The differences of the *Romans* with the inhabitants of *Tivoli*, occasioned an insurrection even in *Rome*.
1134. *Innocent* died*.

Sect.

* We have several letters of Pope *Innocent*, in the collections of councils, and in other collections. *Cave histor. liter.* gives a very particular account of them. *Lupus in epistol. Eptef.* has annexed eight and thirty letters of *Anacletus*. Compare *St. Bernard's* letters as published by *Mabillon*. Here must be mentioned the picture of the coronation of the Emperor *Lotharius*, with the following inscription,

Rex

Sect. 6. The new Pope *Celestinus* II. before called *Guido*, was a *Tuscan*, and cardinal of *S. Mario*. He is said to have had some differences with king *Roger*; but died soon after*. 1144.

Sect. 7. His successor *Lucius* II. was before called *Gerhard Caccianemici*, and was a regular canon and cardinal. The *Romans* chose *Jordanus* as president of the new senate, which *Lucius* opposing with an armed force, he received a wound from a stone, which in a few days proved fatal to him †. 1145.

*Rex venit ante fores jurans prius urbis honores,
Post homo fit Papæ, recipit quo dante coronam.*

which was suppressed under the Emperor *Frederick* I. See *Radevic de gestis Fred.* Of *Arnold*, see *Koler's diff. de Arnaldo Brixienfi.* In *Muratori scriptor. rer. Ital.* are *Arnalsi Sagiensis tractatus de schismate orto post Honorii II. Papæ discessum*, and the life of Pope *Innocent*, by the three biographers before-mentioned.

* In *Labbe's Concil.* we have only three letters of his; but two are supplied in *Dacher's specul.* and in *Martene's thes. anecdot.* We must here briefly take notice, that *Celestine* is the first of those Popes, of whom *Malachy* the famous *Irish* archbishop is said to have prophesied. The several writings in which these prophecies are contained, disputed or defended, are mentioned in *Fabricius's biblioth. Lat. med. & inf. ætatis.* They are so very childish, and the supposed completion of them so forced, that we do not think they deserve any further mention.

† The letters extant of his are to be found in *Labbe's Concil.* in *Baluzens miscellan.* *Martene's thes. anecdot.* Also in *Wilkin's Concil. Britan.* Part of a remarkable letter to king *Conrad* has been preserved by *Alberick* in his *chronic.* in *Leibnit's access. histor.* Towards an illustration and right judgment of the disturbances at *Rome* under this and the following Pope, which respect the imperial rights, see my *Comment. de Senator. Rom. medii ævi.* *Muratori* has given us the short accounts of the three historians. Among the moderns he is treated of at large by *John Bapt. Signus de ortu & statu canonico.* With whom is also to be compared *Carve histor. liter.*

SECT. 8. Amidst the most vehement commotions, the cardinals chose *Bernard* of *Pisa* Abbot of a *Cistercian* convent, and a disciple of *St. Bernard*. He took on him the name of *Eugenius III.* and likewise possessed himself of the *Lateran*. But the new senate of *Rome* endeavouring on this occasion to obtain its confirmation, the consecration was performed in the convent of *Farfa*, after which the Pope resided at *Viterbo*. About this time *Arnold* of *Brescia* came to *Rome*, where his preaching concerning ecclesiastical possessions, and his exhortations to restore the ancient constitution of the city, met with unusual approbation. The Pope had recourse to an excommunication against him, and to a closer union with the inhabitants of *Tivoli*, inveterate enemies to the *Romans*: But all this proving of no effect, he came to an agreement, in which the *Romans* found their account better than he. Their impatience to suppress their enemies at *Tivoli* obliged him again to leave *Rome*.

1146. The *Romans* hereupon applied to the Emperor *Conrad III.* in a most memorable letter, which as it evidences their upright intention, so it reflects disgrace on the Pope, by exposing the designs he had formed to the prejudice of the imperial dignity. But the Emperor *Conrad* was unfortunately so infatuated by the hypocritical Abbot of *Clairvaux*, as to let slip this opportunity of restoring the dignity of the empire to its ancient lustre. The Pope was gone into

1147. *France*, where he promoted a new Crusade, and held councils, in one of which he excommunicated King *Stephen* of *England*. He returned to

1148. *Italy*; but being refused admission at *Rome*, he had recourse to arms. A peace ensued, from the

1149. terms of which it appears, that the Pope had

not been victorious. He thought to avail himself of the peace, in abolishing the senate, which was become so obnoxious to him; but they drove him once more from the city. A new peace followed; and it is highly probable that at the death of *Eugenius* the senate was not constituted as before, tho' of this change we are not able to give the real motives and circumstances*.

SECT. 9. Of his successor *Anastasius IV.* the only particulars known are, that he was a native of *Rome*, and that his name was *Conrad*; that he had been Cardinal-bishop of *Sabina*, and died after a pontificate of fourteen months †.

* Besides some bulls, among which that of the canonization of the Emperor *Henry II.* in the *Act. Sanctior.* is very remarkable, there are eighty-eight letters of Pope *Eugenius* in the collections of councils. Others occur in *Baluzen's miscellan.* *Martene's Thesaur. anecdotor. & collect. amplissimæ,* and *Wilkins Concil. Britan.* It is observable, that Pope *Eugenius* in the council of *Treves* in the year 1148, approved the prophecies of *St. Hildegard*, of which his letter in *Labbe's Concil.* is a testimony, and that in his time *Gratian* finishes his collections of canon-laws, the approbation of which this and the following Popes has greatly contributed to the maintenance of the papal authority; for which I would refer to *Bohmer's* preface to the first volume of the *Corpus Juris canonici.* Among other records relating to the history of this Pope, see the account of his life by *Bernard Guido, Pand. of Pisa,* and the cardinal of *Aragon* in *Muratori's Scriptor. rer. Italic.* Cardinal *Hugo of Ostia's* piece *de obitu Eugenii III.* in *Ughelli Ital. sacr.* The large collection of the Abbot *Wibald's* letters, in *Martene's* and *Durand's ampliss. collect.* Also *Sugerius's* letters in the *Thesaur. anecdotor.* by the same learned persons, and the above-mentioned letters of *St. Bernard.* Among the moderns see *Marrigue Annal. Cisterc. Sartori's histor. Cisterc. Vifch. biblioth. Cisterc. Muratori's history of Italy, &c. Mascow. com. de rebus imperii sub. Lotb. & Cour. Cave histor. liter. and Fabricius' biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. æt.*

† Thirteen letters of his are in *Labbe's Concil.* and two more in *Martene's Thes. monim.* Some bulls also of his

- SECT. 10. At that time the imperial throne was filled by *Frederick II.* who earnestly undertook to restore the honour and rights of the empire, especially in *Italy*; but this resolution involved him in many disagreeable broils with proud and ambitious Popes. The new election fell on *Nicolas Breakspear* an *Englishman*; who by a train of singular adventures, rose from the lowest condition to the papal dignity, which he held by the name of *Adrian IV.* He immediately gave proofs of his zeal, forbidding *Arnold* of *Brescia* to stay any longer in *Rome*: And the *Romans* offering forcibly to protect him, he obliged them, by excommunication, to withdraw their protection. *William* King of *Sicily*, in order to his reconciliation with the papal chair, made some proposals of peace, which being rejected, he committed hostilities against the ecclesiastical state, and was on that account ex-
1155. communicated by the Pope. The Emperor *Frederick* was then in *Italy*. Pope *Adrian* stood in awe of him; but he recovered his spirits, when the Emperor peremptorily ordered the surrender of the supposed heretick *Arnold*, who was soon after burnt; and in other respects gave him the strongest assurances of all possible protection. *Adrian* himself went into the imperial army, where the famous affair of the stirrup, in which however historians differ, was very near producing a violent rupture, had not *Frederick* for that time humoured his holiness in order to forward his own coronation. The in-
1156. considerate behaviour of the *Romans*, on this occasion, does them little honour. The affairs of

are extant. The three before-mentioned historians have also written the life of this Pope, see *Muratori's Scripitor. rer. Italic.* and *Massuebelli's Scrittori d'Italia.*

William

William King of *Apulia*, had in the mean time taken so favourable a turn, that Pope *Adrian* found himself under the necessity of making the first proposals of a peace, which was remarkable both in itself, and in its consequences. It was particularly displeasing to the Emperor *Frederick*, who had besides been offended at the scandalous picture of the coronation of the Emperor *Lotharius*; at the haughty stile of the Pope's letters, particularly the equivocal word *Beneficium* used in them; and at the indecent behaviour of the Pope's Legates, and the maxims promulgated by them. The Pope on his part was filled with no less indignation at the remissness of the Emperor in punishing those who had seized and plundered *Esquilus* Archbishop of *Lunden*. So that a new flame was on the point of breaking out, especially as the *German* clergy unanimously declared for the honour of their Emperor: However, matters were adjusted entirely to the Emperor's satisfaction. But for this very reason it was of short continuance. Pope *Adrian* found new complaints, and wrote an unbecoming letter to the Emperor. Various incidents inflamed the animosities of both parties. The Emperor *Frederick* sided with the *Romans*, and Pope *Adrian* had entered into closer connections with the King of *Sicily*, when death very seasonably took him off *.

1157.

1158.

1159.

Sect.

* Besides some writings attributed to this Pope, but not yet printed, there are in *Labbe's Concil.* forty-two letters, and *Martene, Baluzius, Usser, Marca, Ughelli, &c.* have brought others to light, as may be seen in *Fabricius's biblioth. Lat. med. ætat.* and *Cæse's histor. liter.* The most remarkable are those letters which contain the obnoxious word *Beneficium*; in *Aventini Annal. Bajor.* the letters betwixt the Emperor and the Pope, the authenticity of which

Sect. II. The accounts of the divided election which followed, are so contradictory, that nothing can be delivered with certainty, except only, that one part of the cardinals chose cardinal *Roland* of St. *Mark*, and the other *Ostavian* cardinal of St. *Cecilia*; and that both sides were too vehement to make concessions to each other. *Roland* stiled himself *Alexander III.* and was consecrated at *Ninfe*. *Ostavian* took the name of *Victor IV.* and was consecrated in the monastery of *Farfa*. It was natural for *William II.* King of *Sicily*, to declare for *Alexander*; and for the Emperor *Frederick* to side with *Victor*; but he first endeavoured to accommodate matters in
 1160. a council, which he summoned at *Pavia*. *Alexander*, from the maxims of papal policy, in which he was thoroughly versed, as likewise for the safety of his own person, declined making his appearance; which forwarded the decree, passed by the fathers, and confirmed by the Emperor in favour of *Victor*. Excommunications were thundered on both sides; and the far greatest part of *Europe* divided into two parties on their account. The *Greek* Emperor, *France*, *England*, and *Sicily* were *Alexander's* friends. The countenance of *France* arose at first from the devotion of a woman; but possibly afterwards from a wrong step of the Emperor *Frederick*; political motives improved it to vehement earnestness. On the other hand, the authority and power of the Emperor were a great support to *Victor* in *Italy* and *Germany*, and the Kings of *Sweden* and

is still disputed; those betwixt the Bishops of *Germany* and the Pope, and the letter of license to *Henry II.* to conquer *Ireland*, in *Wilkins's Concil. Britan.* The famous peace with King *William*, which so nearly concerns the *Sicilian* monarchy, is in *Baronii Annal.*

Denmark

Denmark offered their aid. *Alexander*, after being acknowledged by his friends, in an assembly at *Tboloufe*, hastened indeed to *Rome*; but met with such a reception, that he was soon obliged to quit that city, and save himself by flight to *Genoa*. In the mean time the Emperor *Frederick*, who had rendered himself very formidable in *Italy*, caused his favourite *Victor* to be confirmed a second time in a council at *Lodi*. After this he made proposals of peace, but without effect. *Alexander* went into *France*, and held a considerable synod at *Tours*, where he solemnly excommunicated his competitor and his adherents. He afterwards went to *Sens*, where he staid a considerable time, and thither fled to him the rebellious Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Becket*, whom *Alexander* received as a very faithful devoted friend to the See of *Rome*, and by protecting him, greatly irritated *Henry* King of *England*. Soon after *Victor* died at *Lucca*, and it were to be wished, that this had ended the schism. But the Emperor *Frederick* thought proper to set on foot a new election by those cardinals who were in his interest. It fell on cardinal *Guido* of *S. Calixtus*, who took the name of *Paschal* III. and having a strenuous patron in the Emperor *Frederick*, resided at *Viterbo*. *Alexander* having the good fortune of the voice of the people of *Rome* on his side, ventured to return thither from *France*; and as his friends daily increased in those cities of *Lombardy*, which were in other respects disaffected to the Emperor *Frederick*, the Emperor endeavoured to confirm *Paschal* in a large assembly held at *Wurtzburg*, where ambassadors attended from *England*, and acknowledged the latter as lawful Pope. He also found means to make

1161.

1163.

1164.

1165.

- some prelates feel the weight of his resentment for their firm adherence to *Alexander*. On the other hand, *Alexander* not only entered into a
1166. treaty with the court of *Constantinople* which was detrimental to the Emperor ; but he alienated the minds of the *Italians* more and more from him, which was affected among other means by renewing the excommunication in a council
1167. held at the *Lateran*. Fortune however was still on the Emperor's side. He made himself master of *Rome*, placed *Paschal* in the papal chair, and caused himself and his consort *Beatrix* to be crowned by him. *Alexander* after continuing some time in *Rome*, was obliged at length to seek safety at *Benevento* ; and the city took the oath of allegiance to the Emperor and *Paschal*: But immediately after the Emperor's
1168. good fortune turned. The rebels supported by Pope *Alexander*, became daily more formidable. *Pascal* himself died, and his and the Emperor's friends elected the abbot of *Struma*, who stiled himself *Calixtus III*. In the mean time
1170. *Alexander*, by means of the intercession of *France* and the political situation of *England*, obtained leave for the Archbishop *Thomas Becket* to return home ; but his former ambitious and turbulent disposition, which he still retained, brought him to a violent end. *Alexander* ranked him among the saints, and knew how to distress the innocent King *Henry* for his death in an unheard-of manner. The people of *Rome* did not
1172. admit *Alexander* into their city, tho' he pressinglly desired it. On the other hand, the losses which
1176. besel the Emperor in *Italy*, were the true cause of his hearkening to terms of peace, which was at last concluded. Upon this followed an in-
1177. terview between the Emperor and the Pope at
Venice,

Venice, of which the most groundless fables were propagated with particular designs, and obstinately credited. An agreement being also concluded between the Pope and the city of *Rome*, by which *Calixtus* submitted. *Alexander*, after a long opposition, came to the peaceable possession of the papal chair; for, tho' some malecontents set up one *Lando* for Pope, who stiled himself *Innocent III*, this party was too weak, and *Lando* was soon secured in a prison. *Alexander* held a great council in the *Lateran*, in which the disputes about the election of a Pope were terminated by an ordinance, that two thirds of the cardinals shall be requisite to make an election valid, and a war was resolved on against the supposed hereticks, which had sprung up in *France*. *Alexander* asserted canonization as one of the prerogatives of the Pope, and exercised, in the person of *Alphonso* King of *Portugal*, the usurped power of conferring the regal dignity. At last died this Pope, who had rendered himself remarkable in so many instances*.

1178.

1179.

1181.

Sect.

* Many of *Alexander's* letters are still extant, of which an account is given in *Fabricius's biblioth. Græc. & Latin. med. & infim. ætat.* and in *Cave's histor. liter.* We have only one letter of *Victor's* relating to his election in *Radevicus de gestis Frederici I.* and another in *Baluzæus Miscellan.* and only one of *Paschal's* in *Dufchesne Script. rer. Franc.* The history of the transactions and peace concluded between the Emperor *Frederick* and Pope *Alexander*, particularly of the fabulous story of the latter treading on the neck of the former, has given occasion to several learned disquisitions. See the accounts of *Obbo* of *Ravenna*, *Hier. Bardi*, *Fort. Olmo* and *Cyril. Mechele's* writings relating to this subject in the *Hamburg bibliotheca histor. Muratori's antiquitat. Ital. med. ævi.* and the celebrated *M. Schæfer's origin. Guelf.* The best writings which treat of the history of *Thomas Becket*, are quoted in *Mosheim's institut. histor. eccles.* Among the three lives of Pope *Alexander*, preserved in *Muratori's*

1184. Sect. 12. Immediately after the death of *Alexander*, cardinal *Ubaldo*, Bishop of *Ostia* and *Veletri*, who was a native of *Lucca*, and assumed the name of *Lucius II.* was chosen and consecrated at *Veletri*. This was occasioned by a sedition of the people of *Rome*, who for reasons unknown to us, very strenuously opposed the new Pope. *Lucius* took a journey to *Verona*, in order to a conference with the Emperor *Frederick*, which took place indeed, but with ill humor on both sides, on account of the clergy, who adhered to the Anti-Pope, as he was called, and on account of the papal pretensions to the countess *Matilda's* estate, and of the disputes about the election at *Triers*. *Lucius* died at *Verona*, amidst the most zealous endeavours for a new Crusade *.

1185. Sect. 13. *Ubert Crivelli*, Archbishop of *Milan*, whom some thro' mistake call *Lambert*, had the good fortune to be elected by the cardinals, and took the name of *Urban III.* The people of *Rome* still persisting in their opposition to the Pope, he likewise withdrew to *Verona*. He had disputes with the Emperor *Frederick* on the subjects above-mentioned, as well as about the estates bequeathed to the Bishops, and the confiscation of some revenues of convents. But
1186. the real disgust was the marriage of the Emperor *Henry* with *Constantia*, a princess of *Sicily*, to which on many accounts the court of *Rome* was

ratori's Script. rer. Ital. that by the cardinal of *Arragon* is the compleatest. Among the moderns *Anton. Velasquez* has given a life of Pope *Alexander* in *Spanish*, and *Job. Franz. Loredano*, another in *Italian*.

* In *Labbe's Concil.* are two letters and one decretal. Besides these, *Martene*, *Montfaucon*, and *Dacher*, have published some more. See *Carve's histor. liter.*

adverse. But as the greatest part of the Bishops of *Germany* sided with the Emperor, the Pope was now too weak to accomplish any thing. He attempted indeed, to fulminate his excommunications; but the people of *Verona* would not permit any such thing to be transacted in their city. Upon this *Urban* retired to *Ferrara*, where he died soon after *.

SECT. 14. The next who succeeded was cardinal *Albrecht* of *Benevento*, by the name of *Gregory VIII*. He strenuously exerted himself in promoting a Crusade, but he died at *Pisa*, having scarce sat two months in the chair †. 1187.

SECT. 15. *Paul*, Bishop of *Preneste*, a native of *Rome*, who was exalted at *Pisa* to the papal chair, under the name of *Clement III*. trod in the footsteps of his predecessor, and incited a great part of *Europe* to engage in a Crusade, which caused an immense effusion of blood to no purpose. To promote this he took pains to compose dissensions among the princes, and was so far successful, as to conclude a peace with the people of *Rome*, which established the papal dominion over that city. He died ‡ 1188.

* One letter of this *Urban*, whom some, from his restless spirit call *Turbanus*, is to be found in *Baronius's Annal.* five in *Harduin's Concil.* one in *Martene's thes. anecdot.* And more are to be met with in *Schoettgen's biblioth. lat. med. ævi. Muratori in script. rer. Ital. seqq.* has published a long life of this Pope by *Bernb. Guido*, and a shorter by a person unknown. See *Argelatus's biblioth. scriptor. Mediol.*

† In *Harduin's concil.* and *Baluzi's miscellan.* are to be found some letters relating to the Crusade.

‡ We have only seven letters of his in *Labbe's Concil.* The most accurate account of the convention with the people of *Rome*, is in *Muratori's antiquit. Ital. med. ævi.* *Muratori* gives two lives of this Pope, of which the one is said to be by *Bernb. Guido*, the other by an anonymous person.

SECT.

Sect. 16. *Hyacinth*, the new elected Pope, who is called *Celestine III.* was a *Roman* by birth, a *Cardinal-deacon*, and eighty-five years of age. Having been consecrated with great solemnity he crowned the Emperor *Henry VI.* who soon afterwards possessed himself of the kingdom of *Sicily.* He excommunicated *Leopold,* archduke of *Austria,* for the famous imprisonment of *Richard* king of *England,* and the Emperor, and *Alphonfus X.* king of *Gallicia,* for a marriage-cause. He also intermeddled, but without success, in the divorce of *Philip Augustus* king of *France.* The last will of the Emperor *Henry* could not but be agreeable to the Pope; but his request of seeing his successor appointed, was rejected by the cardinals. He died *

* We find seventeen letters of *Celestine* in *Labbe's Concil.* and some others in *Martene's thes. anecdot. Baluzen's miscellan. Wilkins's Concil. Britan.* and others, not to mention *bulls* and letters patent. The many fables told concerning the coronation of the Emperor *Henry,* which do no honour either to him or the Pope, are treated of in *Schwarzen's diff. de Henrici VI. Romana eaque ignominiosa coronatione.* Both the lives of this Pope in *Muratori's script. rer. Ital.* are very short. Compare also *Fabricius in biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. etat.*

S E C T. III.

Of the History of the Popes of the first half of the thirteenth Century.

Sect. I. **I***n*nocent III. was the son of count 1198.
Trafimund of *Segna*. Before his exaltation to the See of *Rome*, he was called *Lotharius*, and was a cardinal. He ascended the papal chair, perfectly qualified to raise both the civil and ecclesiastical monarch to the highest pitch; and the great variety of his transactions, all tending to that point, are unquestionable proofs of his disposition to it. The confusions in the *Roman* empire, and in the kingdom of *Sicily*, upon the death of *Henry* the Sixth, tempted him to the exercise of his talents. His first master-piece of policy was entirely subjecting to his dominion, the city of *Rome*, and the marquisate of *Ancona*, under the title of the Patrimony of *St. Peter*, which it seems had been wrested from him by rapacious tyrants; and he entered into very close connexions with the *Italian* states, whose conduct was certainly open rebellion against the *Roman* empire. In the divided election of an Emperor, Pope *Innocent* declared very zealously for *Otho* IV. and as he could not deprive young *Frederick* of the crown of *Sicily*, he made use of the opportunity to extend the papal jurisdiction at the expence of the imperial rights. At the same time he excommunicated *Alphonsus* X. king of *Gallicia* and *Leon*, and obliged him to renounce his promised marriage. He behaved no better towards *Philip* king of *France*; and these transactions were accom-

panied

- panied with many circumstances, contradictory to each other, and ill-suited to infallibility. He also assumed to himself the honour of making a king of *Armenia*. Young *Frederick* lost his affectionate mother *Constantia*; and his misfortune herein was the greater, as she, probably from a good intention, had appointed the Pope his guardian, which proved extremely injurious both to him and his subjects. The Pope, whose views were obstructed whilst *Philip* held the imperial crown, excommunicated him a second
1199.
1201. time, and jointly with his allies used all endeavours to strengthen the party of his adversary. This was the reason of his confirming, in very haughty terms, the grant of the title of king successively conferred on the duke of *Bobemia*, by both the Emperors. Tho' the conquest of the city of *Constantinople* by the Latins was secretly matter of joy to the Pope, yet he found some specious pretext for censuring it, probably in order to render himself the more respectable. He was no less delighted with the devotion of *Peter*, king of *Arragon*, who would be crowned by the Pope, and in the city of *Rome*, and in return for this trouble subjected his kingdom, as a fief, to the See of *Rome*. After this ensued the differences with the unfortunate king *John* of *England*, in which Pope *Innocent* most evidently betrayed his antichristian spirit. He insisted, that *Stephen Langton*, whom he, to the great prejudice of the king's prerogative, had nominated archbishop of *Canterbury*, should be acknowledged such. King *John* at first opposed this with a noble resolution, and was not discouraged by repeated excommunications, and the discharge of his subjects from their oath of allegiance; but at length, forced by distress, and the danger
of

of seeing both his kingdoms in the hands of the king of *France*, to whom the Pope had granted them in the year 1213, he complied, delivered up his crown to the Pope, and received it again, as a fief of the See of *Rome*. 1207.

It was this probably that contributed not a little to the Pope's declaring in favour of *Philip*, and repealing the excommunication; tho' *Philip* had no great benefit from it, for he died by the hands of a murderer. Hereupon this infallible Pope returned to the side of *Otho*, who preserved his favor by promises and adulations. He was successful in these, for Pope *Innocent* crowned him in the city of *Rome*. But here terminated this harmony. The Emperor, besides other claims, asserted sword in hand his rights to the countess *Matilda's* lands, and to *Apulia* and *Calabria*. 1208.

Pope *Innocent* now thundered out his execrations, and the Emperor being not without enemies in *Germany*, a large party was soon formed for placing on the imperial throne young *Frederick* of *Sicily*, who was then, at least, from political motives excessively devoted to the Pope. 1209.

About the same time he opened another scene by excommunicating *Raymond* count of *Toulouse*, for not persecuting, agreeably to his orders, the innocent *Albigenses*, and granted his territories to *Simon* count of *Montferat*. The pretended heretics were persons influenced by their teachers, and these owed their rise to the Popes themselves. He also held the famous council of *Lateran*, where, besides several sanguinary designs formed against the hereticks, transubstantiation, and auricular confession were passed into articles of faith. At length Pope *Innocent*, whose mind had hitherto been so little turned to peace, died at *Perusa* on a journey, which 1210.

1212,

1215.

which

- which was intended to reconcile the two republics of *Piza* and *Genoa* then at war. He was a man of great learning, but is justly accused of extreme pride and avarice *.
1216. Sect. 2. *Crucius de Sabellis*, a cardinal and a man of learning and merit, having been elected at *Perusa*, took the name of *Honorius III*. He zealously interfered in the affairs of the East, and crowned the new Emperor *Peter* count of *Auxerre*. From this, and possibly other motives,
1217. he endeavoured above all things to move the Emperor *Frederick* to a Crusade; but this Prince thought it more advisable to amuse the Pope with fair words. When he came to *Italy*, he and his consort were crowned by *Honorius*, in return for which he yielded to him the inheritance of
1219. *Matilda*. But he entertained notwithstanding a perpetual jealousy of the Emperor *Frederick*, and
- 1220.

* *Innocent* has left behind him several writings of various contents, which are printed together, but not completely. The most correct list of them is in *Cave's histor. liter.* Compare also *Egg's pontif. doct.* *Baluzius* has filled two volumes with his letters. Some have since been added, of which see *Cave* and *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. etat.* Of the disputes relating to the German empire, the best account is to be found in the *Origin Guelfic.* Concerning the English disputes, see *Wilkins' Concil. Britan.* *Wharton Angl. sacr.* and *Rapin's history.* The history of Popery deserves also to be compared here. We have a very circumstantial and useful account of the life of Pope *Innocent*, by an anonymous author, the most correct edition of which is to be met with in the first volume of this Pope's letters by *Baluzius*; in *Muratori scriptor. rer. Italic*; and in *Carusi biblioth. sicul.* *Bernard Guido's* shorter account is in *Muratori Gaufredi's* poetical panegyrick in *Lefer's histor. poet. med. ævi.* The moderns do not afford so much as one particular writer of any importance, tho' from the materials extant an able hand might compile an excellent work. The account of *Innocent's* destiny after death may be learned from *Pagi Breviar. gest. pontif. Rom.*

tho' he would not risque an open rupture, he 1221.
 aided and protected the rebels against him.
 Besides, the Emperor's marriage with the heirefs 1223.
 of the kingdom of *Jerusalem*, extremely cha-
 grined the Pope. He had also many quarrels
 with the city of *Rome*, which were carried so far, 1225.
 that he was obliged for some time to withdraw
 from the city. The misunderstandings with the 1226.
 imperial court, continued in the mean time to
 encrease; but the Pope's death prevented a total 1227.
 rupture*.

Sect. 3. His successor was *Ugo* or *Ugolinus*,
 of the family of the counts of *Anagni* and *Seg-*
na, also a relation of Pope *Innocent III.* and car-
 dinal-bishop of *Ostia*, very far advanced in years
 and full of zeal for the dignity of his chair.
 He took the name of *Gregory IX.* and made it
 his first business to sollicit the Emperor *Frede-*
rick for the performance of the promised Cru-
 sade; to which this Prince not hearkening, an 1228.
 excommunication followed, and was repeated.
 The Emperor, little moved at the injustice of
 the Pope, undertook, on his own account, an
 expedition into the East, in which he gained
 great reputation; but in the eyes of the haughty
 Pope this only aggravated his crime, and he
 made use of the name of *John King of Jeru-*
salem, the Emperor's father-in-law, to commit
 any devastations in the hereditary states of *Italy.* 1229.

* Among the many writings left by *Honorius*, and men-
 tioned by *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* the
 most remarkable are his *Ordo Romanus*, inserted by *Mabil-*
lon in his *Musæum Italicum*; the *Liber Censualis* in *Muratori*
antiquit. Ital. med. ævi; the fifth collection of decretals;
 in which are contained his ordinances; and several letters
 specified by *Cave histor. liter. Muratori* in the third vo-
 lume of *Scriptor. rer. Ital.* inserts *Bernard Guido's* life of
 Pope *Honorius*, and p. 570. that of an unknown author.

However, the victorious Emperor, and his faithful friends in *Rome*, who were powerful and formidable to the Pope, soon altered his schemes.

1230. A peace was concluded, which the Pope, of all others, least intended to observe. His policy induced him to close with the jealous cities of *Lombardy*, and carefully to inflame the animosities of the two parties of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines*, which then took rise, and caused such effusion of blood, reducing *Italy* to the most deplorable misery. Here the Pope distinguished his malignant spirit no less than in his rage
1231. against the pretended hereticks; and in his fruitless endeavours for reconciling the *Greek* and *Latin* churches at the expence of the former. None
1232. could be better acquainted with the Pope's character than the *Romans*. It was therefore no wonder they valued the honour of his presence
1234. so little, as to force him to leave their city; and excommunication, or to speak more properly, a superstitious dread of that *Brutum Fulmen*, was the only expedient whereby the Pope could restore his peace at *Rome*. In the mean time it
1238. was the Emperor's good fortune to deserve excommunication a second time. He was now proclaimed an Anti-christ and an Atheist; and a new gospel was promulged throughout *Europe*, promising, that whoever assisted in dethroning the Emperor *Frederick* should inherit the kingdom of heaven. It was then that the magnanimity of this Prince was seen in its full lustre. He defended himself with a proper spirit, and demonstrated to the world, that amidst all his advantages, his ears had ever been open to proposals of peace. He had even made them by his worthy brother-in-law *Rickard* earl of *Cornwall*. But it was not natural for Pope *Gregory*

to hearken to equity. His injustice was to be confirmed by a council. But most of the prelates who were prepared to be the instruments of his malice, fell into the hands of the brave *Ennius*, who committed them to safe custody. It was *Gregory's* good fortune to die before something worse befel him *.

1241.

Sect. 4. The Emperor allowed his prisoners a freedom of election. They were at first divided: But afterwards chose *Godfrey* Bishop of *Sabina*, a native of *Milan*, who took the name of *Cælestine* IV. His good dispositions towards the Emperor made it a misfortune to that Prince, that he was taken off before his consecration on the eighteenth day of his pontificate †.

Sect. 5. Nineteen months passed before the cardinals, who were divided by a spirit of party, could agree in the election, tho' the Emperor *Frederick* urged them to dispatch; and to promote it, a second time released the cardinals

1242.

* This Pope too was a diligent writer; collections of his works have been published by *Pamelius* and *Vossius* the canon of *Liege*. His letters have been published very irregularly, as may be seen in *Fabricius biblioth. Græc.* and *biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* and *Cæve's histor. Lat. Script. eccles.* The *Libri* five decretals collected under his inspection by *Raym. de Pennaforti* are sufficiently known. As the greatest light here is derived from the history of the Emperor *Frederick*, the writers of the history of the *German* empire, especially *Muratori's* history of *Italy*, must be consulted, tho' the latter, at least in expressions, is not so void of religious prejudices as an historian should be. See also *Harenberg's* little piece *de secta non timentium deum.* Compare *Wadding Annal. minor.* and *Barbosa* in *colleç. docç. in jus pontif.* and *Muratori Script. rer. Italic.* delivers two lives of this Pope by *Guido* and the cardinal of *Aragon*.

† The life of this Pope has been written by *Anton. Nigrini* and *Bonaventura Castilio*, and the former has also published some letters of his, see *Sagittarius's* *introd. in histor. eccles.*

- who were his prisoners. At last *Innocent IV.* was chosen. He was before called *Simribald*; was of the noble family of *Fieschi* in *Genoa*, and cardinal-priest, by the title of *St. Laurence* in *Lucina*, a man of inflexible obstinacy in the pursuit of his ambitious views. Tho' at first in the affair of the inhabitants of *Viterbo*, he gave no great proofs of amity towards the Emperor:
1244. Yet by the pacific advances of the latter, an agreement was actually concluded; but the intemperate spirit of the Pope soon violated it. Not being secure at *Rome*, or in any part of *Italy*, he removed to *Lyons*, and there held the
1245. celebrated council. The imperial ambassadors who attended, strongly confuted the extravagant accusations brought against their master; but notwithstanding this, the Emperor was solemnly declared to have forfeited his empire, and to be excommunicated from the communion of the church. *Frederick* indeed received no damage from this sentence; but it was dreadful to see the misery to which many thousands were reduced in *Germany* by a new and illegal election of another Emperor, and by the violences committed in the revolted cities of *Italy*; in all which the Pope was the only one insensible of the operations of divine justice. On the demise of the Emperor *Frederick*, *Innocent* repaired
1250. to *Italy*, and resided at *Perugia*, where he excommunicated the Emperor *Conrad* for refusing to deliver up to him his hereditary dominions as a papal fief, forfeited by the Emperor *Frederick*, and carried his pretensions so far as to offer *Sicily* sometimes to one Prince, and sometimes to another, to the detriment of them all. He was returned to *Rome* when the Emperor *Con-*
1253. *rad* died. The *Swabian* family losing in him its chief

chief support, *Innocent* could, with the fairer prospect of success, undertake the conquest of *Naples*. In the mean time the Almighty summoned him before his tribunal*.

C H A P. II.

Of the History of the P A P A C Y.

SECT. I. **F**ROM the transactions hitherto related it sufficiently appears, that in this period, the papal power and grandeur rose to the highest pitch. The foundation of this formidable structure was the doctrine, that the Bishops of *Rome*, as successors of *St. Peter*, and vicegerents of Christ, have all power both in heaven and earth; and are in no respect subject to any Prince. This became from the time of *Innocent III.* a funda-

* It is false that *Innocent* was the inventor of the golden rose. But it is true that the cardinals owe their red hats to him. It is observable, that contrary to the ordinance of Pope *Gregory VII.* he allowed the *Slavonians* the use of their mother-tongue in the performance of divine service, and passed a decree relating to the administration of the kingdom of *Portugal*. Of his writings and letters, great numbers of which still remain, see *S. Carolo, biblioth. pontif. Fabricius in biblioth. Greek and biblioth. lat. med. & infim. etat. Oudin. com. de script. eccles.* and especially *Cave histor. liter.* In *Baluzius's Miscellan.* are the lives of this Pope, by *Nicolas de Curbio* and *Bernard Guidi's*. Both are also in *Muratori Script. rer. Ital.* *Paul Paufa* has wrote an *Italian* history of this Pope. *Frederici* also makes mention of him in the history of the family of *Fieschi*.

mental article, and whoever presumed to contradict it were accursed as hereticks.

Sect. 2. The great object of attention was to establish and enlarge the supremacy over the whole church, in its utmost extent. In order to this a power was asserted of making articles of faith; and great zeal was used to subject all ecclesiastical persons immediately to the See of *Rome*.

Sect. 3. With respect to the latter, the Bishops of *Rome* were not satisfied with depriving Princes of the right of investiture, and arrogating to themselves the confirmation of the newly elected, as indispensibly requisite, but they assumed the disposal of the most profitable benefices as the surest means of providing for their creatures, and thereby promoting their own advantage. Some of these they usurped by the name of Reservations; others by that of Provisions, and thereby provoked the most bitter complaints, especially in *Germany* and *England* *.

Sect. 4. Their next attempt, which was now pushed with vigor, was to subject to themselves Princes and their kingdoms and states. The argument made use of was, that the splendor of their dignity was to the majesty of the Emperors and Kings, as the effulgence of the sun to the borrowed light of the moon; and therefore they demanded and extorted from crowned heads the most extravagant marks of respect and most debasing humiliations. Having proceeded thus far, they assumed the right of conferring regal dignity, and particularly

* See the *Histoire du droit public. eccles. Franc.* and *Mosheim instit. hist. eccles.* p. 506.

presumed to consider the imperial crown as absolutely at their disposal; and by the pretenders they set up, kindled perpetual confusions in the *Roman* empire. They disposed of entire kingdoms, provinces and countries; others they converted into papal fiefs, of which the new vassals might easily be deprived under pretence of felony. They excommunicated Emperors, Kings and Princes on the slightest pretence; laid their dominions under an interdict, and even discharged their subjects from the most sacred obligation of their oath of fidelity. They even stirred up sons to rebellion against their fathers, and supported them in their impiety. They interfered in the family concerns of Princes; broke the sacred band of marriage, and daily invented many other methods of weakening their prerogatives.

Sect. 5. Among the measures which conduced most effectually to render the Pope supreme governor of all Christendom, and to centre the riches of this world in the treasury of the church, the Crusades deserve a principal place, especially after the clergy began to preach them up against those unhappy persons called Hereticks, and their kind protectors.

Sect. 6. The support of all this usurpation was not a little forwarded by the establishment of the inquisition; and the confirmation of *Gratian's* collection of canon laws, add to this the practice of canonization, as an excellent means to secure constancy in the faith of the *Romish* church, to enrich the papal treasury, and to extend their power to the disposal even of celestial crowns. The new religious and military orders assisted likewise in rendering their patron formidable.

SECT. 7. These circumstances may serve likewise to account for the extension of the Pope's temporal power. He not only subdued *Benevento*, and a great part of the territories belonging to the countess *Matilda*, but made himself master of the city of *Rome*, tho' neither of the Emperors of those times, nor their successors, who were lawful sovereigns, ever gave their consent to it, or receded from their right, which indeed was unalienable. However, the incessant tumults of the citizens of *Rome* show, that they were not perfectly happy under their pastoral staff.

SECT. 8. The friendship of the *Norman* kings in *Sicily*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, was of eminent use for this purpose, and the unseasonable countenance and protection which some of the most despicable Popes met with from the kings of *France*, contributed likewise a share.

SECT. 9. If the Emperors of *Rome* vigorously opposed any encroachments on their privilege in the election of a Pope, the Popes were no less attentive to undermine them; and at last they so far succeeded, that the Emperor's confirmation of the election of a Pope was no longer thought of. The Anti-popes, as they are called, are undeniable evidences of the former.

SECT. 10. The disturbances with which the election itself was attended, occasioned new ordinances, limiting the right of election to the cardinals alone.

SECT. 11. No certain time or place was determined for this important transaction. On the other hand the Pope was solemnly consecrated and crowned; but not three times. That the *fella-stercoraria*

stercoraria was used at taking possession of the Lateran is certain*.

Sect. 12. The cardinals now obtained those privileges, which they still enjoy, and the red hat was given them as an ensign of their dignity. Foreign prelates are also found to have been admitted among them †.

Sect. 13. The many excesses of the papal Legates in foreign countries gave occasion to such complaints, that even the papal constitutions became necessary to check those abuses ‡.

Sect. 14. The court of *Rome* was amazingly splendid by the great number of officers belonging to it, and the rites and solemnities observed in public acts of religion**.

Sect. 15. Amidst all this increase of the papal grandeur, divine providence manifested itself in raising up illustrious witnesses to the truth, who saw the abomination of corruption, and opposed it. Some proceeded so far, publicly to declare the Pope to be Antichrist. And indeed the morals of most of the Popes, exclusive of their very corrupt doctrines, their pride, covetousness and ambition, were sufficient to confirm the truth of this charge; yet some of these prelates are now among the saints of that church.

* See *Mabillon commentar in ordin. Rom.* prefixed to the second volume of *Musæum Italicum*, *Pagi breviar.* and *Pfaff institut. histor. eccles.*

† See *Diaconus de eccles. Lateran.* in the second volume of *Mabillon's Musæum Italicum*. *Spanheim oper. Pagi breviar.* and *Mosheim instit.*

‡ One was enacted by Pope *Alexander IV.* who will be mentioned in the sequel. See *Lami's deliciæ.*

** See the valuable writings of Pope *Honorius III.*



B O O K VI.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

P O P E S


From the Time of the Emperor
Richard, to *Frederick III.*

C H A P. I.

The History of the P O P E S of R O M E.

S E C T. I.

The History of the Popes of *Rome* of the
second half of the thirteenth Century.

1254. Sect. I.  HE cardinals having met at
Naples, chose *Renald*, count
of *Segna*, who had been Cardinal-
bishop of *Ostia* and *Ve-*
letri. He took the name of *Alexander IV.* and
earnestly prosecuted the plan of his predecessor,
for excluding from the imperial throne *Con-*
radine,

radine, the only heir of the house of *Hobens-tauff*; and for subjecting to himself the kingdoms of *Sicily* and *Naples*. But in the latter he was obstructed by *Manfred*, a man famous both for his good and ill qualities; who in defiance of an excommunication, pronounced against him, obliged the Pope to acknowledge him king. Besides, the animosities of the *Gibelines* and *Guelphs* were daily spreading in *Italy* with such fury, as not to be extinguished, tho' a Crusade was preached up against the *Gibelines* by order of Pope *Alexander*. Even *Rome* itself was in such commotion that *Alexander* removed his residence to *Viterbo*. He acknowledged the legality of the election of the Emperor *Richard*; and by some concessions endeavoured to reconcile the differences betwixt the *Greek* and *Latin* churches. He protected the mendicant friars against their enemies, and died at *Viterbo* *.

1256.

1261.

Sect. 2. Tho' only eight cardinals were concerned in the election, yet they were so divided as not to agree, till some time after, in the choice of *James*, the patriarch of *Jerusalem*. He was

* Most of the letters of this Pope are to be found in the second and third volume of *Wadding's Annal. ord. minor*; tho' there are more printed, and carefully enumerated by *Cave histor. liter.* Among these the Bull in favour of the Emperor *Richard* is the more remarkable, being a manifest confutation of what most other historians of this kind say concerning *Alexander's* neutrality. Of this Pope we have only two lives; one by *Bernard Guido*, the other by an anonymous author, in *Muratori scriptor. rer. Italic.* See also his history of *Italy*, especially with respect to the animosities of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines*. The war, at that time, almost all honest men declared against. The mendicant friars, and the quarrels among themselves, appertain to church history. See *Mosheim's instit. histor. eccles.*

of

- of a mean extraction, of *Troyes* in *Burgundy*, and under the name of *Urban IV.* trod in all the steps of his predecessor. He began with *Manfred*, who by marrying his daughter *Constantia* to prince *Peter* of *Arragon*, had aggravated his offence. The enterprises of *Henry* king of *England* upon *Sicily* being defeated, this fine kingdom fell to *Charles* of *Anjou*. The *Gibelines* had the upper hand in *Italy*, and the Pope was obliged to remove from *Rome* to *Orvieto*, and to suffer the said *Charles* to be made a senator of *Rome*. *Urban* instituted the festival of *Corpus Christi*, and died at *Perusa*, as a knight-errant. He was desirous of arbitrating between the Emperor *Richard* and his antagonist, but could not fairly carry his point*.
1262. Sect. 3. After some months the cardinals at *Perusa* elected *Clement IV.* His name was *Guido Grosz*, a native of *S. Gilles*, in Lower *Languedoc*, eminently versed in the civil and canon law. He had formerly been married, and brought up two daughters, but afterwards he devoted himself to the church, in which, after having obtained some bishopricks in *France*, he at last became
1263. 1264. 1265.

* Besides a description of the *Holy Land*, not yet printed, and a doubtful metaphrasis of psalm i. there are letters of this Pope in *Harduin's Concil. Baluzen's Concil. Narbon. Martene's* two collections, and other works. See *Fabricius's biblioth. lat. med. & infim. ætat.* See the history of the festival of *Corpus Christi*, in the writers cited by *Fabricius bibliogr. antiquar. Pfaff institut. histor. eccles.* and *Mosheim*, *ibid.* In *Muratori scriptor. rer. Italic.* is a life of this Pope by *Bernhard Guido*, one by an anonymous author, and a poetical one by *Theodorick de Vauxcouleurs*; *Pagi breviar.* mentions one *Gregory* who wrote a like work. Among the moderns see *Marracci biblioth. Marian.*

Cardinal-bishop of *Sabina*. He resided at *Viterbo*, and zealously exerted himself to raise *Charles* count of *Anjou* to the throne of *Sicily*. 1266.
 We learn from the history of those times, that he compleatly attained his ends by the defeat of king *Manfred*, and the murder of *Conradine*. 1268.
 Here we shall only observe, that king *Charles* at his coronation not only took the kingdom as a fief, but became tributary to the Pope; that Pope *Clement* ventured to nominate the said king *Charles* administrator of *Toscana*; and that having failed in his attempt to set up a third Emperor, he endeavoured to resume the process he had already begun, but died before he could finish it; and this whole papal abuse was at an end upon the death of the lawful Emperor *Richard* *.

Sect. 4. It was surprizing that the fifteen cardinals, assembled at *Viterbo* could not agree. 1271.
 Almost two years after, they left the matter by compromise to six of their number, who at last nominated *Thebald* viscount of *Placentia*, arch-deacon of *Lege*, who was at that time engaged in a Crusade, and after his return was consecrated by the name of *Gregory X.* his chief concern being for the *Holy Land*, he endeavoured 1272.

* *Clement* was doubtless a learned and diligent man; but did not write so many books as those imagine who mistake him for an ancient *French* canonist called *Guido Papa*. *Martene* has published most of his letters. Other accounts of them see in *Fabricii biblioth. lat. med. & infim. etat.* and *Cave histor. liter.* Whether Pope *Clement* had any hand in the murder of *Conradine*, and how far, is still contested. *Muratori* also gives us two lives of this Pope in *script. rer. Italic.* Among the moderns *Clement* published at *Lyons*, *Liber de eruditione, &c. Clementis IV.*

- to restore tranquillity to *Europe*. He exhorted the *German* princes to a new election of an Emperor in terms not very becoming. It was
 1273. lucky however, that he made no objection against *Rudolf*, but rather acknowledged him Emperor, and advised *Alphonso* to yield his pretensions. The most important transaction is
 1274. the council he held at *Lyons*, where an union with the *Greek* church was settled, which however was of short duration ; provision was made for a reformation of the church, and a *Crusade*, and among other excellent decrees which passed relating to the election of a Pope, the conclave was first instituted. He died at *Arezzo*,
 1276. and tho' he has not been canonized, he is considered among the blessed of the *Romish* church *.

Sect. 5. *Peter Tarantasia*, a *Dominican* monk, and Cardinal-bishop of *Ostia*, was elected in the first conclave, he stiled himself *Innocent V.* was consecrated at *Rome*, and died †.

Sect.

* In comparison with the other Popes of those days, very few letters of *Gregory* have appeared ; which see in the collections by *Harduin*, *Wadding*, *Martene*, *Rymer*, and others. See also *Cave histor. liter.* Concerning the council at *Lyons*, and the union there settled with the *Greeks*, see besides the collections of councils, *Colonia, histor. liter. de la ville de Lyon*, and *Walch histor. controvers. de process. Sp. sancti* ; and concerning the disputes with the Emperor *Rudolf*, *Struv. corp. histor. Germ.* The history of this Pope is illustrated by the documents of election in *Wadding's Annal. ord. minor. Bernhard Guide*, an anonymous author, and also another life ; which three see in *Muratori in Scriptor. rer. Ital.* Among the moderns Pope *Gregory's* historians are *Silvest. Petra sanctua*, *Petrus Maria Campi*, and *Anton. Maria Bonucci*.

† *Innocent* was before his exaltation an eminent divine and diligent writer ; but the shortness of his
 his

Sect. 6. The new Pope *Hadrian V.* before called *Ottobonus Fieschi*, died at *Viterbo* even before he was consecrated *.

Sect. 7. We know as little of his successor *Petro Juliani*, a learned physician of *Lisbon*, who, after other ecclesiastical preferments, became Cardinal-bishop of *Tusculo*. In history he is called *John XXI.* but some learned judges reckon him only the XXth of that name. He accomplished the desire of his predecessor in annulling the ordinance of Pope *Gregory* concerning the conclave. He used his utmost endeavours for securing the possessions of Christians in the *Holy Land*, and was killed at *Viterbo* by the roof of his apartment falling in upon him †. 1277.

Sect. 8. Though no more than eight cardinals were the electors at *Viterbo*, yet they were so divided, that it was necessary at last to lock them up; and then it was not till after six months, that they chose the cardinal-deacon *John Cajetan Ursini* a nobleman of *Rome*. He assumed the name of *Nicolas III.* He artfully prevailed on the Emperor *Rudolf* to confirm the grants pretended to have been made to the

his papacy is the reason that we have so few of his letters in *Reynold* and *Campi*. See *Frizon Gall. purpur. Altamura biblioth. prædic. Quetif. biblioth. scriptor. prædic. Fabricius biblioth. lat. med. & infim. ætut. Cave histor. liter. and Muratori scriptor. rer. Ital.*

* *Gregory XI.* whom some insert here, is supposititious, as *Pagi* shews in *breviar.*

† Before his promotion to the papal dignity, this *Peter* of *Spain* published several philosophical and medical writings, concerning which see *Anton. biblioth. Hisp. rer.* Some of his letters, when Pope, are still extant. Compare also *Muratori Script. rer. Italic.* and his history of *Italy*, where the derogatory accounts given by monks of this Pope are complained of.

1278. Court of *Rome* by former Emperors, and especially the exarchate of *Ravenna*, and even to get this confirmation ratified by the electors. He was upon ill terms with *Charles* king of *Sicily*, deprived him of the dignity of a senator of *Rome*, prohibited it to be conferred on any foreign prince, and assumed it to himself. He carried nepotism to a most flagrant excess, and died at *Soreano* near *Viterbo*, a great patron of the *Franciscans* *.
- 1280.
1281. Sect. 9. It was a master-piece of policy in *Charles* king of *Sicily*, to get a *French* cardinal, *Simon de Brie*, raised to the papal chair, by the name of *Martin IV.* a man of whom he had so much the command, that he influenced him to excommunicate the *Greek* Emperor *Michael Palæogus*, and to prosecute the *Gibellines* with the utmost fury. But king *Charles* having lost his crown by the *Sicilian Vespero*, the Pope's friendship could be of no other use to him, than in excommunicating *Peter* king of *Arragon*, which was afterwards also extended to *Sicily*; and he granted his hereditary countries to prince *Charles* of *Valois*. Both died the same year †.
- 1282.
- 1285.
1286. Sect. 10. *Honorius IV.* or *James Sabelli*, a native of *Rome* and cardinal-deacon, was distinguished by nothing but this, that he endea-

* Of this Pope very few letters and ordinances are extant. See *Fabricius biblioth. lat. med. & infim. ætat.* The documents relating to the Emperor *Rudolf's* confirmation of the papal possessions in *Italy*, are in *Fontanieni dello dominio temporal*, and have produced great disputes between him and *Muratori*, on occasion of the disturbances at *Comacchi*. See *Struv. corp. histor. Germ.* *Muratori* has two lives of this Pope in *Script. rer. Ital.*

† Some of his letters are still extant as quoted in *Fabricius*. See *Muratori Scriptor. rer. Italic.*

voured by repeated excommunications to hinder the *Spaniards* from retaining the conquest they had made of *Sicily*, and by preaching up *Crusades* to facilitate the conquest of *Arragon* to the *French*. But both were in vain. He prevented a peace between these two crowns, condemned the apostolical brethren, and died at *Rome* *. 1287.

Sect. 11. The new election was very slow. 1288.
It fell on *Hieronimus* of *Ascoli*, Cardinal-bishop of *Preneſte*, and general of the *Minorites*, who took the name of *Nicolas* IV. He crowned *Charles* the lame king of *Sicily*; but this was as ineffectual as the renewal of the excommunication against king *James* and the few islanders who adhered to him. He consulted the honour of his chair, and the aggrandisement of the *Colonna's*, interested himself in behalf of the distressed Christians in the East, and for the conversion of the *Tartars*, and died †. 1290.

Sect. 12. After a disagreement of two whole years among the cardinals at *Perusa*, they elected a very old hermit, *Peter de Morone*, who was consecrated at *Aquila*, and stiled himself *Cælestine* V. He devoted himself entirely to the devotion of *Charles* king of *Naples*, and to gratify him conferred the cardinals hat chiefly upon *Frenchmen*; removed to *Naples* himself; renewed 1292.
1293.
1294.

* See the printed letters of *Honorius* in *Raynald's* and *Wadding's Annals*. Some bulls are in *Nilkins Concil. Britan.* and *Rymer's Act.* *Muratori* gives two lives of him, by *Bernhard Guido* and an anonymous author.

† Most of the theological writings of this Pope mentioned by *Trithemius de script. eccles.* are not in print; and only some of his letters in *Raynald* and *Wadding*. See his life by *Bernhard Guido*, and an anonymous author in *Muratori Script. rer. Italic.* *Wadding's biblioth. ord. minor.* and *Fabricius biblioth. lat. med. & infim. tat.*

the ordinance concerning the conclave, ordered the cardinals to ride upon asses, and exposed himself by so many fooleries, that at last his successor cardinal *Cajetan* prevailed on him not only to publish an ordinance, empowering a Pope to lay down his office, but to corroborate it by his own example. It was no difficulty to persuade him, by the pretence of an immediate revelation from heaven to retire again to his hermitage. His successor suffered him at last to starve in a tower at *Fumone*; and Pope *Clement V.* classed him among the saints*.

Sect. 13. The cardinals held the conclave at *Naples*, where was chosen cardinal *Benedict Cajetan*, who took the name of *Boniface VIII.* a man of intolerable pride and ambition, which passions were supported by his natural craft and the reputation he had of a great civilian. His election was carried as much by his own artifices, as by the policy of *Charles* king of *Naples*. His first publick step was to annul such ordinances of his two predecessors, as had not yet
 1295. passed all the forms; after which he was crowned at *Rome* with great pomp, but not without bloodshed. He next applied himself to improve into practice his principle, that a Pope was superior to all worldly dignities, and authorised to prescribe laws to all crowned heads. He

* All the writings of this Pope were published by *Cælestine Telera*. See his life written by himself in the *biblioth. patr. Petri de Alliaco vita S. Cælestini* in the *Act. Sanct.* Cardinal *Jacob Cajetan vita S. Cælestini in verse in Muratori Scriptor. rer. Italic.* Also his *Officium de sancto Bernard Guido's vita Cælestini*. Others are mentioned by *Sagittarius introd. in histor. eccles.* Among the moderns see *Papebroch. Act. Sanct.* *Helyot histor. des évêques*, and *Fabricius*.

took infinite pains to restore his faithful friend king *Charles* to the possession of *Sicily*; but the Emperor *Frederick* and the *Sicilians* was not to be over-ruled by him: And at length he was obliged to approve of a peace very contrary to his sentiments. To the king of *Arragon*, who lavished adulations on him, he made a grant of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, but the grant was only in words, which proved ineffectual. The noble family of *Colonna* was persecuted so vehemently by him, both in their persons and estates, that he even ordered a Crusade to be preached against them. He entirely demolished the city of *Preneſte*. The Emperor *Albrecht I.* could obtain no confirmation from him, till necessity extorted it from him. The king of *Denmark* having caused the archbishop of *Lunden* to be seized as a rebel, he and his whole kingdom were laid under an interdict. He was likewise at variance with the *Hungarians* about their election of a King. But all this was inconsiderable in comparison with the differences which arose betwixt him and the resolute *Philip the fair*, king of *France*. The causes of this remarkable contest, which commenced at the beginning of this pontificate, and encreased in spite of all endeavours for an accommodation, were as follows. (1) *Boniface's* imperious exhortation to king *Philip*, to conclude a peace with the king of *England*; (2) *Boniface's* converting the abbey of *St. Antonin* into the bishoprick of *Pamiers*, and his arbitrary nomination of the first bishop; (3) the protection he granted to the earl of *Flanders*; (4) his general injunction to the clergy not to pay tribute to their Princes; (5) his attempt to deprive king *Philip* of the regale; (6) king *Philip's* prohibition of carrying any money out of the country;

try ; (7) his orders for foreigners to depart from his dominions ; (8) his proceeding against the Bishop of *Pamiers* whom he seized ; (9) *Boniface's* audacious pretence, that he was impowered to wrest the sceptre and crown out of the hands of Kings ; and (10) his repeated excommunications against the King. After many furious discharges of words and writings on both sides, king *Philip* made solemn complaints, confirmed publicly upon oath, against *Boniface*, that he was a heretick ; neither believed the immortality of the soul, nor the real presence in the eucharist, and maintained fornication to be no sin ; that he practised sorcery, was guilty of simony, and led a profligate life, having committed murders and other crimes ; and as he did not account him a lawful Pope, he demanded a council and another election. To promote this great end, he sent *William de Nogaret* his advocate-general, with some others to *Anagni*, where they seized the Pope and kept him in strict confinement. This time indeed he was delivered by an insurrection of the people, and escaped to *Rome*. But a delirium, which seized him soon after, ended his days. It must further be noted of him, that he instituted the first jubilee, with an injunction for the celebrating it every century. Historians make great complaints of his covetousness and nepotism ; he is also the author of the double crown *.

1303.

S E C T.

* The letters and decrees of this Pope are very numerous, and published by *Wadding*, *Bzovius*, *Cherubini*, *Dacher*, *Rymer* and *Aguirre*. See *Cave histor. liter.* The most remarkable are, the *Liber sextus decretalium*, collected by his order, and now a part of the *Corpus juris canonici* ; the bull for the jubilee year in *Cherubini bullar. magn.*

S E C T. II.

Of the History of the Popes of the fourteenth Century.

Sect. I. **B**enedict XI. before called *Nicolas*, who succeeded *Boniface*, was a *Dominican* and Cardinal-bishop of *Ostia*. He was born at *Trevigi* in *Lombardy*; but whether the son of a peasant or a notary is not agreed. He

magn. The famous ordinance of the Pope's supremacy over Kings in spiritual and temporal matters; the curious letters which passed betwixt him and *Philip*, which see also in *M. Pfaff's institut. hist. eccles.* tho' their genuineness is not without suspicion. For the whole history of this Pope, and particularly his variance with king *Philip*, the following writings, besides those relating to the history of *France*, or to the freedom of the *Gallick* church, may serve either as authorities or helps; cardinal *James Cajeton de electione & coronatione Bonifacii VIII.* *Bernard Guido vitæ Bonifacii*; *Acta inter Bonif. VIII. &c.* and *Philippum pulchrum* collected by *Vigor*; *histoire du differend de Philippe le Bel & de Boniface VIII.* *Rubei Bonifacius VIII.* *Adr. Baillet's histoire des demeles du Pape Boniface VIII. avec Philippe le bel.* and *Alexander's histor. eccles. Nov. Testamen.* more may be seen in *Sagittarius, Introducēt. in histor. eccles.* and *Lelsng's biblioth. historique de la France.* Still shorter and pertinent accounts are given by *Heidegger histor. papatus Osus*, *Burmans's Thesauri antiq. & hist. Ital.* The *histoire du droit publique eccles. François*, and *Muratori's* history of *Italy*, where a particular account may be found of his death. The accounts of father *Brumoi* in the *histoir. de l'Eglise Gallic* are indeed very elegant, but with a palpable mixture of jesuitism. Tho' the famous character of *Boniface intravit ut vulpes, regnavit ut leo, mortuus est ut canis*, cannot be proved to have been a prophecy of Pope *Celestine*; yet it is both ancient and well grounded.

of his own accord redressed all the abuses of *Boniface*, and revoked all his proceedings against the king of *France*. The *Colonna* family were also restored to all they had been deprived of, except the two red hats. He excommunicated only those who had laid hands on Pope *Boniface*. He died soon after at *Perusa*, not without suspicion of poison; and left such a character, that Pope *Clement XII.* was disposed to canonise him*.

Sect. 2. The next election was contested between two parties, one of which declared for an *Italian*, and the other insisted upon a *Frenchman*. The latter artifice prevailed; and king *Philip* gave a masterly specimen of his policy, in not only raising his native subject, *Bertrand de God*, archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, to the pontifical chair, but among other articles, obliging him to remove his residence into *France*; an innovation of the greatest consequence to the church, and to all *Europe*. *Clement V.* which was the name he took, acted up to his promise, and was both consecrated and crowned at *Lyons*. But he soon perceived that he had brought himself into a state of servitude, and was reduced to a mere instrument of *Philip's*. Hence he perfectly reconciled him to the church; reinstated the two cardinals of *Colonna*, and for some years enriched the royal treasury with the ecclesiastical tenths. Tho' he dextrously averted the censure

* Of the many writings of Pope *Benedict*, the only one printed is his *commentar. in caput. v. Matth.* Some letters, and other pieces, are to be found in *Rainald*, *Wadding*, and *Cherubini*. See *Bernhard Guido's Vita Benedicti XI. in Muratori scriptor. rer. Scoti in memoria del beato Benedetto XI. Brumoi l'eglise Gallicane Quetif biblioth. ord. præd.*

of all *Boniface's* proceedings, and even gradually acquitted him of the charges against him; yet it was a sufficient mortification to hear those charges, to suffer *William of Nogaret* to be at his court, and after a slight penance, which was only pronounced, to receive him into favor. He had also much trouble in frustrating the election of *Charles de Valois* to the imperial crown, which king *Philip* his brother passionately desired; and could not without difficulty confirm the election of the Emperor *Henry VII.* After spending some time at *Bordeaux*, and some at *Poitiers*, he at last fixed his residence at *Avignon*, at that time belonging to *Robert*, king of *Apulia*, whom he also crowned there. He excommunicated the republic of *Venice*, and on this occasion made himself master of *Ferrara.* Having for a long time forwarded the unjust process of king *Philip* against the Knights Templars, he procured them to be solemnly condemned at the council of *Vienne.* He appointed indeed four cardinal Legates for crowning the Emperor; but was not at liberty to support *Henry* so effectually as he wished, especially after the latter had put king *Robert* as the head of the *Guelph* party, under the ban of the empire. The *Venetians* were absolved at the price of an hundred thousand florins of gold. After the death of the Emperor *Henry*, *Clement* assumed the power of absolving king *Robert* by virtue of his pretended supremacy over the empire, and the prerogative he claimed in the vacancy of the imperial throne. He appointed this prince vicegerent of the empire, and senator of *Rome*, and declared the Emperor to be only a vassal of his See. However it was not long before *Clement* died at *Roquemaure*, at a juncture

1308.

1309.

1311.

1313.

which occasioned men to acknowledge the hand of that righteous judge, to which the chief of the Templars had made his appeal. He had filled the college of cardinals almost intirely with *Frenchmen* *.

1314. Sect. 3. The *Italian* cardinals exerted themselves at the conclave held at *Carpentras*, to promote a Pope of their own; but the *French* policy counteracted them by manifest violence, protracted the election, and constituted a new
 1316. conclave at *Lyons*, where was chosen *Jacob* of *Ossa*, or of *Cabors*, cardinal Bishop of *Porto*, who

* Besides some sermons and writings of this Pope, not yet published, he left the *Clementine*, or *Liber septimus decretalium*; and the bulls and letters published by *Raynald*, *Wadding*, *Baluze*, *Wilkins*, *Rymer*, and others. See *Fabricius biblioth. lat. med. & infim. ætat. Wharton's adpend.* to *Cave's histor. liter.* In *Dupin's hist. de l'ordr. militair des Templiers*, is a collection of papal instruments, relating to the extirpation of that order. The current account by *Villani* of the manner of *Clement's* election seems to be contradicted by some more ancient writers mentioned by *Muratori script. rer. Italic.* But all agree that the election had too much of artifice, if not palpable deceit, to be strictly lawful. The history of this Pope in *Baluze's vit. pontific. Avignon*, as written by *John*, a canon of *St. Victor* at *Paris*, by *Ptolomæus* of *Lucca*, by *Bernard Guido*, whose works we find in *Muratori script. rer. Italic.* by an anonymous *Venetian* in *Muratori*, and by *Amalr. Aug. de Berry*. In the same work, see also, in order to know the character of this Pope, the letter of the cardinal of *Orsino* in *Baluzius*. Among the moderns, see *Baluze Colonia histor. liter de Lyon Gallia Christian.* by the *Benedictines*. The *histor. du droit ecclæs.* *Brumoi histor. de l'eglise Galluane.* *Berthier's discours sur le pontificat de Clement V.* prefixed to the thirteenth volume of the aforesaid history of the *Gallican church*.

became celebrated by the name of *John XXII*. This prelate having been trained up in the most considerable offices of state under the king of *Apulia*, was thoroughly qualified for promoting the dangerous views of the *French* monarchs. In this light he must be considered, in order clearly to comprehend the whole connection of his conduct. The divided election of an Emperor, in which *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, and *Frederick* of *Austria* were chosen, proved a fair opportunity for the pursuit of his designs. He at first affected a neutrality, but at the same time assumed the right of arbitration in the contest, and constantly insisted that the imperial throne, being in his opinion vacant, the government of the empire was devolved on him. Nor was this all; he declared king *Robert* and *Philip de Valois*, a prince of the blood of *France*, imperial vicars in *Italy*, excommunicated *Visconti*, the worthy duke of *Milan*, and *Frederick* king of *Sicily*, and supported all this with an armed force, in the imperial territories in *Italy*. The small assistance which the Emperor *Lewis* successfully sent to the oppressed *Milanese*, furnished a pretence for a rupture; and Pope *John* in his first process enjoined him under the penalty of excommunication to recede from his pretensions. The Emperor *Lewis* took shelter under the merits of his case, and in the Diet at *Nuremberg*, solemnly appealed to a general council. On the other hand Pope *John*, in the second process, issued a fresh admonition; and in the third pronounced him excommunicate. At the same time *John* incurred the hatred of the whole *Franciscan* order by his sentence in the disputes of the mendicant friars, especially concerning the poverty of Christ. This induced them to declare on the

1320.

1323.

1324.

- Emperor's side ; and persons of eminent learning, who detested the Pope as a heretic, employed their pens in defence of the imperial dignity, and against the temporal usurpations of the Pope. Among these deserve to be mentioned with honour, *William Occam*, *Marsilius of Padua*, *John of Ghent*, and *Ulrick Hangor*. *Lewis* at *Franckfort* renewed his appeal to a future council ; and Pope *John* in his fourth process endeavoured to deprive him of all the right he derived from his election : But he failed of this main scope, which was to establish a prince of *France* on the imperial throne by a new election. *Lewis* in the Diet still
1325. persisting in his appeal, and being herein warmly seconded by the states. In the mean time the distress to which the *Gibelines* had been driven by the Pope in *Italy*, induced *Lewis* to go thither,
1327. and at first he had great success. The repeated excommunication of the Emperor, and all his adherents in the fifth process, did not discourage him from coming to *Rome*. Here he assumed the imperial crown, which furnished the Pope with matter for a new excommunication. But
1328. *Lewis* publicly condemned Pope *John* as a heretic, and nominated in his room, *Peter Rainalucci*, a minorite greatly esteemed, who called himself *Nicolas V*. But the good effects of this magnanimous step were frustrated by the practices of the *French*, for hastening the Emperor's departure from *Italy* ; on which Pope *John* in the sixth process again renewed the excommunication, and carrying all before him in *Italy*, rejected every proposal of peace, and had the satisfaction of seeing his competitor *Nicolas* at his feet, who died afterwards in confinement. Amidst all this glory *John* could not but feel the yoke of *French* thralldom. And he sunk in the

the esteem of all good men, by his heretical doctrine concerning the beatific vision in a future state of felicity, of which he was publickly convicted, and obliged to retract his opinion, tho' possibly not till after his death. At last he died at *Avignon* with the character of the most scandalous avarice, for the gratification of which, besides his flagrant simony, he invented the *Annates* *.

1334.

SECT. 4. The succeeding election had a threatening appearance, but soon closed in fa-

* Besides some sermons, and other treatises, Pope *John* left behind him a great number of letters and decretals, of which see *Wharton* and *Ger.* in *Adpendic.* of *Cave's histor. lit.* and *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* Among these the principal are, his *extravagantes* in general, of which see *Mastricht's histor. jur. eccles.* the Bull *C. v. ne sede vacante*, which is in *Rainald. in annal. eccles.* The *processus contra Ludovicum*, published by *Herwart* and *Martene*, the *retractatio questionis, num: animæ sanctorum non fruuntur Dei visione ante judicium externum* in *Baluzé's vit. pontific. Avignon.* His difference with the Emperor *Lewis* is best set forth in *Herwart's Ludovic. imp. defensio* & *Gewold's apologia pro Ludovico Bawaro.* Concerning the controversy of the *Franciscans* with Pope *John*, particularly on the poverty of Christ, see *Wadding's annal. ord. minor. Mosheim institut. histor. ord. eccles.* and *Walch's miscellan. sacr.* and for the Pope's heresy concerning the presence of God, see *Lanmoi de schol. Mosheim Pfaff. institut. histor. eccles.* and especially *Muratori de paradiso.* The account of the life of this Pope in *Baluzius vit. pontific. Avignon*, and *Muratori scriptor. rer. Italic.* were written by *Bernhard Guido*, *John S. Victor*, *Ptolemy of Lucca*, *Amalric*, *Peter of Herentals*, and an anonymous author. Among the moderns, besides other known writers, and the celebrated *James Fontano*, is to be read the *histoire de l'église Gallicane.* Of the Anti-pope, *Nicolas V.* some pieces are to be found in *Martene thes. anecdot.* See *Fabricius in biblioth. med. & infim. ætat.*

your of cardinal *James Furnier* of *Languedoc*, a *Cistercian* monk of mean extraction. He took the name of *Benedict XII*. The accounts we meet with of him are greatly to his honour, especially that both in doctrine and administration of his office, he amended the faults of his predecessor. He would have proceeded further, both in returning to *Italy*, and concluding to his heart's content the accommodation which he had repeatedly sought, with the Emperor *Lewis*. But the mischievous policy of *Philip* hindered both. The aspersions cast on his memory are only the effect of his zeal in restoring order and discipline in the monastic state *.

1335.

1341.

1342.

Sect. 5. The new Pope was *Peter Roger* of *Limoges*, now *Clement VI*. He was first a *Benedictine*, and rose by several ecclesiastical degrees to the highest. It was not only his resolution to go beyond his predecessors, in applying the papal power and authority to the detriment of nations and churches; but he added to his zeal for the crown of *France*, a particular at-

* Among the printed pieces of this Pope, the most remarkable are the *Decretum de animabus separatis*: and the reformations of the several religious orders, for which, and his other writings, compare *Visch. biblioth. Cisterc. Wharton, Fabricius*. Of the eight lives of Pope *Benedict*, in *Baluzius vit. pontif. Avignon.* and *Muratori script. rer. Ital.* the five first and the eighth are the work of an unknown hand; the sixth is taken from the additions to *Ptolemy of Lucca*; and the seventh is written by *Herentals*. Among the moderns, see *Barthier hist. de l'église Gallic.* and the *histoir. du droit eccléf.* Among all his good qualities, the affair with the sister of the celebrated *Petrarch*, shews him to have been but a man. See *Pfaff. institut. histor. eccléf.*

tachment

tachment to the family of *Luxemburg*, and the then Margrave *Charles* of *Moravia*, to whom he had formerly been preceptor. Hence the Emperor *Lewis* found him inexorable, and the great condescensions of that prince, from his love of tranquillity, were only returned with repeated excommunications, and the demand of more ignominious terms. At the same time *Edward* king of *England* was greatly aggrieved by the reservations and provisions with which *Clement* loaded the most considerable Sees of that kingdom. *Henry*, the excellent elector of *Mentz*, having been forced from his archbishoprick, Pope *Clement* at length prevailed, that his favourite *Charles*, who by many previous servile promises to the Pope, had sacrificed some of the rights of the empire, was chosen king of the *Romans*, tho' it was of little use to him, whilst *Lewis* lived. The insurrection under *Nicolas Rienzi* at *Rome* might have proved of dangerous consequence to the Pope, had the courage of that fanatick been equal to his extravagant imagination. The revolution in the kingdom of *Naples* was a more serious affair; and it is easily discerned, that the purchased alienation of the county of *Avignon* to Pope *Clement* had a great share in the protection granted to the debauched *Joan*. In order to allay the violent discontents of the *Romans*, on account of the long absence of the Pope, *Clement* reduced the jubilee to every fifty years. Soon after a quarrel was breaking out betwixt *Clement* and the Emperor *Charles*; but he died very seasonably, and left a very indifferent character, as a man of gallantry, intolerable in his pride, and

1343.

1344.

1346.

1347.

1348.

1350.

1352.

ex-

extravagant in his interested views for his family*.

Sect. 6. As the cardinals had reason to hasten the new election, so they bound themselves by oath to the observance of a capitulation calculated to increase their own power, dignity and revenues. They promoted *Stephen Aubert*, a *Frenchman*, at that time Cardinal-bishop of *Astia*. He had no sooner solemnly entered upon his office, by the name of *Innocent VI.* than he declared the above-mentioned compact, to which he had himself sworn, to be invalid and null, and put a speedy check to some abuses resulting from the reservations, and the long residence of prelates at his court. He instituted the festival of the holy spear, caused the Emperor *Charles IV.* to be crowned, and employed his Legatees to appease the tumults in the ecclesiastical state.

1354.
1358.

* The only writings of this Pope in print are a treatise on ecclesiastical power, some speeches, letters and decretals, published by *Raynald*, *Baluze*, and *Wadding*. See *Wharton* and *Ger. in adpendic. to Cave's histor. liter. Oudin comm. de script. eccles. and Fabricius biblioth. lat. med. & infm. etat.* *Raynald annal. eccles.* has the bull for granting to the king of *France* the use of the cup in the sacrament, at a time when it had not yet been expressly forbid by any ecclesiastical law. See the deed of conveyance of the county of *Avignon* in *Leibnitz codex. de jur. Gent.* Pope *Clement's* care for the Cardinals in conclave appears in a particular ordinance in *Cherubine bullar. magn.* The remarkable history of *Rienzi* is written by *Du Cerceau.* and *Bois peaux.* There are only six ancient accounts of the life of this Pope in *Baluze vit. pontif. Avignon,* and in *Muratori script. rer. Ital.* The authors of the first, second, third and sixth, are unknown, the fourth is taken from the well-known ecclesiastical history of *Ptolemy of Lucca,* and the fifth is by *Heren-tals.* See also the *histroir. du droit eccles. Francois Bertier histoir. de l'eglise Gallie. Muratori's history of Italy.*

He

He had some disputes with *France* and the Emperor, relating to the tenths, and died in an advanced age, leaving his relations extremely well provided for*.

1362.

Sect. 7. The dissentions among the cardinals ran so high, that at length they chose a man who was not of their body; but of a good family in *France*. His original name was *William Grimoardi*. He was abbot of the convent of *St. Victor* at *Marseilles*, and at this time happened to be in *Italy*. After his return he was solemnly inaugurated by the title of *Urban V*. The most memorable of his transactions are, that *Charles IV*. had an interview with him at *Avignon*; that he had the courage to return to *Rome*, where he received the Emperor *Charles*, and crowned his consort *Elizabeth*; that he entered into a religious compact with the *Greek* Emperor *John Paleologus*; which was afterwards treated with contempt by the *Greeks*; that contrary to all expectation, he removed again to *Avignon*, and there died. He is said to be the first who wore the triple crown. Endeavours have long been used, but to no purpose, to procure him a place among the saints †.

1363.

1365.

1367.

1369.

1370.

Sect.

* Besides the letters published by *Raynald*, *Wadding*, *Baluze*, and others, we find a considerable collection, of which *Zenobius* is author, in *Martene's Thesaur. anecdot.* *Rymer* has several Bulls in his *act. public.* Concerning his Bull for the said festival, see *Wharton* in *Baluzius vit. pontific. Avernion.* and *Muratorii's script. rer. Italic.* may be found the lives of this Pope by an anonymous author, by a canon of *Bonn*, by the author of the supplement to *Ptolemy* of *Lucca*, and by *Peter Herentals*. See the *histoire du droit ecclesiastique Francois*, and *Berthiers histoire de l'eglise Gallicane*.

† There are but few letters and publick pieces of this *Urban* extant, which see in *Wharton's Adpendic.* to *Cave's*

Sect. 8. After a short interval Gregory XI. before called *Peter Roger* ascended the chair: He was a son of *William* earl of *Beaufort*, and nephew to Pope *Clement VI.* The great commotions in *Italy*; the encrease of the discontents in the ecclesiastical state, the exhortations of St. *Katherine of Sienna*, and possibly other motives; induced this Pope to think of removing his residence to *Rome.* The disturbances still continuing in *Italy*, he chiefly resided at *Anagni*, and had already purposed to return to *Avignon*; when he died at *Rome.* He opposed *Wickliff*, and in his will he very frankly acknowledged his fallibility*.

Sect.

Cave's histor. liter. and *Schoettgen biblioth. lat. med. & infim. ætat.* The most important bull relates to the union concluded between the *Greeks* and *Latins*, which see in *Allatius de consensu eccles. orient. & occident.* The *Latin* verses concerning the waxen *Agnus Dei's*, which are to be met with in *Lambertini de canonis.* are by no means master-pieces. In *Baluzius's* collection so often mentioned, are the lives of Pope *Urban* by an unknown author; by a canon of the choir of *Bonn* by *Peter von Herrentals*, and by *Ayerius* of *Pyraci.* But *Muratori in Scriptor. rer. Italic.* has given besides these also a piece from the supplement to *Ptolemy* of *Lucca*, and one by an anonymous author, which was before made known by *Masson.* *Sagittarius* takes notice in his *Introd. in hist. eccles.* and *S. Carolo in biblioth. pontif.* that *Francis Romany* and *Anton. Ruffi* composed the life of this Pope. *Baluze's* remarks are the most useful helps towards the history of Pope *Urban*, with which compare *Bertheir's histor. de l'Eglise Gallicane.* See also *Theodor. von Heim's vitæ pontificum à Nicolao IV. ad Urbanum V. in Eccard's corp. hist. med. ævi.*

* See the remarkable will of Pope Gregory in *Daber's Spicileg.* In this and other collections are also letters, bulls and publick instruments of his. See *Wharton's*

Sect. 9. The death of Pope *Gregory* occasioned that vehement and lasting schism, which threw the western church into the utmost confusion. The spirit of division which formerly possessed the cardinals, has so infected the historians, that it is extremely difficult to trace the real motives and circumstances of these transactions. We must rest satisfied with those particulars which are confirmed by the agreement of credible accounts. The cardinals who had attended *Gregory* to *Italy*, and who were mostly *French*, held the conclave at *Rome*, where their divisions soon broke out. The *Romans*, for very good reasons desired a Pope, who might be under no necessity of leaving them. At last the election was declared in favour of *Bartholomew Prignano*, at that time Archbishop of *Bari*, in the kingdom of *Naples*. He entered on his dignity by the name of *Urban VI.* and with a very indiscreet severity against the cardinals themselves, to which he added the gross folly of affronting his patroness, *Joan* Queen of *Naples*. Even the cardinals who had promoted him, removed from *Rome*, and held some conferences first at *Anagni*, and afterwards at *Fundi*, till finding all the representations disregarded by the Pope, they excommunicated him, and chose *Robert* cardinal of *Geneva*. He assumed the name of *Clement VII.* and first resided at *Naples*; but afterwards, accompanied by the cardinals of his party, removed to *Avignon*. Thus

Wharton's Adpend. and *Fabricius.* The five ancient lives of this Pope collected by *Beluzius* in *vit. pontif. Avenien* have been re-printed by *Muratori* in *Script. rer. Italic.* who added *Itinerarium Gregorii XI.* by the monk *Peter Amelius.* See *Baluze's* remarks and *Berthier's* *histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane.*

the church had two heads; and the several princes of *Europe* soon sided with one or the other, as their system of policy led them. *Urban* was acknowledged by the empire of *Germany*, *England*, *Hungary*, *Bokemia*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Prussia*, *Norway*, *Holland*, and far the greatest part of *Italy*. *Clement* on the other hand was supported by *France*, *Spain*, *Naples*, *Scotland*, *Lorain* and *Savoy*. Both Popes were men of bad characters, and the evil consequences of this division were soon felt. Each excommunicated the other; tho' *Urban* was unquestionably the worse man of the two. His ambition led him to endeavour at procuring the kingdom of *Naples* for his nephew, a profligate young man. But previously he aided *Charles* king of *Durazzo* in his attempt to deprive queen *Joan* of her kingdom. However his iniquitous designs were soon discovered, and he was reduced to a kind of imprisonment. On his release he removed to *Genoa*, and ordered the five cardinals to be put to death, whom before upon a bare groundless suspicion of treason, he had cruelly tortured. This proved accidentally a great help to *Clement's* party, especially when after the death of king *Charles*, fortune favoured *Lewis* duke of *Anjou*, whom queen *Joan* had nominated her successor. *Urban* likewise lost ground by his manifest disinclination to any offers of peace. He intended a journey to *Naples*, which he was obliged to suspend, and in the midst of his hopes of enriching himself by the jubilee year, now reduced to three and thirty years. He died before the commencement of it, probably by poison. It will be proper here to insert some general observations upon this, which, in ecclesiastical history is called

The great western Schism. It begun by the election of *Clement VII.* and lasted till the council of *Constance* inclusively. For tho' *Benedict XIII.* and afterwards *Clement VIII.* for some time refused to submit, their party was too small to be accounted a schism. The question is not yet decided which of the two Popes of *Rome*, or of *Avignon*, was the lawful one. The modern papists, some *French* excepted, declare for the former. If the case is to be determined by the maxims of the canon law, the whole turns on the election of Pope *Urban*, whether it be legal and valid; a question which cannot be thoroughly answered, even from the records extant. To me they seem to have taken the safest way who dispute the legality of both, there being unquestionably in both elections such flaws as would in other cases annul them. However, the consequences of this division were very memorable. The whole west rn church became gradually separated; and this extended even to single families, and occasioned much bloodshed. Then the excessive power of the Popes, especially over princes, received a violent shock. Moreover, the necessity of the doctrine then publicly acknowledged, and afterwards carried into practice, of the Pope's being subject to councils, was now irretragably demonstrated. Another effect was, that the yoke of Popery came to be severely felt, when distresses obliged them to multiply the reservations and burdens upon the possessions of the church. In the last place, the whole church was thrown into such confusion, that many persons of understanding departed from the superstitious doctrines of Popery, and passionately desired a reformation, whilst others were at a loss how to procure peace

for their anxious minds in a church so governed. From all which we justly infer, that this great schism may be accounted among the just judgments of heaven on the Papacy*.

Sect. 10. The great hopes that *Urban's* death would end the division, or at least forward a reconciliation, were soon disappointed by the conclave of the cardinals then present in *Rome*. Pride and ambition being the motives on which they chiefly acted, it was no wonder their dissentions continued. At last they chose *Peter Tomacelli*, a *Neapolitan* Cardinal-priest of *St. Anastasia*, who stiled himself *Boniface IX.* His determined resolution was to maintain his dignity; and he in effect shewed more prudence

* See the documents in *Duboulay histor. acad. Paris*, and in *Martene Thes. anecdotor. Theodore von Niem's historia de schismate sui temporis gravissimo inter Papas & Antipapas*, to which add the complaints of *Nic. Clemagis*, *Henry Hassen*, and others, on the subject of this schism, which I omit as the contents are not properly historical. Among the moderns, see *Dupuy's histoire du Schisme*, as in the *Paris* edition of his *Traitez concernant l'histoire de France*. *Maimburg's histoire du grand Schisme d'Occident* is not impartially written. See also *Pfaff's institut. hist. eccles.* and the *histoire du droit publique ecclesiastique François*. For the history of the two elections on which the whole turns, see the pieces mentioned by *Mzsheim* in *Institut. histor. eccles.* Concerning this, and the lives of both Popes in general, besides *Dupuy*, see *L'ensart histor du Concile de Pise*, *Berther's histor de l'Eglise Gallicane*, and *Muratori* in the history of *Italy*. Of the writings and documents of Pope *Urban*, see *Wharton's Apendic. to Cave's histor. liter.* *Muratori* in *Scriptor. rer Ital.* gives an anonymous life of Pope *Urban* from a vatican manuscript and *Thomas Bishop of Acerno's Opusculum de creatione Urbani VI. S. Carlo biblioth. pontif.* mentions *Angeli Accajoli* and *Peter Boninségui*, as historians of this Pope: but I doubt whether their works were ever printed.

than his predecessor in supporting young *Ladislaus* king of *Naples*. On the other hand *Clement* 1390.
 crowned *Lewis* duke of *Anjou*, who however was not able to support himself. Both Popes renewed the excommunication against each other and their friends; and were more averse to peace than any of their adherents. Many from a sense of the evils of this separation, made proposals for restoring tranquillity. The most famous among these were the three proposals of the university of *Paris*, that both should resign, or that the matter should be left to arbitration, or that a general council should decide it. 1392.
 Neither of the Popes was inclined to this, tho' they very artfully acted another part, and endeavoured to deceive each other. *Boniface* not being safe in *Rome*, went to *Perusa*, and there took all possible care of his kindred. *Clement* 1393.
 also died at *Avignon* *. 1394.

* Some letters of *Clement* are published by *Baluzius* and *Wadding*, see *Oudin com. de Script. eccles. Baluzius in vit. pontific. Avenoniens.* has an account of the life of Pope *Clement* by an unknown author; another by *Herentals*, and *Narratio. de morte Clementis & electione Benedicti XIII.* which has been re-printed by *Muratori Script. rer. Italic.* See also the above pieces of *Dupuy*, *L'enfant*, *Berthier*, where, in the records collected by *Duboulay*, may be seen the pains taken by the university of *Paris* for recommending to the Court their *Vice Cessionis, compromissi & deliberationis per concilium univervale.* The miracle of *St. Peter of Luxemburg*, and the prophecy of *St. Ursulina of Parma*, are no more than artifices of both Popes to deceive each other, or at least the people. And the real impostor *Paul Tigrin* proved, that at least *Clement* might be deceived. See *hystoir. de l'Eglise Gallicane.*

S E C T. III.

Of the History of the Popes of the first half of the fifteenth Century.

Sect. I. **H**OPES were now revived of seeing an end of the schism. *Charles* king of *France*, with his nobles, and the university of *Paris*, used all possible endeavours towards this desirable work, by suspending a new election at *Avignon*. But the cardinals there had very different thoughts. They had opened a solemn conclave, and having obliged themselves by oath, that the new elected should faithfully labour to restore peace, even by the method of cession, if that should be approved of by the majority of suffrages in the college of Cardinals. They promoted cardinal *Peter de Luna*, a *Spaniard*, and an artful man, who took the name of *Benedict XIII*. The friends of his predecessor, especially *France*, acknowledged him; but without departing from their scheme of accommodation, which, in a word, was this, that both parties should sacrifice their dignities to the tranquillity of the church. The Pope, so far from fulfilling the fair promises he had made, tho' confirmed by oath, defeated all pacific endeavours by an unparalleled obstinacy. *Boniface* acted such another part; the satisfaction of being Pope outweighed the strongest remonstrances of the best men. In *France* a beginning was made to bring the Pope to terms, by renouncing all obedience to him. But neither this, nor the besieging him at *Avignon*, with an army headed by that eminent warrior *Bonnicaut*, proved

proved of any effect. *Boniface* at *Rome* gave offence to the whole world by his simony and nepotism, and his arts for accumulating wealth in the year of jubilee. The insurrections of the malecontents, and of the party against him often endangered his life. He himself weakened his party by embarking in the deposition of the Emperor *Wincesslaus*, and the election of *Rupert* of the *Palatinate*, as well as by his notorious partiality in the succession of *Hungary* for king *Ladisslaus* against king *Sigismund*. *Benedict*, by a stratagem, recovered his freedom; and not long after obtained from *France* a promise of returning to her former obedience. He also sent a particular legation to Pope *Boniface*, with overtures towards an accommodation; but the latter died at *Rome*. He is said to have exercised the papal sovereignty in this city with extreme rigour*.

1400.

1402.

1403.

Sect. 2. On the decease of Pope *Boniface*, *Benedict's* Legates at *Rome* were sent prisoners to the castle of *St. Angelo*, and either before, or immediately after the new election, were obliged

* Some letters and ordinances of Pope *Boniface* are extant; but of little use to us. See *Wharton's Adpendic.* to *Cave's histor. liter.* and *Fabricius* in *biblioth. lat. med. & infim. ætat.* In *Muratori's* collection, see the *Acta electionis Benedicti XIII.* published before by *Beluze*, *vit. pontif. Avenionens. vita Bonifacii IX. ex MS.* to *Vaticano*, and the like *ex additamentis ad Ptolemeum Lucensem.* *Vialardi's* life in *Italian* was published at *Venice* 1613. But the accounts in *Dubin's histor du Schisme*, *L'enfant in histor du Concile de Pise*, and *Bertheir in histor de l'Eglise Gallicane* are more to be depended on. The *discours sur les annates* in *Berthier* is remarkable for making that branch of the papal revenue of an earlier date, than others who attribute its institution either to Pope *John XXII.* or Pope *Boniface XI.*

to purchase their liberty with a sum of money ; for the few cardinals of this party, in contempt of the remonstrances made to them, assembled in a conclave, and chose cardinal *Cosmo di Migliorato* of *Salmona* then Bishop of *Bononia*, and crowned him by the name of *Innocent VII.* tho' they had taken an oath like that of the *Avignon* cardinals. Soon after a great tumult broke out in *Rome*, in which *Ladislau*s king of *Naples* had a considerable share. It was renewed with such bloodshed, that Pope *Innocent* fled for safety to *Viterbo*. Now Pope *Benedict* opened another scene. He took a journey in person to *Italy*, and resided at *Genoa*, whence, on account of a pestilence, he withdrew to *Nice*, then to *Savona*, and lastly to *Marseilles*. He sent deputies to *Innocent* with proposals of peace, and the latter turning the deaf ear to them, *Benedict* took occasion to detame his adversary over all *Europe*, as the author of the continuance of the schism. Yet the *French*, particularly the *Parisians*, were not to be persuaded that he was sincere in all these pretences. However, in order to make him so, they withheld that part of their obedience, in which he was most interested, by a very remarkable edict, prohibiting the further payment of those contributions, under which the *French* church had hitherto groaned. A peace being made, *Innocent* returned to *Rome*, and repealed the excommunication which he had unadvisedly issued against king *Ladislau*s. He died with the character of a man of more learning than probity ; and was not free from the guilt of nepotism*.

Señt.

* We have one discourse of his concerning Church-union, and some letters. See *Fabrianus' Biblioth. in. med.*

SECT. 3. This new opportunity of restoring peace, the king of *France*, and others, were very attentive to improve; but with no better success than formerly. The cardinals at *Rome* again binding themselves by a yet stricter oath elected cardinal *Angelo Corrari*, formerly Bishop of *Venice*, now patriarch of *Constantinople*, and in the eightieth year of his age. *Gregory* the XIIth, 1407. which was the name he took, immediately endeavoured by conferences, letters, embassies, and even journies, to convince the world of his good intentions towards an union. *Benedict*, who also resided in *Italy*, acted the same part; and indeed with more artful hypocrisy than *Gregory*. But neither of them being in earnest, a thousand evasions were found to varnish over the wanton suspension of their apparent good intentions, which had only been assumed, in order to augment their revenues. At last both 1408. of them inadvertently committed such notorious errors in policy, as at once gave another appearance to those transactions. *Gregory* so highly offended the cardinals of his party, by the new creation of four, that they left him, for which he excommunicated them. The menaces of the *French*, to withdraw their obedience from him, in case of his further obstinacy, *Benedict* answered with a bull of excommunication, but this had so bad an effect, that the king of *France* declared

med. ævi. Besides the accounts in the letters of *Leonard* of *Arezzo*, published by *Fabricius* and *Mebius*, see the *gesta Benedicti XII. papæ* in *Murator's scriptor. rer. Italie. sub Innocentii VII.* from a Vatican MS. *ibid.* *Sigonius* has treated of *Pope Innocent* in the lives of the Bishops of *Bononia*. See also *Dupin's histor. au pape Poyant histor. du Concile de Pise.* *Murator's history of Italy.* *Berthier in histor. de l'eglise Gallic.*

him

him an heretick, embraced the neutrality, and brought over whole nations to his party. Hereupon the patriot cardinals of both factions associated, and held conferences at *Leghorn*, which were countenanced by most of the powers in *Europe*; and the states of the empire, except only their head, the Emperor *Rupert*, who for reasons of policy adhered to *Gregory*. At last a council was opened at *Pisa*, where in the fifteenth session on the fifteenth of *June*, after some preliminaries, both Popes were solemnly deposed*.

1409.

Sect. 4. On the day of the twentieth session, the cardinals went into a conclave, and chose cardinal *Peter Philargi* Pope. He was a native of *Candia*, a *Greek*, a minorite, and Bishop of *Vicenza* and *Novara*, and afterwards promoted to the See of *Milan*. He stiled himself *Alexander* the Vth. He immediately took his seat as president of the council, and as Pope confirmed all their former decrees. He had likewise the greatest party, tho' *Gregory* and *Benedict* exerted themselves to maintain their dignity by anti-councils; the former at *Cividel*; the latter at *Perpignan*. *Gregory's* only friends were the Emperor *Rupert*, whom he soon lost, and *Ladislaus*, king of *Naples*, who conveyed him in safety to *Gaeta*. But *Benedict* was still acknowledged as Pope in *Spain*. So that the church had in fact three heads. The council of *Pisa* was now dissolved. *Alexander* went to *Pistoja*, by which he committed two errors; one in the celebrated bull for the mendicant friars; and the other in retiring thither at the persuasion of *Baltasar Cossa*, Cardinal-legate of *Bologna*, and not go-

* See *Dupin's histor. du schisme*, and *l'enfant* in the *hist du Concile de Pise*.

ing to Rome, to which city the victory of king Lewis over king Ladislaus had opened him a safe passage. But he died soon after, and Cossa was even at the council of Constance, suspected of having dispatched him by poison*.

1410.

Sect. 5. In the new conclave at Bononia, cardinal Cossa found means to turn the election in his own favour, and he took possession of the papal chair by the name of John XXIII. History represents him in general as a most profligate character, and there are authentick accounts of the unlawful practices by which he carried his election. He began with excommunicating both his adversaries, who did not fail to return it. He retained as strong a party, as his predecessor, among whom were the city of Rome, and the Emperor Sigismund; and increased the number of his friends, by readily revoking Alexander's

* Several theological pieces are mentioned as written by this Pope before his exaltation, by Wadding and Cudin. The most remarkable of his bulls is that in favour of the mendicant friars, which see in Duboulay's *hystor. acad. Paris*. See also Lannoi de *canone, omnis utriusque sexus*. With regard to other bulls, see Ger. in *appendic. to Cave's hystor. liter.* The history of the council of Pisa is explained by the public documents in Labbe's collections of councils, and Harduin's; in Vonder Hardts *hystor. concil. Constantiens. Mansi supplement. Concil.* not to mention Dacher, Martene, and others. Among those books which treat accurately on this subject, L'enfant's valuable *hystoire du Concile de Pise* is the best. Compare also Schmid's *introd. Sagittar. in hystor. eccles. Fab. ius biblioth. Græc. and Pfaff's institut. hystor. eccles. Muratori in script. rer. Ital.* gives two lives of Pope Alexander, and likewise his epitaph, Sagittarius mentions, that Job. Bapt. de Giano, and Ripomonte, have written the like. See Ruber *hystor. Concil. General, Dupin hystoir. du schisme, L'enfant hystoir. du Concile de Pise,* and Berthier.

bull

- bull in favour of the mendicants. On his arrival at *Rome*, his greatest enemy was king *Ladislaus*, whom he summoned, as Pope, before his tribunal, excommunicated him, and ordered a Crusade to be proclaimed against him. *John Hufs* ventured publicly to preach against this. The council, which had been convoked at *Rome*, met with such obstructions that it never took place. *Ladislaus* made a peace with *John*,
1411. by which *Gregory* was obliged to withdraw to *Rimini*, whilst in the mean time Pope *John* by the augmentation of imposts, became the scourge of his adherents. This encouraged *Ladislaus* to fresh attempts. *Rome* fell into his hands, and
1412. Pope *John* was obliged to make his escape, first to *Florence*, and afterwards to *Bologna*; where the difficulty of his circumstances obliged him to court the Emperor's favour, who on this occasion displayed a master-piece of policy, obtaining first by ambassadors, and afterwards by personal conference at *Lodi* and *Cremona*, the convocation of a new council at *Constance*. Here *John's* address failed him, and thus he hastened his own fall. He was at *Ferrara* when he received an account of the death of *Ladislaus*,
1413. which again put *Rome* into his hands. He was strongly inclined to return thither, but was obliged to comply with the desire of the Emperor and the cardinals, and repair to *Constance* *.
- 1414.

Sect. 6. We come now to the council of *Constance*, which may justly be considered as one of the most important transactions in the papal history. However, we are properly concerned with no

* See the whole second volume of *L'enfant's* *histoire du Concil. de Pise*.

more than that part of the acts which relates to the extinction of the schism, which had so long subsisted, and the union of the church, which had been divided under three heads. We shall therefore forbear entering upon those other points, for which this council has been so justly both extolled and censured in ecclesiastical history. Pope *John* repaired to the place of congress, in hopes of a triumph over both his enemies; but the apprehensions he shewed for his safety betrayed some doubts about the issue. He flattered himself with great advantage, if the new council should be considered as only a continuance of that, which had been held at *Pisa*. But this was all illusion. He, together with *Gregory* and *Benedict*, were treated equally as schismatical Popes, tho' he was at first indulged in those honours, which the Popes at *Rome* arrogate to themselves. When the union came first under deliberation, they unanimously agreed that the only method for restoring tranquillity was a renunciation which ought to be required of all three; and, if necessary, by compulsion. Such vehement complaints were made against Pope *John*, as alone would have justified his deposition. The form of renunciation was laid before him, which he approved of, and subscribed; but before any such thing was suspected, he was, by the assistance of *Frederick* duke of *Austria*, conveyed out of the city, and fled to *Schaffhausen*. The Emperor *Sigismund*, however, found means to prevent the dissolution of the council, which was aimed at in this escape. It was thought convenient, as indeed it was, amidst the transactions with the Pope, to establish the authority of the council, and in the fourth and fifth session, to pass that cele-

1415.

celebrated decree, that a general council is superior to the Pope, and that the latter is subject to it. Pope *John* only made his affairs worse by removing to a further distance; first to *Lansenberg*, and afterwards to *Friburg*. All amicable measures being fruitless, a formal process was begun against him, and witnesses heard relating to sixty articles, of which only forty were made public; and he himself was upon the reconciliation betwixt duke *Frederick* and the Emperor *Sigismund* brought in close custody. Upon this followed the solemn deposition in the twelfth session on the twenty-ninth of *May*, which he acknowledged to be valid, and was carried, as *Balthasar Coffa*, first to the castle of *Gottleben*, thence under the care of the elector *Palatine* to *Heidelberg*, and afterwards to *Manheim*. This extraordinary precedent induced Pope *Gregory*, by a particular ambassador, *Charles Malatesta*, to divest himself of his dignity in the fourteenth session on the fourth of *July*; and in lieu of it obtained the first seat in the college of cardinals, as *Angelo Corrario*, with the lucrative employment of Legate of the marquisate of *Anconia*. *Benedict* still remained; being of a very advanced age, he flattered himself with the hopes of dying Pope; and to his utmost opposed the measures of the council: And indeed the kings of *Spain*, *Scotland*, and others, shewed an unalterable attachment to him. In order to remove this obstacle, *Sigismund* himself took a journey into *Spain*. He made no impression upon the principal person, who besides was fickle and irresolute; but fortunately the kings of *Spain* and *Scotland*, with the other powerful friends of *Benedict*, renounced all obedience to him, and in contempt

tempt of his excommunications joined the council by their ministers. Hereupon it proceeded regularly against *Benedict*; and the Emperor, in the mean time arriving safely at *Constance*, in the thirty-seventh session, on the twenty-seventh of *July*, came on the deposition of *Peter de Luna*. The cardinals were forward for a new election; but met with great difficulties from the Emperor and the other fathers, who previously insisted on a reformation of the church. The former indeed carried their point, but in the thirty-ninth session they were obliged to acquiesce in some particular acts relating to the election of a Pope; and in the fortieth session the future Pope was bound to use his endeavours to forward a reformation. Even at the election an innovation was introduced of adding thirty deputies from the nations to the twenty-three cardinals, as arbiters of the election. However the conclave was not so impartial as had been promised. At last, on the eleventh of *November*, was chosen cardinal *Otho Colonna*, a *Roman* of great distinction, and crowned at *Constance* by the name of *Martin V*. The late Pope *Gregory* died not long before. The new Pope gave early indications of his aversion to the expected reformation of the church. He took upon him the presidentship of the council, and at a very improper season, rashly offended *Alphonso*, king of *Arragon*, and provoked him again to patronise the cause of the inflexible *Benedict*. On the other hand, he made use of the infamous policy of sowing dissension among the nations about the work of reformation, and drawing them into different concordats. The forty-fifth session, and the twenty-second
of

1416.

1417.

of *April* closed this council, which is not to be paralleled in the whole history of the church*.

Sect. 7. Not long after the council of *Constance*, the *Hussite* war broke out in all its fury. This we shall only briefly mention, on account of the extensiveness of this part of church-history, and barely observe what is very well

* Besides the general collections of councils, the most useful, tho' not the most accurate work, is *Vonder Harts consilium Constantiense. L'enfants histor du Concile de Constance*, is very instructive, which is more than can be said of *Bourgeois du Chastenets histoire du Concile de Constance*, tho' this also is not without its use. However, there are still extant some more pieces, chiefly controversial, occasioned mostly by the aforesaid decrees of the fourth and fifth session, of which see *Schmid's introd. Sagittar.* and *Fabricius biblioth. Græc. Mansi supplem. Concil. the histor. du droit publique eccles.* and *Berthier's histor. de l'Eglise Gallic.* Several bulls and letters of Pope *Gregory* are still extant, which mostly relate to the two councils of *Pisa* and *Constance*. See *Wharton adpend. to Cave* and *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* As in general the best accounts of this Pope may be gathered from the pieces already quoted, which treat of the two above-mentioned councils, we are here only to observe, that two lives of him from the two often quoted MSS. are to be found in *Muratori script. rer. Ital.* Pope *John XXIII.* who recovered his liberty, submitted to Pope *Martin*, and died at *Florence* in the year 1418, has left behind him several bulls, and a treatise *de varietate fortunæ.* Besides the bulls relating to the council of *Constance*, the most remarkable is, that he published in opposition to Pope *Alexander's* bull for the mendicant friars, in *Dubzulay hist. acad. Paris.* See *Wharton*, *ibid.* and *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. Theod.* *Von Nim's vita Jeannis XXIII.* is not only to be found in *Harts* above-mentioned work, but likewise in *Meibom's script. rer. Germ.* to which add the two lives published by *Muratori*.

known

known, that Pope *Martin* and his successors had by the means of bulls and legates a great share in the dreadful effusions of blood in the course of this war, and that their authority suffered greatly by it, especially in *Bobemia*. *Martin* travelled by the way of *Genoa* to *Mantua*, and from thence to *Florence*. The territories of the See of *Rome* having hitherto been in the hands of petty tyrants, it was a work of some months for the Pope to recover them, especially the city of *Bologna*. He had also a quarrel with *Joan II.* queen of *Naples*. He so far prevailed indeed, that she adopted king *Lewis III.* of the house of *Anjou*. But *Alphonso*, king of *Arragon*, looked upon this as such an injury done to him, that he zealously espoused the party of his old favourite *Benedict*. The Pope having promised at *Constance* to hold a new council for the reformation of the church, he actually convoked one at *Pavia*; and, under pretence of a pestilence, removed it to *Siena*. Tho' the number of fathers who assisted at the opening was very small, it was soon their misfortune to incur the displeasure of the court of *Rome*; and pretences were not wanting to separate them by a prorogation of seven years. The aged *Benedict* died soon after at *Peniscola*. He left only four cardinals of his creation, two *Arragonese*, *Julian Loba*, and *Eximino Daba*, and two *French*, *Dominic de Bonnefoi*, and *John Carriere*. The three first with the privity, if not by the direction of king *Alphonso* chose *Giles Magnus*, a canon of *Barcelona*, who took the name of *Clement VIII.* and was acknowledged by the said prince. In opposition to him *Carriere*, who was disgusted, nominated a Pope of his own, *Benedict XIV.* of whom not so much as his original name is

known,

1418.

1419.

1423.

known, and accordingly he soon disappeared. Probably he would have been totally unknown, without the connection, which this extraordinary
 1429. transaction happens to have with the story of *Orleans*. But *Clement* grew formidable enough to make *Martin* very glad to come to an agreement, by which, in consideration of the bishopric of *Majorca*, *Clement* renounced the pontificate. *Martin* called the council of *Basil*, and appointed cardinal *Julian Cesarini* his Legate there: He died leaving both the papal treasury and his own family very considerably enriched*.

1431.

SECT. 8. The history of the Popes becomes now connected with that of the council of *Basil*, tho' we shall omit whatever does not immediately relate to our main design. On the death

* Among the many pieces remaining of Pope *Martin*, and published by *Hardts*, *Ludwig*, *Raynald*, and others, as may be seen from *Wharton's* *append.* and *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* the most remarkable are his *Sermo de translatione corporis S. Monicæ Ostia Romam.* and the *indictio concilii generalis Basiliensis in Ckerubinibus bullar.* The *acta Concilii Senensis* are in *Richer's* *histor. Concil. general.* For the history of this Pope, see *Narratio de electione Martini V.* in *Baluzen's* *miscellan.* The two lives in *Muratori's* *script. rer. Italic. Contelori vita Martini V. L'enfant in* *histoire. du Concile de Constance,* and in *histoire. des Hussites.* *Berthier's* *histoire de l'eglise Gallicane,* and *Muratori's* *history of Italy.* Most of this Pope's letters are in *Dacher's* *spicileg.* However the best accounts of him are to be found in the pieces relating to the schism, and the council of *Constance.* For which reason I shall add *L'enfant* *histoire. des Hussites,* *Baluze's* notes on the *vit. pontif. Avenion,* and *Fabricius* in *biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* For what we have here said concerning the two Anti-popes, *Clement VIII.* and *Benedict XIV.* we are obliged to *Berthier.* But the public documents themselves of the council at *Tertosa* are in *Aguire* *Concil. Hispan.*

of the Pope fourteen cardinals went into the conclave. They bound each other in three important articles, that for the future no new cardinal should be made without the privity of the college, that half of the income of the ecclesiastical state should be divided among them as cardinals, and that a general council should be held. The election fell on *Gabriel Condolmere* cardinal of *Sabina*. He began his pontificate with persecuting the house of *Colonna*; this occasioned an insurrection in *Rome*, which however was amicably terminated. He approved of the council of *Basil*; and confirmed the aforesaid cardinal in the presidentship. The first public session was opened on the fourteenth of *December*. But the error of this was soon discovered at *Rome*, and to prevent further inconveniences, it was intended to adjourn the council, and removed it to *Bologna*. But such was the opposition from the fathers in general, cardinal *Julian* and the Emperor, that the Pope was disappointed of his views. The presence of the Emperor in *Italy* now filled him with fresh apprehensions: And the council became more formidable to him, having so early as its second session, confirmed the decree of the council of *Constance*, concerning the superiority of councils over the Pope, and the obligation of the latter to submit to the former. In the fourth it prohibited the creation of new cardinals during the council. In the fifth it strictly forbid all appeals from the council to the Pope. In the sixth some proceedings were begun against the person of *Eugenius*. In the ninth the Emperor was taken into protection against the Pope, and in the tenth all provisions granted by *Eugenius* were declared void. In the mean time the Emperor had come to

1432^a1433^a

- an accommodation with him, and was crowned by him as *Roman Emperor*. He also brought on a reconciliation between the council and the Pope; and prevailed with the latter to confirm their proceedings, and send four cardinals thither. The Emperor himself went to *Basil*, and endeavoured to bring the fathers to a more moderate temper. Pope *Eugenius* was involved in a fresh distress, being obliged, on account of an insurrection in *Rome*, to fly for safety to *Florence*. Yet he still entertained the ambitious thoughts of subjecting the kingdom of *Naples*. The differences with the council revived, they having in the twenty-fifth session, suppressed the *Annates*, as a kind of simony, highly injurious to the apostolical chamber; and in the twenty-third passed some new laws relating to the election of a Pope, and creation of cardinals. Pope *Eugenius* was at *Bologna* when he removed the council to *Ferrara*, which gave such offence to the fathers at *Basil*, that they publickly cited the Pope before them. This was in the twenty-sixth session: And in the following the intended nomination of some cardinals by the Pope was declared invalid. In the twenty-eighth the Pope was declared contumacious. And this was the step which alienated several princes, and at which even the Emperor himself shewed his displeasure. Pope *Eugenius* opened his new council at *Ferrara*, and such regard was paid to him, that many of the *Basil* fathers, and even cardinal *Julian*, repaired thither. Yet a sufficient number remained, and were not to be intimidated, especially being supported by *France*. They chose the cardinal of *Arles* for their president, and went so far as to suspend the Pope. A pestilence now obliged him to remove his council to *Florence*, where he

concluded the supposed union with the *Greeks*. Those at *Basil* on the other hand formally deposed him, and chose for Pope a hermite of great rank, *Amadeus* the first duke of *Savoy*, by the name of *Felix V.* whom Pope *Eugenius*, on advice thereof, excommunicated. Both having a numerous party, the division grew vehement, tho' that of *Eugenius* was unquestionably the strongest. The new Emperor *Frederick* observed a neutrality; and endeavoured to bring about a new council. *Eugenius* was returned to *Rome*, whither he also removed his council. *Felix* kept himself at *Lausanne*, where was very near a quarrel with the fathers of *Basil*, who in the forty-fifth session held their last great assembly, tho' they were not dissolved. From this time to the death of *Eugenius*, nothing remarkable happened, except that the *German Empire*, a little before, acknowledged him as legal Pope *.

1440.

1443.

1447.

Sect. 9. The new election promoted to the papal chair *Thomas Sarzana*, Cardinal-priest of *Susanna*, and Bishop of *Bononia*, who stiled himself *Nicholas V.* The meanness of his birth was amply compensated by his learning, his pacific disposition, and liberal patronage of the muses, which at this time had fled from *Greece* to *Italy*. He endeavoured by amicable conferences to accom-

* Of Pope *Eugenius's* pieces only his Bulls and letters are worth notice, see *Wharton* in *Appendic. to Cave*, and *Fabricius biblioth. Lat.* Concerning the council at *Ferrara* and *Florence*, see the pieces mentioned in *Walch's histor. contro. de process. spirit. S.* The life of Pope *Eugenius* see in *Balluze's Miscellan.* and in *Muratori's Scriptor. rer. Italic.* where are some pieces of *Aeneas Sylvius* relating to him. Cardinal *Lejeune* has likewise written a life of *Eugenius IV.* in *Latin.* See also *Muratori's* history of *Italy.*

- modate the division; and in order thereto particularly made use of the friendship of the Emperor *Frederick* and the king of *France*. With
1448. the first he had concluded the famous concordats, which however make no honourable figure in the ecclesiastical history of *Germany*. *Frederick* in the mean time made use of his power to compel the fathers at *Basil* to depart from that city and remove to *Lausanne*. *Charles* King of *France* treated with Pope *Felix*, and both meaning well, the accommodation was soon brought about. *Felix* resigned his dignity in a manner
1449. which did him great honour: And *Nicolas* canceled all the proceedings against him, and in general against the council of *Basil*, which, hereupon concurred in the election of *Nicolas*. All their proceedings were ratified by him in a particular bull. Thus by the generous moderation of both parties, the flame was extinguished.
1451. Soon after this *Felix* died, *Nicolas* lived to crown the Emperor *Frederick* and his consort, and
1455. died*.

C H A P.

* Concerning Pope *Felix*, see *L'ensant histoir des Hufsites*; and *Amodeus pacificus*. Concerning the bulls and Letters of Pope *Nicolas*, whom we must not confound with *Nicolas V.* mentioned above. See *Wharton* in the aforesaid *Adpend.* Among these are particularly to be observed the concordats with the *Germans* in *Leibnit's codic jur. gent. dipl.* and the bull confirming the decrees of the council of *Basil* in *Stondavi annal. eccles.* The life of Pope *Nicholas* by *Nicholas Philolephus*, and the poem in praise of him, by *Ladislaus* king of *Hungary*, are quoted by *Sagittarius* in his *Introd. in histor. eccles.* Tho' both may be dispensed with, since *Muratori* in *Scriptor. rer. Italic.* has published *Fanotii Mianetti vita Nicolai V.* See also *Georgi's vita Nicolai ad fidem veterum monim.* The history of the council of *Basil* is one of those chasms in church-history

C H A P. II.

Of the History of the PAPACY.

Sect. I. **I**N order to make a right use of the preceding history of this remarkable period of the Popes, it must be divided into three capital parts. In the first, we see the power of these prelates at its height; but withal so strained, that it was natural for the cords to burst. This ends with Pope *Boniface VIII.* The next exhibits to us the commencement of their declension, which, though pretty considerable, was not then so much felt. I mean the residence of the Popes at *Avignon*, which the *Italian* historians, and not entirely without foundation, termed the *Babylonish* captivity. In the third, proper limits were set to the spiritual monarchy; and the authority of the Popes, both outwardly and inwardly, underwent such diminutions, that it has never since been able to recover itself*.

Sect.

history which has not yet been filled up. We must content ourselves with the records in *Richer's histor. Concil. general.* *Labbe's* and *Harduin's Concil.* *Martene Theſ. anecdot.* and *Mans's supplem. Concil.* with the historical accounts of this council by *Aeneas Sylvius* and *Nicol. Tudeschi*, and the learned enquiries of the moderns, which may be seen in *Fabricius' biblioth. Græc.* *Schmid's Introd. Sagittarii* and *Buddei Isagog.* To these may be added *L'enfant's histoire de la guerre des Hussites & du Concile de Basse.* *Berthier's histor. de l'Eglise Gallicane,* and the *histor. de droit publique ecclésiast. François.*

* With respect to the translation of the papal See to *Avignon*, see *Giannone's histor. de Naples* and *Buhner's*

Sect. 2. In respect to the supremacy over the whole church, the ancient maxims were indeed still retained at the court of *Rome*. Instances also are not wanting of putting them in practice; princes and sovereign states being laid under excommunication on the most trivial occasions; their lands arbitrarily given away; and more grants of the same kind were intended.

Sect. 3. But this supremacy became greatly curtailed. The champions for truth, and among these particularly the *Wickliffites* and *Hussites* attacked it openly; and by maintaining the necessity of admitting the scriptures as the only rule of faith, overthrew the fundamental part of it. The Popes themselves gave many flagrant instances of their fallibility even in doctrine. Crowned heads opposed their insolence, publicly declaring them hereticks; and this generally with the approbation of the most eminent divines, and even of whole religious orders. But the greatest blow to this supremacy was the maxim first reduced to practice by the councils of *Pisa*, *Constance* and *Basil*, and by the two last, established as an article of faith, that the Pope is subject to a general council, and bound to obey their decrees; and that in case of necessity he is even obliged to apply to them for their judgment and protection, which doctrine has proved the more fatal at *Rome*, as it has been received by the *Gallican* church as a mark of distinction *.

Sect.

vit. pontific. Avenion. The *French* writers in vindicating this step, shew more zeal for their country and the honour of their sovereign, than for the interest of the *Romish* church.

* See the concordats mentioned above, as likewise the famous *French* Pragmatic Sanction, of which see the

SECT. 4. We must here particularly look back to the spirited conduct of the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria* towards Pope *John*, which had the good effect of preventing the mischiefs meditated against the imperial dignity. The conduct also of the Emperor *Sigismund*, at the council of *Constance*, and the total change of circumstances which it produced, effectually taught the Pope to abstain from the extraordinary claims which they had made heretofore with so little success.

SECT. 5. They did not want inclination to enrich themselves in *Italy*, manifestly appears from the manner of their getting possession of *Ferrara*, and of the county of *Avignon*; the grant obtained from the Emperor *Rudolf*, and the endeavours for converting the feudal sovereignty of the kingdom of *Naples* into an absolute dominion.

SECT. 6. It must be admitted, that in this interval of time the Popes got entire possession of the city of *Rome*; but the tumults of the *Gibellines*, and of the citizens in general, rendered it so unpleasant to them, that most Popes were obliged to reside elsewhere. But it must be understood, that in this respect too the prerogatives of the Emperor were not diminished.

SECT. 7. The elections themselves were notoriously most of them full of contests and disturbances, and some carried by the intrigues of the candidates; others by policy, especially of the court of *France*,

the *histoir. du droit publique ecclef. François*, both limiting the power of the Pope with regard to the Church-promotions of whole nations.

SECT.

Seçt. 8. The retirement of the cardinals into a conclave being now established by law, the succeeding elections shew it to have been then the rule, that the conclave should be held at the place where the late Pope died.

Seçt. 9. The right of election was lodged solely in the cardinals, and what passed at the council of *Constance* was something extraordinary. On the other hand, it was not required, that the candidate should be a cardinal. There is only one single instance of a compromise. The particular kind of capitulation, which came now into use, deserves attention.

Seçt. 10. The coronation was held to be necessary; and now was introduced the triple crown, tho' the name of *Triregnum* be of a later date*.

Seçt. 11. The Popes affected great state, kept a splendid court, and a prodigious number of officers and servants †.

Seçt. 12. Nepotism was the prevailing evil, which as it aggrandized the principal families, produced perpetual discontents and tumults. The *Orsini's* and *Colonna's* became the most powerful.

Seçt. 13. As some added to these capital faults, unbounded ambition and luxury, and as at the time of the schism, their expences were encreased; the encrease of the revenues became an object of attention. The chamber of indulgences, the annates and the tenths, with the

* See *Bonnani numis. pontif. Rocca Thes. antiq. sacr.* and the historians mentioned by *Fabricius in Bibliogr. antiq.*

† See the *Avisamenta pro regimine & dispositione officiorum in palatio domini nostri Pape* in *Muratori's Scriptori rer. Ital.*

stated imposts of the chancery, occasioned the loud complaints against simony*.

SECT. 14. From the same source proceeded the institution of the jubilee year, and the change of it †.

SECT. 15. That the Pope might lose his dignity by a voluntary resignation, or a deserved deposition, as well as by death, was not only an established maxim, but verified by actual instances.

SECT. 16. In the last place it is observable, that the cardinals also were intent upon aggrandizing their power and dignity. At the council of *Basil* an attempt was made to limit them to a certain number; but this did not take place.

* With respect to the Annals, see besides the above-mentioned treatise of the jesuit *Berthier*, *Duboulay histor. acad. Paris*, and *Messesim institut. histor. ecclcs.* together with the aforesaid historians of the council of *Constance*; and concerning the chancery taxes, *Ciamperic de vice-cancellar. ecclcs. Rom.*

† See *Clais* in his *Lettres sur les jubiles*, *Muratori antiquit. Ital. med. ævi*, and the historians quoted by *Fabricius bibliogr. antiq.*



B O O K VII.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

P O P E S


From the Emperor *Frederick III.*
to *Rudolf II.*

C H A P. I.

The History of the P O P E S of R O M E.

S E C T. I.

The History of the Popes of the second
half of the fifteenth Century.

1455. Sect. I.  T H E new election fell on cardinal *Alphonso Borgia*, a *Spaniard*, and Bishop of *Valentia*, who took on him the name of *Calixtus III.* He earnestly endeavoured to incite the Christian powers to a war against the *Turks*,

Turks, but could not prevail, tho' the little fleets he fitted out met with some success. His needless rupture with *Alphonso* king of *Naples*, and his intrigues, after the death of that prince, for depriving *Ferdinand* of the kingdom, in order to obtain it for his worthless nephew *Peter Borgia*, are blemishes on his memory, as well as the excessive provisions he made for his relations. He died *.

1456.

1458.

SECT. 2. *Aeneas Sylvius*, a person of great learning, and a most elegant *Latin* writer, had by his zeal for the council of *Basil*, and his long residence at the Court of the Emperor *Frederick*, acquired a reputation which raised him to the dignities of Bishop of *Siena* and cardinal. He had filled these dignities with great honour, and was now exalted to the Papacy by the name of *Pius II.* He was intent upon prosecuting the plan of his predecessor for a *Turkish* war, and in order thereto summoned a general council of the Christian powers at *Mantua*, and entered into an alliance with king *Ferdinand*, to the mortification of the crown of *France*, which was desirous of seeing *Raynald* of *Anjou* on the throne of *Naples*. The congress at *Mantua* was indeed opened, the Pope himself presiding; but it broke up without effect. He now thought proper publicly to condemn the maxim for which he had once been so warm a stickler; of the authority of councils, and particularly that of *Basil* over the Pope; and severely to forbid appeals

1459.

1460.

1463.

* Some letters and bulls of this Pope are in *Labe's Concil.* Others in *Dacher's Spicileg.* and *Cerberini bullar.* where see the ordinance for the festival of *Christ's* transfiguration. *Muratori* has inserted *Platina's* vita *Callisti III.* in his *Script. rer. Italic.* See also *Aeneas Sylvii orat. de morte Nicolai & creatione Calixti.*

from the Pope to a council. Upon the same principle he endeavoured to procure the abolition of the *Pragmatic Sanction* in *France*. But it is certain that he did not succeed so far as is pretended by some historians, utterly ignorant of the ecclesiastical history of *France*. *Lewis XI.* did indeed revoke it, but without the concurrence of the parliament; and the King himself afterwards suppressed the revocation. The new peace with king *Ferdinand* betrays the excessive nepotism of this Pope. He repaired to *Ancona*, with a design himself to head a naval expedition against the *Turks*, when he was taken off by death*.

* Most of the writings of this Pope were previous to his promotion. The multitude and difference of the editions would render it too prolix here to repeat what with great labour and accuracy is collected in *Warton's* and *Ger's* *Adpendic. to Cave's histor. liter.* in *Pfaff's Institut. hist. eccles.* and *Fabricius' bibliothec. Lat. med. ævi*. We shall only observe here, that most of the pieces he wrote at the time of the council of *Basil*, to which also belongs the sermon on the feast of *St. Ambrose*, first published in *Maus's Supplem. Cencil.* contain the highest evidence of the corruptions of the *Romish* church in his time; and the necessity of a reformation both in the head and members. And on this account his name always stands in the *Roman* lists of books prohibited since the year 1559. For the same reason his two bulls, that in which he retracts his own doctrines in *Labbe's Cencil.* and that in which he prohibits appeals in *Harduin's Cencil.* deserve particular notice. The best materials for illustrating the history of Pope *Pius*, are undoubtedly his own letters. In order to a full image of this Pope, the reader should see the ludicrous account he gives of his illegitimate son; and the romances composed by him. For aids and authorities in the history of Pope *Pius*, see *Joh. Gobelini commentarii*, in which *Pius* himself had
a great

Sect. 3. As the corpse of Pope *Pius* was brought to *Rome*, the cardinals held the conclave there, and chose *Peter Barbi* cardinal of *St. Mark*. He was of a noble *Venetian* family, and nephew to Pope *Eugenius* by his sister. He took the name of *Paul* the Second. He had great abilities as a statesman, and many other amiable qualities, but was nevertheless generally hated, and even after his death. This might in a great measure be owing to his zeal in opposing the exactions of the papal Legates, and to the suppression of the abbreviators at his court. But what was more exceptionable in him was, his neglect of men of learning: His annulling all the acts of his predecessor, and persecuting his friends: His presumption in declaring king *George Podiebrad* to have forfeited his kingdom, as a *Hussite*; the little account he made of his promises, tho' confirmed by oath; his connivance at the excesses and debaucheries of the carnival; his endeavouring to maintain the tranquillity of *Italy* in an imperious manner; his avaricious reduction of the jubilee to twenty-five years. His manifest partiality for *Venice* his

1468.

1470.

a great share; *Anton. Camani vita Pii II.* in *Muratori's script. rer. Ital.* The life which is to be found in the *Basil* edition of his works in the year 1575; *Schmid's* preface to the *Helmstadt* collection of the historical and geographical works of *Æneas*; the *nouveau dictionnaire histor. critique*, together with most pieces relating to the learned of this century, to which may also be added *Coler's program. de diplomate imp. Friderici III. quo Æneas Sylvius creatus fuit poeta laureatus Gottingen 1741.* The short account of what relates to the *Gallican* church is taken from the *histoire du droit publ. François.* See also the circumstantial account by father *Berthier* in the *histoire de l'église Gallic.*

native spot ; and his making duke *Borsus* duke of *Ferrara* ; none of which are easily justifiable. He died*.

1471.

SECT. 4. *Sixtus* IV. who was chosen next was before called *Francis de Rovere*, and was general of the *Franciscans*, and a Cardinal-priest. He was so very unpopular, that at his coronation he was in danger of his life. His long reign was not distinguished by any memorable act. He seemed to push a *Turkish* war with great zeal ; but however this pretence might serve to enrich him and the Legates, whom he sent to the several courts ; nothing of any importance was effected. He carried nepotism to the highest pitch, and rendered it quite insupportable, by the oppression, rapine, murder and violences which it produced first in *Florence*, from whence it spread a bloody war all over *Italy*. The last

1484.

tragical scene he opened in *Rome* itself against the prothonotary *Colonna*, which was soon followed

* Among the bulls and letters of this Pope in *Wharton*, the most remarkable are the bulls against the Legates in *Cherubini's bullar. magn.* the bull concerning the jubilee, the bull against king *George* in *Labbe's Concil.* See *Cannesii vita Pauli II.* first published by *Muratori script. rer. Ital.* but more completely by cardinal *Quirini* in *Pauli II. Veneti vita* ; *Caspar* of *Verona de gestis tempore Pauli secundi* in *Muratori Quirini's* above-mentioned *vindicæ*, which however are not of such weight and certainty, that the accounts of *Platina*, who lived at that time, and suffered much under Pope *Paul*, are to be entirely rejected. To our purpose particularly belongs the second chapter relating to the capitulations sworn by Pope *Paul*, which he annulled, or rather shamefully contravened. They are eighteen in number. Pope *Paul* is said to have granted the cardinals the red hat.

by the death of the Pope, whom history represents in the blackest colours*.

Sect. 5 His successor *Job. Bapt. Cibo*, now *Innocent VIII.* led so profligate a life, that at his exaltation he had sixteen bastards, for whom he afterwards took care to make good settlements. He made some fruitless attempts towards a *Turkish* war, and had two ruptures with *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*, both to his own detriment. His pontificate is remarkable for the reception he gave to *Zizini*, brother to sultan *Bajazet*. He died †

1485.
1490.
Sect. 1491.

* *Sixtus* was a learned writer. We have of his a treatise intitled *De sanguine Christi*, and *de potentia*, another *De futuris contingentibus*; a piece *de concept. B. Virginis*, and *explicatio in Nicolai Richardi tract. super declar. indulgentiar.* The most remarkable of his bulls and ordinances are the *decreta de festo conceptionis immaculatæ, B.V.* in *Harduin's Concil.* The prohibition to dispute the immaculate conception; *de reliqu. & venerat. sanctior.* The bull confirming the jubilee feast every twenty-fifth year, which he himself kept in 1475, one hundred and thirty-five letters in *Martene's* collection. See *Wadding biblioth. ord. minor. Marracci biblioth. Marian. Wharton's adpend. to Cave's histor. liter. and Schoettgen biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. atat.* We have only one life of him, probably by *Platina*, and to be found in *Muratori script. rer. Italic.* In *Flacci poemata de corrupto ecclesiæ statu*, may be seen several ingenious satires on this Pope, and see also the *English* translation of *Bayle's* dictionary. It was in his time that the king of *Naples*, by way of tribute, first sent a white horse yearly to the Pope, but without the sum of ducats, which were afterwards added.

† In *Gherubini's bullar. magn.* are nineteen bulls, besides other public instruments of his mentioned by *Wharton*. What *Raphael* of *Volaterra* relates that he permitted the *Norwegians* to celebrate mass without wine, is denied by *Benedict. XIV. de canonis.* We have not any good life of this Pope; for the panegyrics

SECT. 6. The next was indeed a very unfortunate choice. It fell upon *Rodorick Lenzola*, or *Borgia*, Cardinal-bishop of *Porto*, and vice-chancellor of the *Roman* church, a native of *Spain*, and nephew to Pope *Calixtus III.* Tho' there be no historical evidence of bribery, yet it is certain that *Alexander VI.* as he called himself, flagrantly disappointed all the good hopes conceived of him. Few have ever equalled him in debauchery: And among other infamies with which he is branded, he had five bastards before his promotion, by a woman of the name of *Anofia.* The whole government of this Pope being but one continued series of crimes for the aggrandizement of these his children, it will be proper to give a more particular account of them. They were four sons, *Lewis*, whom *Ferdinand* king of *Spain* created duke of *Gandia*; *Cæsar*, who will soon act a capital part; *John*, who accompanied his elder brother, and *Godfrey*; likewise one daughter, *Lucretia*, whose character was most infamous: She was four times married, and the three last marriages were preceded either by a voluntary divorce, or by the murder of her former husband. She was besides strongly suspected of incest with her father. One of his first public measures was an alliance

1494. with *Lewis* duke of *Milan*, against *Ferdinand* king of *Naples* by which he allured *Charles* king of *France* to that kingdom, from which after-

rics of *Pellican*, *Folista*, and *Fieschi* quoted by *Sagittarius* in introd. in listor. ecclæs. do not deserve that name. So that we must content ourselves with *Vialardi's* *vita d'Immacenzo VIII.* and the two *diaria Romanæ Urbis* in *Astruceri* *Flaccius* applies the three ingenious satires partly to Pope *Innocent.* *Jely* in his *Remarques sur le règne de Bayle*, under the article *Innocent*, maintains, that he had only two illegitimate children.

wards

wards he in vain endeavoured to divert him. On his son *Cæsar*, a most abandoned wretch, he conferred a red hat, and the archbishopric of *Valentia*. King *Charles* in his expedition came to *Rome*, and compelled the Pope to an ignominious peace; but he, instead of observing it, immediately entered into a league with the Emperor, *Venice*, and *Milan*, against *France*. In *Rome* itself he endeavoured to enrich his children by violently oppressing the principal families, but his first essay with the *Ursini*, miscarried. Hereupon he formed the scheme of bestowing the city of *Benevento* as a temporal dutchy on his son *Cæsar*: But in this again he was successfully opposed by cardinal *Piccolomini*, and the king of *Spain*. Soon after he lost his eldest son, duke *Lewis*, by a murder, of which *Cæsar* is said to have been the author. The latter resigned his ecclesiastical employments, and concluded a new alliance betwixt his father and *France*, for which he was rewarded with the dutchy of *Valence, in Dauphine*. King *Frederick* of *Naples* refusing him his daughter in marriage, all *Italy* was set in a flame against him; which furnished king *Lewis* with a fresh pretence for an expedition thither: And *Cæsar* was put in a condition to make conquests. As all this, besides the pomp and amours of the new sovereign, as well as the Pope's dissolute course of life, required large sums; all ecclesiastical matters were exposed to sale: And the total ruin of the *Colonna* and *Ursini* families was eagerly prosecuted. Amidst all this iniquity he became infamous by his frequent changes betwixt the *Spanish* and *French* parties. At last he met with the reward of his crimes along with the impious

1495.

1497.

1498.

1499.

1503.

Cæsar, both drinking inadvertently of the poison which the latter had prepared for four rich cardinals*.

* Of *Alexander's* books, the only one printed is the *clypeus defensionis fidei Romanæ ecclesiæ*. Those not printed, and his bulls are best specified by *Wharton*. Among the latter the most remarkable is the bull in *Cerberubini. bullar. magn.* relating to the disputes betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* about the *West Indies*. Two things further are to be mentioned of him here; his great increase of the number of cardinals, and his being the first, who introduced the censure of books, as appears from *Raynald annal. eccles.* The best authority in the history of this Pope is *John Burchard's diarium*; of which *Eccard* has given us a complete transcript in *corp. histor. med. ævi*. See also the account of *Raphael Volaterra* in *commentar.* Among the poems in the above-mentioned collection of *Flaccius* is the poetical ænigma by *Sanuazarius*, of which Mr. *Schelhorn* has given an excellent solution in *æſt. Societ. Lat.* Vol. IV. Among the moderns the most complete account of the life of Pope *Alexander* and his son *Cæsar*, is that in *English* by *Gordon*, which, tho' not chargeable with many historical errors, yet is written with too little temper. That annexed to the first part of the *hystoir. du droit public eccles. Francois* is free from the last fault, but too concise. See moreover an edition of *Tomasi vita de Cæsare Borgia*, printed at *Amsterdam* 1739, without the author's name. *Heidegger's histor. papatus*: And the article *Alex. VI.* in the *English Bayle*.

S E C T. II.

Of the History of the Popes of the sixteenth Century.

Sect. 1. **T**HE next Pope was cardinal *Francis Todeſcbini Piccolomini*. He took the name of *Pius III.* and died on the twenty-sixth day of his pontificate *. 1503.

Sect. 2. At the new election the cardinals found it necessary to enter into a new engagement, that the Pope elected should call a council for accomplishing the so long desired reformation of the church. They chose the celebrated cardinal *Julian Rovere*, nephew to Pope *Sixtus IV.* who from a foolish ambition of resembling *Cæsar*, assumed the name of *Julius II.* and took the above-mentioned oath, without the least intention to observe it. He was of a disposition fitter for the sword than the crozier: And this filled his whole pontificate with a succession of troubles. He first turned his arms against the republic of *Venice*, and tho' the increase of the power of *France* in *Italy* became very formidable to him, yet he entered into the celebrated league of *Cambray* with the Emperor *Maximilian* and king *Lewis*, which threatened the destruction of that republic. *Julius* attacked the *Venetians*, both with spiritual and temporal weapons; and tho' he could not be pleased with their appeal to a fu- 1505. 1508. 1509.

* See his epitaph in *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. atat.* *Berthier* in his *hiftoir. de l'eglise Gallicane*, gives a full account of the interest made for himself in this election by the cardinal *d'Amboise*, first minister of the king of *France*.

- ture council, yet reasons of state prevailed with him to grant their humble petition for peace. This step, which was a manifest breach of faith against his confederates, did not proceed from a sincere love of peace, but only from a dread of *France*. It was not long before king *Lewis* was provoked to a rupture, by the contests about
1510. the disposal of vacant bishopricks; by his close union with *Ferdinand* king of *Spain*, by the war he declared against *Alphonso* duke of *Ferrara*, an ally of *France*, in which war Pope *Julius* besieged *Mirandola* in person; and by his grant to king *Ferdinand* of the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples*. The Pope proceeded to an excommunication, of which, and other indignities, the king complained in very high terms, at an assembly of his clergy at *Tours*, and entered into an engagement with the Emperor *Maximilian*, for procuring a general council. King *Lewis* was at first pretty successful, which produced the bold resolution of the three cardinals,
1511. *Carvajal*, *Borgia*, and *Briffonet*, in conjunction with the Emperor and the king of *France*, of calling a council at *Pisa*, and actually opening it. The enterprize did not succeed, for the
1512. Emperor *Maximilian* suffered himself to be drawn over to the other side by king *Ferdinand*, and *Lewis*, after the successful battle of *Ravenna*, lost all his conquests in *Italy*. Hence this council, which besides consisted chiefly of *French* prelates and doctors, after being removed successively to *Milan*, *Asti* and *Lyons*, broke up unexpectedly. It was however, a solemn confession of universal corruption, and of the necessity of a reformation in doctrine and discipline; and it induced Pope *Julius* to hold an assembly of the same kind in the *Lateran*, which indeed could

could not promise all the impartiality requisite, but pretended the favourite word *Reformation*. *Julius*, however, did not live to see the end of this council. He died amidst his projects for ruining *France*, and her friends, one of which was the holy league before entered into with *Spain* and *Venice*. His character was that of a sanguinary Prince, who sacrificed so many thousands to his restless martial spirit, and by his other enormities rendered his name odious to posterity*.

1513.

Sect. 3. After warm debates, the cardinals in conclave at last chose the young cardinal *John de Medicis*. There are different opinions concerning the causes of this sudden unanimity. He took the name of *Leo X.* and was a man, who, besides his natural parts, was well versed in the liberal sciences, and a patron of learned men. But he eclipsed the fame of this character by his voluptuous life, which broke out into great extravagancies; by his sumptuous pomp; by

* In *Cherubini* we find one and thirty bulls of Pope *Julius*; the most remarkable of which are, that by which he allows the marriage of the then prince of *Wales* with his brother's widow; the bull *Contra Simoniacum pravitatem in electione pontificis non committendam*; the bull for indulgences to raise money for building *St. Peter's* church at *Rome*. As the political contests raised by Pope *Julius* properly belong to the history of *France* and *Italy*, we refer the reader for their influence on church-history, to the *histoire de la ligue de Cambrai*, by *Debos*, the *histoire de l'Eglise Gall.* and to all the pieces relating to king *Lewis's* famous medal of *Babylon*. Besides the encomiasts on Pope *Julius*, quoted by *Sagittarius* in *introd. in histor. eccles.* See *Spalatini's* life of him in *Tenzelius's* account of the Reformation. *Pallavicini histor. conc. Trid.* *Bayle's* dictionary, and *Joll's* remarks under the word *Julius II.*

his shallow knowledge in divinity; by the indecent pleasure he took in jests of his own or of others, sometimes obscenities, and by his zeal for advancing his own family, which was the principal motive that induced him so often to change sides in the commotions in *Italy*, and more than once to betray his allies. The two reputed master-pieces of his policy were, 1514. his concordat with *Francis* king of *France*, by 1515. which indeed the *Pragmatic Sanction*, so odious to the court of *Rome*, was annulled, but at the 1516. same time the liberties of the *Gallican* church were not a little impaired; and his supporting 1517. the *Lateran* council, and bringing it to a conclusion, without entering upon the reformation of the church. About this time he detected and punished a dangerous conspiracy against his life by two cardinals *Petrucci* and *Bandinelli*. His virtues and vices agreed in this, that they were both expensive. He had recourse to the usual arts of the court for this purpose. He promised great indulgences to those weak persons, who would charitably contribute towards the building of *St. Peter's* church, and the war against the *Turks*; that is, who would suffer themselves to be gulled out of their money. *Germany* in particular swarmed with venders of indulgences, till at last help came from *Zion*, and God delivered his captive people by the ever-glorious **LUTHER**. We cannot here enter into a detail of all the particulars relating to this memorable transaction, but must not omit what share the Popes had in it. *Leo*, in receiving the attack which God made upon him by his servant, adhered to the prudent maxims then established in the court of *Rome*. At first he made a jest of the rash attempt of the monk of *Wittemberg*,

temberg, whose learning he could not treat with contempt. When he found that the bulk of the several orders, and even the Emperor himself looked upon it as a serious matter, he likewise became serious. He cited the offender before him as judge, and signified to him authoritatively by cardinal *de Vio*, that he must recant. He endeavoured to get him into his power. He excommunicated him. He could not possibly do more. The pleasures of his court were his supreme passion. He once more deceived king *Francis*, and died on the first of *December* *.

1518.

1520.

1521.

Sect. 4. At a time when all *Italy* was in a flame, on account of the war between *Charles V.* and *Francis I.* it was indisputably a master-stroke of policy in the Emperor, that he quietly brought over so many cardinals to his interest, that after much altercation they chose on the ninth of *January* his beloved preceptor *Adrian of Utrecht*, who did not change his name, but stiled himself *Adrian VI.* He was of mean extraction, well skilled in scholastick divinity; of a sincere disposition, which was no less disagreeable to the *Italian* cardinals, than his aver-

1522.

* Of the bulls and speeches of Pope *Leo*, see *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. atat.* The concordats with king *Francis* are in *Leibnitz's cod. diplom. manuss.* Compare *Mosheim's institut. histor. eccles.* All the bulls passed against *Luther* may be seen in *Luther's* works. Of the council of *Lateran*, see *Cardinal de Monte S. Lateranense concil. Richer histor. concil. general. and Alexander's histor. eccles.* Concerning Pope *Leo*, see the *Acta conclavis*; *Jovii vita Leonis X. Spalatini's* life in *Tenzelius's* account of the Reformation. *Ghibbesi trifmegistum medicum in Ursulini famil. Florent. F. P. Scarp's* *histor. du concil. de Trent*, by *Cawrayer*. *Bayle Dictionnaire*, and *La vie de Leon* in the appendix to the *hist. du droit publique eccles. François.*

fin

sion to pomp, expence and pleasure. But what disgusted them most was, that he had no thoughts of redressing by fire and sword, but by the actual reformation of abuses, which he knew and openly acknowledged to be in the church of *Rome* in general, and in the court of *Rome* in particular; the complaints urged by ^{1523.} *Luther*, which were both justified and augmented by the hundred grievances delivered in the name of the whole empire to the Pope's Nuncio *Cbergato*, in the dyet at *Nuremberg*. It is to this conduct that we may truly attribute the many pamphlets thrown out against him in his lifetime, and the unfavourable judgment passed upon him after his death, by the most learned of the *Roman* catholic historians. Perhaps his partiality to the Emperor *Charles* might encrease the hatred; and it might also occasion the suspicion, perhaps groundless, that his death, which fell out on the fourteenth of *September*, was a violent one*.

SECT. 5. Cardinal *Julius de Medicis*, who had not only his illegitimacy taken off by his uncle Pope *Lec X.* but also obtained considerable preferments in the church from him, mounted the papal throne on the nineteenth of *November*, after a tedious election, by the name of *Clement VII.* He differed from his predecessor not only in the abilities requisite for the pa-

* Besides some remarkable theological pieces composed by Pope *Adrian* before his exaltation, and republished since without any alteration, relating to several free opinions advanced about the Pope's fallibility, and other important doctrines, to be met with in *Fabricius* and *Foppens biblioth. Belgic.* see the several documents in *Burmann's Analecta historica de Hadrian VI. Papa.*

pacy and an insight into its political interests, but in his private inclinations and views, as manifestly appeared from his conduct in the political exigences and religious broils which still subsisted, and daily encreased. The first specimen of this was the pains taken by the new Cardinal-legate *Campegius* in the imperial dyet at *Nuremberg*, to frustrate the earnest desire of the states, as well for the redress of the above-mentioned hundred grievances, as for a general council. The next was his alliance with *France* in prejudice of the Emperor. The change of affairs which afterwards happened by means of the successful battle of *Pavia*, induced indeed the artful *Clement* to put on another mask; but he discovered his real disposition, by the holy league he entered into for the advantage of *France*; by the oppression of the *Colonna* family, who had their revenge in the invasion of the city of *Rome*, by dispensing with the obligation of the oath which *Francis* had taken inviolably to observe the treaty of *Madrid*, and by the warm correspondence betwixt him and the Emperor *Charles*. All this unquestionably promoted what perhaps was not done by order of the latter, but was silently approved by him, and greatly to his advantage, namely the taking and plundering of *Rome*; the imprisonment of the Pope in the castle of *St. Angelo*; the advantageous capitulation; the flight of the Pope to *Orvieto*, and the negotiations of peace which followed thereupon. The *German* army on this occasion, proclaimed *Luther* as Pope of *Rome*, which was doubtless one of the incidents most mortifying to Pope *Clement*. About the same time the court of *Rome* was embarrassed with the famous divorce of *Henry VIII.* king of *England*,

1524.

1525.

1526.

1527.

land, which on account of its important consequences to the Pope, deserves the more particular notice, as those consequences were greatly promoted by some manifest errors in policy committed by *Clement*. At last a peace was concluded at *Barcelona* betwixt the Emperor and Pope, in which care was taken not only of the interests of the See of *Rome*, but likewise of the house of *Medicis*, by the erection of the dutchy of *Florence*; and the annual tribute for the kingdom of *Naples* was settled at a white horse and 6000 ducats. The Pope had now the honour of twice crowning the Emperor *Charles*, but with this double mortification, that the Emperor strongly insisted on a general council, as the only means for restoring tranquillity; and in the contest with the duke of *Ferrara* concerning *Modena* and *Reggio*, pronounced sentence in favour of the duke. But he was yet more disgusted, when the Emperor, amidst all the severity shewn against the protestants in the dyet at *Augsburg*, began to enter into a more close examination of the religious controversies; whereas at *Rome* all protestant doctrines were treated as condemned, by *Leo's* bulls of excommunication. He proceeded yet further, when at the breaking up of the dyet, he again engaged himself to call a council, inflexibly maintained his ancient right to the presentation of the bishopricks of *Malta*; and lastly ratified the religious convention at *Nuremberg*. In the new conferences at *Bologna*, the Pope indeed not only promised the Emperor to call a council, but likewise sent a minister to the elector of *Saxony*, to lay before him some preliminary articles of that affair which had been justly rejected by the confederates in the league of *Smalcald*. But that the Pope's intentions

1529.

1530.

1531.

1532.

1533.

intentions

tentions were to deceive the Emperor a second time, is manifest from the alliance he soon after contracted with *France*, in order to aggrandize the family of *Medicis*. But all his great designs were cut short by his death the twenty-fifth of *September* *.

1534.

SECT. 6. *Alexander Farnese*, Cardinal-bishop of *Ostia*, a native of *Rome*, was chosen on the thirteenth of *October*, and took the name of *Paul III*. He possessed in a supreme degree all the talents of a statesman, but was as deficient in those of a divine. His former life could be none of the most irreproachable, as one of the first steps of his pontificate was to bestow the red hat on two grand-children of his, *Farnese* and *Sforza*, then in their infancy; the father of the first, and the mother of the second having been his illegitimate children. As his prudence consisted chiefly in dissimulation, he gave a notable specimen of it in his zeal for bringing about a council, tho' this had before been stipulated by the cardinals at the election. He appointed, in order thereto, a particular congregation of cardinals; sent the famous *Vergerius* into *Germany* to confer with the protestants, and especially with *Luther* himself; had an interview with the Emperor *Charles* at *Rome*, and in the midst of the disturbances in *Italy*, which attended the infraction of the peace on the part of the king of *France*, he summoned the council to *Mantua*. Besides other obstructions, all

1535.

1536.

* The principal authentic pieces of Pope *Clement* may be found in the several historians of the Reformation. See *Ziegler's historia Clement VII.* published with remarks by *M. Schelborn in Æmænit. histor. eccles. & literar.*

1537. very agreeable to the Pope, *Frederick* duke of *Mantua* was not inclined to receive at once so many guests into the place of his residence. The council was therefore put off; but after the Pope had brought about the armistice at
1538. *Nizza*, it was again summoned to *Vincenza*. This was not only disagreeable to the protestant states of the empire, but to *France* and to king
1539. *Henry* of *England*; and the latter was so resolute in opposing the papal supremacy in his kingdom, that at last Pope *Paul* published the bull of excommunication, which had long been kept in suspense. *Henry*, as might well be expected, paid no regard to it, and it made so slight an impression upon the *Roman-catholic* princes, that the Emperor and *France*, contrary to the expectation of the Pope, made a treaty with
1540. king *Henry*. About this time the order of *Jesuits*, by the approbation and confirmation of the Pope, received its entire establishment, and became a pillar, of which the Papacy stood greatly in need. On the other hand, the pacific designs of the Emperor *Charles*, at *Hagenau*, *Worms*, and *Ratisbon*, were the more disagreeable to the Pope; for they were on one side an actual approbation of the protestant exceptions against a *Popish* council, and on the other an exercise of a right of cognisance in matters of faith, which was absolutely subversive of the papal authority. And indeed, notwithstanding the personal conference betwixt the Emperor and the Pope at *Lucca*, the breach
1542. was daily widened. The republick of *Venice* likewise refused to suffer the council to be held in their dominions. Hence ensued another alteration, and the council was called at *Trent*. The Popes Legates were nominated, and sent in order

order to preside there. The acceleration of it was the pretence, upon which *Paul* endeavoured to bring the Emperor to a peace, by a third interview with him at *Buffetto*. But the true motive which was to play the dutchy of *Milan* into the hands of the *Farnese* family, would not but make an impression on the Emperor, as his zeal for maintaining the tranquillity of *Germany* did on the Pope; insomuch, that from this time a perpetual coolness subsisted; and the Emperor daily shewed himself less inclined to the council.

At length it was opened on the thirteenth of *September*, but the far greatest part of the fathers being *Italians*, it soon became apparent, that all their decrees would be thought to stand in need of a careful examination, correction and limitation, according to the political views of the court of *Rome*. Amidst these various sollicitudes, the Pope was not divested from aggrandizing his family, of which a notable instance was the investiture of his grandson *Farnese* with the dutchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, tho' they were unquestionably two imperial Fiefs. At *Trent* the papal Legates strictly regulated their conduct by the will of the Pope, approving in the strongest manner, the settlement of the canonical books of the holy scripture, and the extravagant authority attributed to the *Latin* version of them, which passed in the fourth session. Yet they so displeased the Pope, that he judged it necessary, by a new order, to require that the decrees should be sent to *Rome*, for confirmation, and entirely to prohibit all enquiries into the authority of the Pope. He had even some thoughts of removing the council, tho' this proved as ineffectual as his attempt to withdraw the whole affair of the reformation from the council

1542.

1544.

1545.

1546.

1547. council to his court. The growing approbation which the protestant doctrine daily met with, had before this been made use of as a handle for introducing the inquisition into *Italy*. But the Pope attempting now to introduce it in the kingdom of *Naples*, was defeated. At last however he hazarded the measure of removing the council from *Trent* to *Bologna*; which fortunately prevented its taking any effect; for the Emperor *Charles* openly shewed his resentment at it, renewed his claim to *Parma* and *Placentia*, and by the *interim* of *Augsburg*, assumed to himself a power inconsistent with the doctrine of the *Romish* church, and with the views of the council. Pope *Paul*, for particular reasons, adjourned the sessions, and died on the tenth of *November*, in a
- 1548.
1549. very advanced age*.

* The most important public acts of this Pope relate to the history of the council of *Trent*. There are some illustrations of some of *Cicero's* Epistles by him, and there are some letters written in the name of the three Popes, *Leo*, *Clement*, and *Paul*, by *Jac. Sadoletto*, in the *Miscellan. ex MSS. Collegii Romani*. The promotion of this *Furcese* to the cardinalship under Pope *Alexander VI.* and the exaltation of this house consequent upon it, were not particularly effects of a call from heaven. See *Burnet's* appendix to his travels, and *Frankenstein's* explication of *Puffendorff's* Introduction. The history of this Pope is further explained by *Spalatin*, *Guedeville maximes politiques Quirini*, who has done eminent service to church-history by his noble collection of cardinal *Pool's* letters, and the writings relative thereto, and has given us *imago optimi pontificis expressa in gestis Pauli III.* but in this picture the artist too often flatters his original; Mr. *Schelborn's* *epistola de consilio de emendanda ecclesia*; *Quirini ad catholicum aequumque lectorem animadversiones in epistolam Schelbornii*. *Schelborn's* second letter 1748. M. *Kiesling's* *epistola de gestis Pauli III.* to which may also be added *F. Paul's* history of the council of *Trent*.

Sect. 7. Tho' it was naturally hoped, that the election of a Pope would be dispatched on account of the jubilee year, yet by the absence of some cardinals, and the clashings of parties in the conclave, it suffered a very extraordinary delay. In the mean time the cardinals entered into an obligation, that the new Pope should restore the council, which had been suspended, and procure the restitution of the duchy of *Parma* to the house of *Farnese*. It was the good fortune of cardinal *John Maria Giocci* to be promoted to the papal chair on the eighth of *February*, by the name of *Julius III*. He immediately made good the last of the two promises, and bound himself by a second oath to the first, tho' without much thought of fulfilling it. He shewed his character and disposition, which afterwards became more known, by conferring his cardinal's hat on his page and monkey-keeper, *Innocent*, and making him his favourite. The restoration of the council being strongly insisted on by the Emperor *Charles*, the Pope at length issued out a proclamation for the continuation of it at *Trent*. But before its meeting the Pope quarelled with the republic of *Venice* about their limitation of the power of the inquisition; also with *France*, on account of the alliance with the house of *Farnese*, to the disadvantage of the formidable Emperor. The sessions at *Trent* were indeed renewed: But the Pope's Legate and his creatures so tied up the hands of the fathers, that the imperial ministers miscarried in their good design of executing the promise made by the Emperor at the last diet of *Augsburg*. A truce was concluded with *France*, tho' that crown solemnly protested against the council of *Trent*. On the other hand, a dispute arose be-

1551.

1552.

- twixt the Pope and *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*, whom he was warmly bent upon excommunicating, but thought better of it. The successes of the elector *Maurice* against the Emperor proved a seasonable pretence for suspending the council two years: But another event, still more pleasing to the Pope, was the accession of queen *Mary* to the throne of *England*, by the death of that excellent young prince king *Edward*, tho' it proved of short duration. Pope
1553. *Julius* died the twenty-third of *March*, leaving behind him a most vile character, branded, besides his flagrant debaucheries, with sodomy and blasphemy*.
- 1555.

SECT. 8. The conclave was distracted by a national party-spirit, and after much chicanery cardinal *Marcellus Cervin* carried the election. He did not change his christian name, styling himself *Marcellus II.* What he might have done, had his pontificate lasted longer than twenty-three days, cannot be ascertained. He died on the last of *April* †.

SECT. 9. The *French* party carried the new election in favour of cardinal *John Peter Caraffa*, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, to the dread of all who were acquainted with the warmth and

* Besides the five and twenty bulls published by *Che Rubin*, particular notice deserves to be taken of his *Reformatio* in *Hoffman's collect. nov.* See several pieces published by *Vergerius*, *Rainerius de creatione Julii III.* *Vitalis elogium Julii III.* & *cardinalium ab eo creatorum.* The extract from *Bullinger's MS.* life in *Heidegger's Historia papatus*; *Bayle's dictionnaire*, and *F. Paul's history.*

† See *Pollidori de vitâ, gestis & moribus Marcelli II. commentar.* *Father Paul and Pallavicini histor. di Concil. di Trento.*

violence of his disposition. In the character of Pope *Paul IV.* he seemed to divest himself of them; but he only improved that disposition by connecting with it an excessive love of pomp, and a zeal at this time very unseasonable to render the power of the Pope formidable to all crowned heads. He had also sworn to a kind of capitulation, but almost shewed that he thought a Pope above all obligations. His former disaffection to the imperial house was now increased by the religious peace, and by the just lenity of the Emperor *Frederick* towards his subjects. He made a shew of holding a council in the *Lateran*; but being taken up with cares of a very different nature, matters remained as they were. Having entered into alliance with *Henry II.* he laboured every way to break off the cessation of arms concluded betwixt the Emperor and *France*; and herein he was too successful. But engaging in a war from resentment of the protection granted by the duke of *Alva*, vice-roy of *Naples*, to the *Colonna* family against his violent persecution of them, he was glad in a short time to come to a disadvantageous peace. In the mean time the resignation of the empire by the Emperor *Charles* to his brother *Ferdinand*, which the Pope pretended required his concurrence, a slight suspicion about the affair of cardinal *Pool* in *England*, and his uneasiness at a small abatement of the persecution of the protestants by *Henry* king of *France*, induced this arrogant prelate to quarrel with all these powers almost at the same time. The remarkable transactions of the close of his life are his cruelties towards his nephews; his indiscreet behaviour towards *Elizabeth* queen of *England*, and the institution of the first index of prohibited books.

1556.

1557.

1558.

1559. books. At length, on the eighteenth of *August*, he died, to the great joy of the people of *Rome*, who, exasperated by his oppressions, vented their hatred in every kind of insult*.

1560. Sect. 10. The conclave was again disturbed by contending parties, and by the arts which they reciprocally practised against each other. The cardinals again laid an obligation on the future Pope, that he should acknowledge the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and restore the council, which had been begun. At length they united in the person of cardinal *John Angelo*, of the name of *Medicis*; but of a family remotely, if at all related to the illustrious house of *Florence*. He was elected on the twenty-third of *October*, and styled himself *Pius IV*. The first of his promises he readily fulfilled, but the second was extorted by menaces. Several delays were fortunately contrived under the name of preparatives, among which were the legations, and some even to pro-

* He wrote several learned pieces before his promotion to the papacy, of which see *Toppi in biblioth. Neapol. & Colonicis in Ital. oriental.* Among his bulls in *Cherubini bullar.* the most remarkable is that in which he, unsolicited, raises *Ireland* to a kingdom. As the index of prohibited books is unquestionably one of the strongest, and withal the most indefensible means of supporting the whole constitution of the *Romish* church, and particularly the respect due to the Pope, the pieces written on that subject deserve to be read. The congregation for the index of books appointed at *Rome* in aid of this design, is a later institution of Pope *Sixtus V.* Among the many writers of the life of Pope *Paul IV.* mentioned by *S. Carolo & Sagittarius*, the most worthy of notice are *Caraccicli colleſtanea hiſtorica de vita Pauli IV.* and *Magii diſquiſitiones hiſtoricæ de Pauli IV. inculpata vita*, and father *Paul.*

testant

restant courts, derogatory to the honour of the Pope. The *Roman-catholic* courts themselves 1561.
 occasioned dissensions, some on the subject of the place, others on the question, whether it was a new, or a continued council. All this was at length regulated by the will of the Pope; and the council was opened on the eighteenth of *January*, or rather the continuation of it was begun by the seventeenth public session. A detail of the several transactions of this council would carry us too far from the design of this work. Let it suffice to say, that the greatest caution was used not to pass a decree without an approbation from *Rome*; that all attempts, particularly of the *Spanish* and *French* doctors, for restoring the dignity of bishops, limiting the power of the Pope, and accomplishing a reformation, were frustrated; and lastly, that on the third of *December*, in the twenty-fifth session, 1563.
 the council was dissolved, and even by the bull of confirmation, which at length passed, after long debates, its authority was weakened, and the arbitrary construction reserved to the Pope of *Rome*. The other parts of the history of Pope *Pius* are his dispute with the Emperor *Maximilian's* ambassadors concerning the act of homage; his irregular behaviour towards some bishops of *France*, and *Joan* queen of *Naples*; to which may be added, the oppression of the *Caraffa's*, which was one of his first measures; his nepotism in respect of the two houses of *Borromeo* and *Attemps*, and the grant of the cup to the laity of *Austria* and *Bavaria* *.

1564.
 Sect. 1565.

* Most of the bulls of Pope *Pius* relate to the council of *Trent*: Besides which in *Cberubini bullar. magni* are a hundred and sixty ordinances, with which compare

1566. Sect. II. The new Pope *Pius V.* who after various artifices and intrigues was chosen on the eighth of *January*, was before *Michael Ghisleri*, cardinal of *Alexandria*. He was of a very mean extraction, but had acquired such a character, when a *Dominican* friar, that besides other employments, he was commissary-general of the court of Inquisition at *Rome*. In this horrid school he could imbibe no other principles than those which he tenaciously followed when Pope. It was no wonder that at the news of his election *Rome* was in universal consternation, which was not a little increased by the restoration of the *Caraffa's*, the severity against public prostitutes, which were looked upon in *Rome* as a necessary evil, and by the burning some persons eminent for learning, especially *Palcarius*; but the chief object of his zeal were the formal submission to the council of *Trent*, which in *France* became every day more difficult; the maintenance of the unlimited power of his See, and all the pretended privileges thereof; and the extirpation of pretended hereticks. The last he pursued with so little moderation and prudence, that he not only approved of all violent

1567.

the *Edicte bullarum Pii IV. Pii V. and Gregory XIII.* As both the great number of historical writings and the collections of public records relating to the history of the council of *Trent*, together with their diversity, and the necessity thence arising, by judging about the right or wrong application of them, render it impossible to give any detail of them here, so it will perfectly agree with our design, to refer the reader to *Schmid's introducet. Sagittar. in histor. ecclcs. Pfaff's introd. in histor. liter. theol. Buddæus's IJagog. univ. theol.* Concerning Pope *Pius*, see *Leonardi's publick harangue de laudibus Pii IV. Padua 1565.* Father *Paul's* history, with *Heidegger's* history *Papatus.*

means,

means, and supported them, by leaving his army in the hands of *France*, and by enormous expences, but even had recourse to tumults and treacheries; which happened in the end to propagate and establish protestantism in *France*, *England*, *Scotland*, and the *Netherlands*. His iniquitous order, that no ecclesiastic should be subject to publick taxes, gave great offence in *Spain*, *France* and *Venice*. But the Emperor *Maximilian* was much more provoked by the erection of the dutchy of *Florence* into a grand dutchy. It was his own fault, that he failed in bringing the Christian powers to an union against the *Turks*. At length he died on the first of *May*. Pope *Clement VIII.* proclaimed him blessed, and *Clement XI.* canonised him *.

1569.

1568.

1570.

1572.

SECT. 12. Cardinal *Granvella* then vice-roy of

* Of all the writings of this Pope, see *Quetif.* in *biblioth. ord. prædic.* His bulls, among which those relating to the council of *Trent*, and that most remarkable one concerning the Eucharist, which occasioned so much disturbance, as may be seen in *Giannoni* *histoir de Naples*, we find in *Cherubini's bullar. magni*. There are five books extant of his *Epistolæ apostolicæ*. He invented the consecrated medals, and was author of the *Roman* or *Trent* catechism. The canonization of Pope *Pius*, which after being long pushed with great zeal at length took place in the year 1712, is the true cause of the multitude of distinct lives written of him, but also of the well-grounded suspicion of partiality in the authors of them. The most remarkable, tho' not of equal utility are, *Hiern. Cateza*, whose *Vita del gloriosissimo papa Pio V.* deserves particular notice for the *Raccolta di lettere di papa Pio V. e diversi precipe Joh. Anton. Gabutii de vita & rebus justis Pii V. libri sex*, which has been reprinted in the *Act. Sanctor*; *Archangelo Caraccio*, whose *brevis narratio gestorum Pii V.* is only an extract of a more complete, though probably unprinted work. *Abr.*

- of *Naples*, by a master-piece of that policy, for which he was so famed, procured *Hugo Buoncompagno* to be chosen Pope, within six hours after the conclave had been shut. He stiled himself *Gregory XIII.* and must be owned to have been of a much milder turn of mind than his predecessor; yet he is strongly suspected, probably from political motives, to have openly approved of the massacre of *Paris*. He was very zealous for the support of the authority of the council of *Trent*; and employed large sums in building and endowing colleges for the instruction of youth in the *Romish* religion. He became disgusted at the republick of *Venice*, for making a peace with the *Turks*, and no less with cardinal *Granvella*, for causing a criminal of the inquisition to be taken out of the Archbishop's palace of *Naples*. On the other hand
1573. he gave no small scandal by being an accomplice in a conspiracy against *Elizabeth* queen of
1574. *England*. He was distressed by the accession of
1577. *Henry* cardinal of *Portugal* to that crown, who desired a dispensation for marrying, which was opposed by king *Philip* of *Spain*; by the opposition of *France* to the scheme of the Pope for exempting ecclesiasticks from all civil jurisdiction; by the discontents of the cardinals at his excessive liberality to his natural son *Jacob*, and by the refusal of the protestants to admit his kalendar, which he was willing to enforce by papal authority. On the other hand, it was very fortunate for him, that the Emperor *Rudolf II.*
- 1581.

Ezovii Pius V. Romanus pontifex, Thom. Mat. Minorelli vita S. Pii; Paul Alexander Maffei vita di S. Pio V. Anton de Fuenmayor vita y hechos di Pio V. Job. Bapt. Feuillet vie du Pape Pii V. Pet. Galefini translatio corporis Pii V. à Sixto V. celebrata, is a very singular piece.

remained such a calm spectator of the violent proceedings against *Gebhard* elector of *Cologn*. 1583.
 After a great tumult in *Rome*, on account of the *Ursini*; and after he had had the pleasure of receiving an ambassador from *Japan*, he died on the tenth of *April**. 1584.
 1585.

Sect. 13. The multitude of competitors for the triple crown, and the mistake concerning the temper of cardinal *Felix Peretti di Montalto*, into which his outward carriage had drawn most of the cardinals, occasioned him to be elected on the 24th of *April*, by the name of *Sixtus V*. But not till after a compact among themselves for the security of their own power and dignity; no Pope has afforded posterity so much matter for different judgments of him, especially by his excessive severity in punishments, which can be excused only from the manifest necessity of them, which might proceed from the supineness of his predecessor; but that is not the light in which we are to view him. He is here to be considered as a complete politician, who had a thorough knowledge of the interests of his chair; and chose the most effectual means for promoting those; his means were not fruitless attempts for bringing pretended hereticks

* Among Pope *Gregory's* writings the edition of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, with improvements and additions, justly deserves the first place; concerning which, see *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. æt. in Cherubini bullar.* may be seen his bulls, particularly that concerning the calendar. But there are separate collections of his bulls and letters, see *Fabricius biblioth. lat. med. & infim. ætat.* The history of this Pope is cleared up by *M. A. Ciappi in compendio delle attione è santa vita di Gregorio XIII. Matth. Taberna Draco Gregorianus Ign. Bomplani historia pontificatus Gregorii XIII. Job. Pet. Maffei annales Gregorii XIII.*

into

into subjection, but the augmentation of his external power by the conquest of the kingdom of *Naples*; the preservation of the princes still continuing attached to the Papacy; and the reduction of their power now grown dangerous to the Pope himself. This judicious policy *Sixtus* conducted with impenetrable dissimulation, and acted some very extraordinary parts. His favourite scheme for the subjection of *Naples* was not to be concealed. A violent quarrel arose betwixt him and *France*, on account of a nuncio. He excommunicated king *Henry* of *Navarre*, and his brother the prince of *Condé*; of which however, they took a sensible revenge. He was glad to keep on good terms with

1586. queen *Elizabeth* for humbling *Philip* of *Spain*, whom he hated; and on this account he looked on the beheading of *Mary* queen of *Scots* with eyes very different from those of a zealous Pope. For form's sake he promised king

1587. *Philip* his useless assistance in his enterprize on the dominions of that queen, and excommunicated her; A step as ridiculous to him as to the queen, who returned him the compliment. He was little moved at the refusal of the republic of *Venice* to permit the publication of the bull in their dominions. But the killing of the cardinal *de Guise* by order of king *Henry* III. he resented with an excommunication couched in the most violent terms. Soon after he quarrelled with the Emperor *Rudolph*. His coldness to the catholic league in *France*; his merit with respect to the holy scriptures, and

1588. the manifest proofs of his aversion to the Jesuits caused him to be so hated in *Spain*, that it is a question whether his death which happened on the twenty-seventh of *August* was natural. His care

1589.

care to improve the splendor of the city of *Rome*; the vast treasures he accumulated; his foundation of the *Vatican* library, and his fixing the number of cardinals at seventy, are also transactions which have gained *Sixtus* immortal reputation. Tho' we cannot look upon him as the model of a great prince, and much less of an irreproachable prelate, yet we are inclined to believe, that many of those black colours, with which the Jesuits have represented him, rather proceed from their rancour, than his real character*.

* Among those writings, of which the publication at least is owing to Pope *Sixtus*, the principal are the edition of the Septuagint printed at *Rome*, and its old translation, which was published in 1587, fol. and the *Roman* edition of the *Latin Vulgate* with improvements, by order of the council of *Trent*, *Rom.* 1590. in three volumes, fol. concerning which consult *M. Carpzov. in critic. sac.* His edition of the entire works of *St. Ambrose*, which he published when cardinal, is not in great esteem. Whether it be true, that he also had the care of an *Italian* translation of the Bible, but suppressed it on account of the strenuous opposition of the *Spaniards* and some cardinals, is a question not easy to determine. See *Lelong biblioth. sac.* Among his ordinances in *Cherubini*, the most remarkable is the fiftieth, by which he put the college of cardinals into a proper form, and the seventy-fourth of the fifteen congregations: His liberality to the *Vatican* library is recorded by *Bocca* in *biblioth. Vatican*; to which work he has annexed a particular treatise *de Sixti V. edificiis.* See *Vincent. Robard's Sixti V. gesta quinquennialia*, *Gregorii Leti's* history of Pope *Sixtus V.* written in *Italian*, and afterwards translated into other languages. *Joh. Peter Maffei histor. ab excessu Gregorii XIII. lib. iii.* and particularly *Casimir Teinpejli Storia della vita e geste de Sisto Quinto Romæ, 1755.* two vols. in *Quarto.*

SECT. 14. On the 15th of September, after a short conclave, was chosen *John Baptist Castagna*, a *Genoese*; he stiled himself *Urban VII.* and died the 12th day of his pontificate*.

SECT. 15. The unexpected demise of the late Pope occasioned the conclave to be very turbulent. At last, by the intrigues of cardinal *Montalto*, the triple crown was conferred on cardinal *Nickol. Sfrontati*, a *Milanese*, and Bishop of *Cremona*, who took the name of *Gregory XIV.* His temper and character were better than his intellects. His zeal for the *Romish* religion, as well as his attachment to his natural sovereign king *Philip*, led him openly to espouse the party of the *French* league, to support it both with
1591. men and money; and to inflame matters by some bulls, excommunicating king *Henry IV.* and exciting the people to revolt, which bulls were publickly burnt; but his time was short, for he died on the 15th of *October* †.

SECT. 16. *Innocent IX.* was chosen on the 29th of *October* by the *Spanish* party. He was of *Bologna*, and by name *John Antony Facchinetti.* We know but little of him, for he died on the 30th of *October* †.

SECT. 17. Tho' the cardinal *St. Severin* had a majority of votes in the conclave; yet by

* See *Tria Conclavia, sive tres historicæ narrationes de Urbani VII. Gregorii XIV. & Clementie octavi electionibus,* and *Lor. Arrigho vit. Urbani VII.*

† Among his bulls in *Cberubini bullar. magn.* the most remarkable is the first, which prohibits all alienation of church lands; the fourth against all wagers on account of the election of a Pope; and the ninth, that the cardinals who are monks may also wear the red cap. There is a particular life of this Pope written by *Luc. Wadding.*

‡ See *Cberubini bull.*

the violence of the opposite party, cardinal *Hy-*
polito Aldobrandini was chosen on the 30th of
January. He stiled himself *Clement VIII.* and
 was distinguished by a blind zeal against the
 protestants. This appeared in his first endea-
 vours to place a *Roman-catholick* prince on the
 throne of *France* in lieu of king *Henry IV.* and
 even after that prince had embraced the *Romish*
 religion, to raise difficulties about his reconcile-
 ment. This was indeed at last accomplished,
 but through the fault of the two ambassadors
d'Offat and *Duperron*, it was done with some in-
 dignity to the king. Among the articles, the
 acceptance of the council of *Trent* was clogged
 with a very disagreeable limitation; but this could
 not be executed. The impostor at *Rome*, who
 pretended to be deputed with professions of
 obedience, from the patriarch of *Alexandria*,
 does Pope *Clement* no more honour than his
 fruitless endeavours to subject the *Nestorian*
 Christians to his See. The reversion of the
 dutchy of *Ferrara*, on the decease of duke *Al-*
phonsus II. was a fortunate event for the Papacy
 in his time. He celebrated a jubilee. The
 activity of the Jesuits in supporting the doctrine
 of *Molinos* on grace, molested the Pope, and
 occasioned him to call a particular congrega-
 tion on the subject of assisting grace. A great
 tumult also happened in *Rome* from the protec-
 tion granted to a malefactor by the house of
Farnese. *Clement* died the 5th of *March* *.

1592.

1595.

1597.

1600.

1603.

C H A P.

* Pope *Clement's* edition of the *Vulgate* was very different from that of Pope *Sixtus*, and this is one of the clearest proofs possible of the contrariety of opinions between two Popes, even in matters of faith. See *James's bellum papale*, *Schelborn's amœnitat. liter.* Of his bulls

C H A P. II.

Of the History of the PAPACY.

Sect. I. **U**PON a summary view of this remarkable period, we find, that in the first part of it, the internal corruption of the court of *Rome* was become such as to exclude all external order and decency. In the middle it received such a shock as it had never before experienced, by the amazing progress of the Reformation, and the latter part of this period was employed in preserving the wreck, and restoring or recovering what had been lost; but the former was attended with more success than the latter. All this necessarily produced many alterations which we shall here exhibit, that every one may be able to decide for himself, whether the Papacy is the better for the Reformation or not. This question, when rightly stated, so as to extend to the whole religion in theory and practice, as likewise to the members of the *Roman-catholic* church, and their mutual connection by church discipline,

bulls in *Cherubini bullar. magn.* the most remarkable are, the twenty-eighth, concerning the lawful and unlawful rites and usages of the *Greek* church; the seventy-fourth, ordering that besides the Jesuits, also other orders, particularly mendicant friars, may be employed in missions; and the eighty-seventh, concerning confession and absolution in writing. On the embassy from *Alexandria*, see *Mesbeim institut. histor. eccles.* The character of this Pope may be best seen in *Tbuanus*, *Perefix*, and *d'Offat's* letters. *Wadding* has also written his life. Some other pieces which have been published are of little importance.

includes more than, according to our very narrow idea of the word Papacy, can here be brought into consideration. In our opinion, it can neither be wholly affirmed, nor denied; and the best answer seems to be, that the *Romish* church is amended in some points, which are to be considered as fruits of the Reformation; that in others it is not improved at all; and that in others again, which were thought necessary supports to the tottering edifice, it is absolutely grown worse*.

SECT. 2. As to the spiritual monarchy of the Pope, it was at first greatly endangered by those who bore testimony to the truth, in spite of the base example of Pope *Pius II.* and particularly by the proceedings of king *Lewis XII.* of *France*, and of the council of *Pisa* against Pope *Julius II.*

SECT. 3. But the advantage became irreparable, when gradually a considerable part of *Germany*, *France*, the *Netherlands*, *Switzerland*, *Hungary* and *Poland*, besides all *England*, *Scotland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *Prussia*, received the doctrine of the Reformation, and withdrew entirely from their obedience to the See of *Rome*.

SECT. 4. Besides this, those nations which still adhered to the doctrine of the church of *Rome*, not only admitted principles quite irreconcilable with the doctrine of an infallible head of the whole church, but also particularly by the frequent complaints against the See of *Rome* and their earnest solicitations for a council, threatened it with no small danger; and

* See *Dr. Baumgarten's Observationes de Concilio Tridentino quantum per illud melior deteriorve facta fuerit ecclesia Romana.*

Charles V. was even actually employed, at least in *Germany*, in deciding religious points judicially.

Sect. 5. All this incited the court of *Rome* to study expedients for the better support of the *Roman-catholic* religion, and more especially of the authority of the Pope, and to secure it from further declension. The council of *Trent* was very artfully made use of to answer this end, quite contrary to its original design. The *Roman* Legates were suffered to preside in it; and they had not the liberty of agreeing to the resolutions of the fathers, without the previous consent of the Pope. All the doctrines which contradicted the *Romish* errors, were condemned, without hearing the protestants, and all the doctrines peculiar to the church of *Rome*, were solemnly confirmed, which promoted the maintenance of the latter, and hindered the further propagation of the former. A majority of votes was influenced to suppress the doctrines assented to by the greatest part of the doctors there present, or they were decided by an authoritative sentence from *Rome*, if they had the least tendency to the prejudice of the papal court; those questions, for instance, so fruitful in altercation, whether episcopacy be of divine origin? and whether the Pope was to be accounted the head of all churches, or of the universal church? The reformation, so universally desired, dwindled into an alteration only of some indifferent matters; and the papal court reserved to itself the amendment of its own abuses. In the last place, it was deemed the prerogative of the Pope to interpret all the decrees.

Sect. 6. As it must be owned that these methods had their desired effect in those provinces, where the decrees of this council were accepted without limitation; so the Pope had the mortification to find, that whole nations, especially *France, Spain, and Hungary*, either absolutely refused their compliance, or by their exceptions and reservations plainly shewed, that their opposition arose from the very doctrine therein confirmed of the supremacy of the Pope: And hence the very important distinction betwixt the perfectly and partially obedient sons of the holy father*.

Sect. 7. Further means for promoting this grand design, were the inquisition of *Italy*, the Jesuits, the missions, the index of prohibited books, and in some measure the repeated, but frustrated attempts, entirely to divest all temporal sovereigns of any jurisdiction over ecclesiastics.

Sect. 8. These things sufficiently evidence the determined design of the Popes to erect an universal supremacy, even without that practical evidence of it the excommunication, still fulminated against princes, tho' with very little effect.

Sect. 9. It must not however be omitted, that amidst all the zeal at *Rome* for maintaining the papal privileges; yet in the exercise of them, the Popes hands have been tied up by the cardinals and the congregations.

Sect. 10. With regard to temporal dominion, they became richer by the succession of the

* See *Courayer's discours historique, &c.* annexed to the second volume of his *French* edition of father *Paul, M. Kocher's biblioth. symbol. and Mosheim's institut. histor. eccles.*

dutchy of *Ferrara*. *Naples*, like an alluring virgin, was continually courted by the Pope, but at the same time carefully guarded. The incessant wars in *Italy* during this period betwixt *France* and *Spain*, gave them frequent opportunities of reaping advantages from both sides.

Sect. 11. Hence instances are not wanting of Popes, who by perfidy to their allies, as well as by their scandalous lives, and their manifest contradictions to each other, proved the infallibility of the Pope to be an absurd chimera.

Sect. 12. The former complaints about nepotism were not in the least abated.

Sect. 13. The elections of Popes were only so many trials of skill and craft among the cardinals and ambassadors. Some new ordinances were made on this subject. There are also two instances of Popes who did not alter their christian names. The capitulations, if we may so call them, were customary; the coronations pompous, and like all the public transactions of the *Roman* chair in general, settled by a strict ceremonial*.

Sect. 14. The cardinals became not only more powerful, for in the consistory they took cognisance of the most important concerns; but the number of them was now settled at six cardinal bishops, fifty cardinal priests, and fourteen cardinal deacons. Among these, four at least were to be divines; and these to be taken from the regulars and mendicants.

Sect. 15. It was observed above, that *Sixtus V.* instituted fifteen congregations. There are, 1. For the inquisition. 2. For the *signatura della*

* See *Meuschen's ceremonial. electionis & coronationis pontificis Rom. Vergeri ordo eligendi pontificis*; and the *histoire des conclaves*.

gracia. 3. For the building of churches and consistorial warrants. 4. For the care of provisions within the ecclesiastical state. 5. For religious rites. 6. For the marine of the ecclesiastical state. 7. For the index of prohibited books. 8. For the support and interpretation of the council of *Trent*. 9. For redressing the grievances of the ecclesiastical state. 10. For the university at *Rome*. 11. For the religious orders. 12. For the bishops and other prelates. 13. For the streets, bridges, and aqueducts. 14. For the *Vatican* printing-office; and, 15. For the ecclesiastical state in general. *Clement VIII.* was the founder of the congregation for the controversy of assisting grace.

Sect. 16. Thus the political constitution indeed received a right form, but the Popes at the same time were more and more shackled. Policy also struck out new maxims of state, which no Pope understood better than *Sixtus V.* who first discerned that protestantism might accidentally be turned to the advantage of the Pope. But this project is defeated by the alteration, which the general constitution of *Europe* has undergone, and these changes will appear in the following period to have been accidentally detrimental to the Popes.



B O O K V I I I .

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

P O P E S


From the Emperor *Rudolph* II,
to the Emperor *Francis*.

C H A P . I .

The History of the P O P E S of R O M E .

S E C T . I .

The History of the Popes of the seven-
teenth Century.

1605. Sect. I.  *ARONIUS* would probably
have succeeded in the papacy,
had not the *Spaniards* been in-
duced by a writing of his con-
cerning the *Sicilian* monarchy, to undermine
him. The election at last was carried on the
first of *April*, in favour of cardinal *Alexander Me-*
dicis,

dicis, who stiled himself *Leo XI.* but died on the twenty-sixth day of the same month, which prevented him from making good the promise agreed on among the cardinals, that the new Pope should terminate the controversy of assisting grace*.

Sect. 2. After a very tumultuous election, in which the *French* court was the most active, cardinal *Camillus Borgese* ascended the papal chair by the name of *Paul V.* His impetuous zeal for the authority of the Pope carried him to such extravagant measures, that he not a little contributed to the diminution of it. But of all his transactions none has made so much noise, or is in effect so remarkable, as his contest with the republic of *Venice.* This arose partly from two edicts of the republic, for preventing the unnecessary increase of religious buildings, and the augmentation of the wealth of the clergy; partly from the prosecution of two ecclesiastics, for capital crimes, who had not been delivered up to the Pope at his requisition. Pope *Paul* laid all the dominions of the republic under an interdict, and *Venice* on the other hand declared that unjust ordinance to be invalid; and banished the Jesuits and Capuchins, who had openly violated the obedience due to the state. Preparations were making on both sides for a war, when an accommodation, not very honourable to the Pope, was brought about by the mediation of *Henry IV.* of *France.* Pope *Paul* very unnecessarily gave offence to that crown, by an express approbation of the doctrine of *Suarez* the Jesuit, concerning the murder of kings. But this rupture was likewise little to his advantage. The

1606!

1612;

* *Wadding* has also written his life.

union of a *Nestorian* patriarch with the See of *Rome* was no important matter of joy to Pope
 1614. *Paul*; and his exultation at the arrival of a
 1615. splendid embassy from *Japan* was very short, and
 soon after embittered by the persecution, which
 is known to have followed it. Tho' the Pope
 was a great patron of the *Jesuits*; yet in the
 controversy of assisting grace, and in that of the
 immaculate conception, he ventured no farther
 than to impose silence on the disputants. The
 palaces, estates, and other riches, still possessed
 by the house of *Borghese*, are monuments of this
 Pope's excessive nepotism. On the other hand, he
 had the merit of beautifying the city of *Rome*,
 and improving the *Vatican* library. He died on
 1621. the twenty-eighth of *January*. Whether he may
 be justified in suffering himself to be stiled Vice-
 God, the monarch of *Christendom*, and supporter
 of Papal omnipotence, needs not to be deter-
 mined *.

Sect.

* See his bulls in *Cherubini bullar. magn.* That which de-
 serves particular notice is the sixty-fifth, in which good
 provision is made for public instruction in the oriental
 languages. In the *Venetian* contest, see the pieces by
Sarpi on one side, and those by *Baronius* and *Bellarmino*
 on the other; which not only relate and explain the
 progress of this transaction, to which all *Europe* was
 then attentive, but are also very important helps to-
 wards understanding the controversy about the pre-
 tended supremacy of the Pope, and its limits, the lat-
 ter being very judiciously considered by the *Venetian*
 writers. We refer our readers to *Sagittarius's* *introduc.*
in histor. eccl. *Gryphius adparat. de scriptor. hist. sec.*
XVII. *Buder's bibliothec. historic.* *Fossarini della literat.*
Venezian., but chiefly to *Sarpi's historia interdicti Veneti*,
 which in *Italian* takes up the fourth volume of his
 works,

Sect. 3. After a short and somewhat turbulent conclave, cardinal *Alexander Luigi* was elected. He was both a native and archbishop of *Bologna*. He took the name of *Gregory XV*. His indolence was such, that he often committed the reins of government to very improper hands; yet he exerted the utmost of his power against the protestants, in order to suppress them in *France* and *Germany*. Another unquestionable monument of his zeal is the institution of the congregation *de propaganda fide*. He would not decide in the controversy concerning the immaculate conception of the *Virgin Mary*. At last he died on the eighteenth of *July*. His frequent canonisations are by some considered as arguments of his covetousness*.

1622.

1623.

Sect. 4. After a conclave, conducted with all the dexterity of political intrigue, *Maffei Barberini*, a *Florentine*, was chosen on the 6th of *August*. He was at that time Cardinal-legate of *Bologna*. He took the name of *Urban VIII*.

works, and was translated into *Latin* by *William Bedell* of *Cambridge*. Compare *Heidegger's histor. papat. Cou- rayer's vie abregée de Fra Paolo*, prefixed to the first part of the *Histoire du Concile de Trente*. The best life of *Pope Paul V.* tho' not without errors, was published by *Bzovius*.

* He made new regulations for the election of a *Pope*, as may be seen from the *cæremoniale continens ritus electionis R. P.* His decrees were printed at *Rome* 1623. See also *Cherubini's bullar. tom. III.* Of his we likewise have *variae decisiones*, and *memoriale sciendorum a clericis*. Concerning the congregation *de propaganda fide*, see *Fabrics in luc salutar.* and of the proceedings in the controversy about the conception of the *Virgin Mary*, *Wadding's legatio Philippi III. & IV. ad Paulum V. & Gregorium XV.* An account of some writings of this *Pope*, but of little importance, may be seen in *Sagittarius*.

- was a man of learning, and zealous for his church and the honour of his court. As he was strongly swayed by nepotism, he bestowed on his relations red hats and temporal employments, and often remitted the management of affairs to them, so that they in a great measure stand chargeable with the errors of his pontificate. It is certain, that at the beginning
1624. Pope *Urban* was more inclined to *France* than the house of *Austria*; and this manifestly appeared in the famous contest about the *Valtoline* and the dutchy of *Montferrat*; but more
1632. especially in this, that in the thirty years war he would neither support the Emperor by a general *Croisade*, nor condemn *France* for the alliance with *Sweden*. At this both lines of the house of *Austria* were so provoked, that they begun to talk of very extraordinary measures. But the state of affairs was soon changed, when
1635. cardinal *Richlieu* could not obtain all he required; and complained heavily against the Pope, on account of the marshal *d'Etrees*, whom he had sent to *Rome*, and when *Odoard*, duke of *Parma*, fought and obtained protection in *France*
1639. against the ambition of the *Barbarini*. Extremities seemed unavoidable, had not both parties judged a reconciliation more suitable to their
1640. interests. The great revolution in *Portugal* put
1641. *Urban* to no small difficulty. At length *Spain* prevailed, and *Urban*, by refusing to acknowledge king *John*, commenced that variance
1642. which brought the See of *Rome* into manifest danger. The war against the duke of *Parma* was wholly unjustifiable; and the issue of it
1644. detrimental to the court of *Rome*. *Urban* is highly commended for his patronage of learned men. He conferred the title of *Eminence* on the
- the

the cardinals, and the papal chair owed to him the succession of the duchy of *Urbino* and other provinces, which were possessed by the house of *Rovere*, now extinct. He died on the 29th of *July*, in an advanced age *.

Sect. 5. After a conclave of much bustle and intriguing, the *Spanish* party, on the 15th of *September* carried the election in favour of *Job. Bapt. Pamfili*, who chose the title of *Innocent X.* Before his elevation he had an illicit commerce with his brother's widow, the notorious *Donna Olympia Maldachini*; and this was not only continued, but every thing was at her disposal; and by her ambition and avarice the Pope became universally hated. The first exploit of this female government was the unjust taking of *Castro* from the duke of *Parma*, and demolishing its fortifications. This was suc-

* As cardinal, he wrote *Latin* poems, of which we have a collection that has been printed several times. As Pope, he not only published a remarkable edition of the *Romish* breviary, but also several bulls and decrees, which see in *Cherubini bullarium*. Among them those most worth notice are that which abolishes the order of female Jesuits, and certain festivals, and others which relate to image-worship; also those by which in compliance with the Jesuits, he first condemns *Jansenius's Augustinus*; likewise the bull by which the title of Eminence is conferred upon the Cardinal-legates, the three ecclesiastical electors, and the grand master of *Malta*; tho' Kings and the republic of *Venice* are dispensed from giving them this title. Among his foundations deserving particular notice, are also the *College de propaganda fide*, which was since incorporated with the congregation of the same name. He was singular in creating seventy-four cardinals. The lovers of *Roman* antiquities have censured the conduct of his nephews in the famous pasquinade, *Quod non fecerunt Barbari, fecerunt Barbarini*.

- ceeded by a furious persecution of the *Barbàrini*, whom however *France* so effectually protected, that the Pope was obliged to come to
1646. terms with them. In the revolt of the *Neapolitans*, the Pope sided with the duke of *Guise* and the rebels. It is probable, that he had secret motives for this. On the other hand, he
1647. adhered to the principles of his predecessor, in regard to the affairs of *Portugal*; and the controversy of the *Jansenists* which brought a great deal of trouble on him. But what caused a general dislike was his public censure of the treaty
1648. of *Westphalia*, by which tranquillity and happiness were restored to so many states. The great scandal caused by *Olympia* gave rise to what
1649. passed between *Innocent* and cardinal *Astalli*.
1650. Tho' it occasioned *Olympia* to be for a time publicly removed from court; yet she soon after recovered her former place, and maintained it till the decease of the Pope, which was on the
1655. 10th of *January* *.

SECT. 6. In this conclave, besides the *French* and *Spaniards*, a new party arose, stiling themselves the *Squadron of the Holy Ghost*, but better known by the name of the *Flying Squadron*. To the latter, after much contest, cardinal *Fabio Chigi* owed his election, *April 8*, by the title of *Alexander VII*. He had very advantageously distinguished himself, especially as nuncio at

* *Cberubini* has collected the bulls of this Pope; among which, that which condemns the five famous positions of *Jansenius*, and that published against the peace of *Westphalia*, are the most remarkable. The latter has been refuted by *Blondel*, *Hoornbeck*, *Carpzov*. and *Conringius*. See *Gualdi*, or rather *Leti's vita della donna Olimpia Maldachini*, together with *Heidegger's histor. Papatus*.

the treaty of *Munster*, and now seemed fully to answer the great hopes, which from his external conduct and strict sanctity of life had been conceived of him. The beginning of his pontificate is especially remarkable; for the solemn profession of the *Roman* faith made by *Christina* queen of *Sweden* at *Inspruck*, a change, which contrary to all expectation, instead of turning to the advantage of *Rome*, proved only a dead weight to it. *Alexander* could not long dissimble. He became a man, according to the ludicrous phrase of that time; took a crowd of relations into his family, and carried nepotism so far, that the ill consequences of this state distemper were very sensibly felt. That the Jesuits, by this channel, obtained the Popes ear against the *Jansenists*, was but a small matter in comparison of the loud ridicule which an amour of the cardinal patron brought upon the Pope and the whole court. *Lewis XIV.* of *France*, who was, on other accounts, displeas'd with *Alexander*, highly resent'd the insult committed by some *Corficans* of the Pope's guards, at the instigation of the populace, on the person of his ambassador the duke of *Crequi* and his lady. *Alexander* refusing the satisfaction required, the king not only made himself master of *Aignon*, but march'd an army into *Italy*. This brought the Pope to sign a peace at *Pisa*, not only disgraceful but detrimental, for he lost *Castro* and *Ronciglione*. Never was Pope so sensibly humbled as *Alexander* at this juncture, which accounts for the suspicion he always after entertain'd of *French* divinity, especially that of the *Sorbonne*. He died on the 22d of *May* *.

1656.

1657.

1660.

1661.

1663.

1664.

1665.

1667.

* *Alexander* left some small pieces, particularly a collection of poems intitl'd, *Mati Labores Juveniles*,

Sect. 7. The new Pope *Clement IX.* before called *Julio Rospigliosi*, was chosen on the 20th of *June*. He was naturally a lover of peace, and delighted in magnificence. His dislike of nepotism, his accommodation of the long dispute with *Portugal*, by confirming the Bishops of 1668. king *Peter's* nomination, his effectual mediation for a suspension of arms betwixt the *Jansenists* and *Jesuits*, and the mildness of his government towards the subjects of the ecclesiastical state, do him singular honour. He died the 9th of *December* *.

Sect. 8. The conclave lasted almost five 1670. months, during which four or five parties struggled against each other, with all the chicanery usual on the occasion. At last cardinal *Æmil. Altieri* was chosen on the 29th of *April*, in the eightieth year of his age. He took the name of *Clement X.* He was too pacifick in his temper, to be distinguished in history. The most memorable action of his life was the adoption of cardinal *Paolucci*, which

concerning which see *Baillet's Jugement des Scavans.* For some unprinted pieces consult *Mabillon's Mus. Ital.* Among his many bulls in *Cherubini's bullarium*, the most remarkable are those on the *Jansenists*, the immaculate conception of the *Virgin Mary*, and *Peyrerius*. Some relate to trifles, as that the cardinals shall not wear mourning. For the *French* contest consult *Relation de tout ce qui se passa entre le Pape Alexander & le roi de la France. Desmarais histor. des demelés de la cour de France avec la cour de Rome. Theatr. Europ.* See *Memoir. de cardinal de Retz. Nedot's relation de la cour de Rome.* A small satirical piece called *Syndicat & voyage dans l'autre monde du Pape Alexander VII. Meyern act. pac. Westphal.* and the article *Fabio Chigi* in *Bayle's Dictionary.*

* The pieces relating to the truce with the *Jansenists* are referred to in *Mosheim institut. histor. eccles.*
For

which introduced a new kind of nepotism. He filled the chair six years, and died on the 22d of July*.

1676.

Sect. 9. The conclave was again very tedious, and the crown of *France* prepared a scourge for itself, by taking so strong a part in the exaltation of cardinal *Bened. Odescalchi*. This took place on the 10th of *December*, and the new Pope took the name of *Innocent XI*. It is very probable, that he had been a soldier in his younger years. He is much traduced by the Jesuits; but the impartial world will give him the preference to many Popes. He was a man of uncommon courage, austere in his morals, and inflexible in his resolutions. He took pains to reduce the pleasures and pomp of his court, to suppress abuses, even among the clergy, and to banish nepotism; all which measures rendered him unpopular among the great; but he carried his zeal rather too far in laying restraints upon the dress of the ladies, and totally prohibited them the learning of musick. His regulation with respect to the franchises of foreign ministers, which had been so much abused, was of more importance and of real use. But he conducted this matter with prudence, for he allowed the *French* ambassador M. *d'Etrees* the unmolested enjoyment of his ancient right for his time, tho' the *Imperial* and *Spanish* ambassadors, and even queen *Christina*, had acquiesced in this reasonable injunction. Soon after broke out the difference with *France*, king *Lewis* being bent on asserting the Regale in all

1677.

1678.

For the affair of *Portugal*, see *Geddes' Miscellaneous Tracts*, Tom. II.

* See *Guarnacci histor. pontificum à Clemente X. ad Clement XI.* Tom. i. p. 1. seq.

- its utmost extent, to the no small displeasure of the Pope, who by opposing him, provoked the further mortification of the four famous positions concerning the dignity, power, and fallibility of the Pope, which were received as articles of faith by the assembly of the clergy.
1682. On the other side, *Lewis* seemed to gratify the
1685. Pope by the revocation of the edict of *Nantz*; but it is still a question, whether *Innocent* was pleased with that measure. At least policy taught him to betray no concern about the great Revolution in *England*. At the same time the Jesuits were vexatious to him, especially
1686. when contrary to his own inclination, he was obliged, in order to gratify them, and to avoid falling into the inquisition, as a heretic, to approve and confirm the condemnation of *Molinus*, whom he so highly esteemed. After the death of *M. d'Etrees*, it was expected his successor would have given up the privilege of the franchises; but king *Lewis* sent the marquis *de Lavardin* to assert his right by force, caused his parliament to appeal to a general council; arrested the Pope's nuncio cardinal *Ranucci*, and *Avignon* besieged. This disturbance was heightened by queen *Christina's* siding with *France*, for which she forfeited her annual pension of twelve thousand dollars. But tho' *France* was thus vehement at first, this warmth abated, and in the
1687. mean time *Innocent* died on the twelfth of *August*.
1689. Pope *Benedict XIV.* intended to have canonized him; but suffered himself to be deterred by *France* and the Jesuits, from bestowing on their enemy an honour which he deserved better at least, than *Boniface VIII.* *.

Sect.

* See the bulls of Pope *Innocent* in the first part of the continuation to *Cberubini's bullarium*. That *Odescalchi*

SECT. 10. After the decease of Pope *Innocent*, the *Duc de Chaulnes* arrived ambassador from *France*. After another long conclave cardinal *Peter Ottoboni*, a native of *Venice*, was chosen on the sixth of *October*, by the name of *Alexander VIII*. The new *French* ambassador gave him the satisfaction of resigning his claim to the franchises, and king *Lewis* raised the siege of *Avignon*: But a peace was not yet concluded. On the contrary, *Alexander* condemned the above-mentioned four positions, and *Lewis* strenuously maintained them. It must be mentioned to the Pope's honour, that he assisted his native country against the *Turks*, and condemned the errors of the *Jesuits* concerning philosophic sin. On the other hand, his memory suffers from the excesses he committed in nepotism. He died on the first of *February* *.

1690.

1691.

SECT. 11. The election was lengthened out, as usual, by political intrigues. At last *Antony Pignatelli*, a *Neapolitan*, and archbishop of *Naples*, was chosen on the twelfth of *July*, and took the name of *Innocent XII*. He was ambitious to resemble his benefactor. Hence his zeal against nepotism, which certainly does him great honour; his inflexibility; his austerity and parsi-

chalchi was a soldier, has been disputed by Count *Turrazzónico de suppositiis militaribus stipendiis Bened. Odescalchi*, but it is sufficiently evidenced. Of the dispute with *M. Lavardin*, see *Pfeffers vitriar illustr.* and of the four positions, see *Bossuet's defens. declarat. cler. Gallic.* and *Voltaire's Siecle de Louis XIV.* See *Burnet's travels, Vita d'Innocenzo Undecimo L'Etat du siege de Rome Franz. Caccia Innocentia apostolica*, and *Guarnacci histor. pontific.* and *Bayle* has also an important article of this Pope.

* Concerning the condemnation of philosophic sin, see *Mosheim's institut. histor. eccles.* This Pope had the merit of purchasing queen *Christina's* library for the *Vatican*. See *Guarnacci histor. pontific.*

mony,

- mony. His aversion against perukes is one of those trifles which strongly characterise a man.
1692. At last he concluded a peace with *France*, neither honourable to the king, nor the bishops. He was very near quarrelling with the Em-
1694. peror *Leopold*, upon his reminding the vassals in the ecclesiastical state of their duty. To the old
1699. controversies, which disturbed the peace of the church of *Rome*, was farther added archbishop *Fenelon's* divine love. No Pope was ever more unexpectedly submitted to than he. *Innocent* died in an advanced age on the twenty-seventh
1700. of *September* *.

S E C T. II.

The History of the Popes of the eighteenth Century.

1700. Sect. I. **T**HE conclave would have lasted longer, had not the danger which threatned all *Europe* in the impending death of *Charles II.* king of *Spain*, obliged the cardinals to unite, and on the third of *November* to chuse cardinal *John Francis Albani*, who was proposed by the zealots, and entirely agreeable to the house of *Bourbon*. This prelate who was young,

* We are obliged to him for a particular *bullarium* published at *Rome* in 1697. In the above-mentioned first part of the continuation of *Cherubini's bullarium*, we find more of his. The most remarkable is the nineteenth against nepotism. See *hystoir. des conclaves*, and *Guarnacci hystor. pontif.*

throughly skilled in state matters, was after 1701.
 much importunity prevailed with to accept this
 dignity by the name of *Clement XI*. One of
 his first transactions was, to oppose the erection
 of *Prussia* into a kingdom, which only exposed
 the court of *Rome* to ridicule. He was more
 embarrassed by the war on account of the *Spanish*
 succession, in which he studied indeed to appear 1702:
 perfectly impartial, and to act the mediator;
 and for this reason reserved the investiture of the
 kingdom of *Naples* from the duke of *Anjou*;
 but he soon shewed himself entirely in the inte-
 rest of the house of *Bourbon*, especially when a 1704:
 war arising in *Italy* distressed the ecclesiastical
 state on all sides. In the mean time he issued a
 bull very disagreeable to the *Jesuits*, in the contest
 between them and the *Dominicans* on account of
Chinese missions. It appears from church-history
 what unbelievers, the fathers, shewed them-
 selves in the article of the infallibility of this
 Pope. He gave them ample satisfaction by the
 sensible blow to the *Jansenists* in the bull, inti-
 tled *Vinea Domini*. The success of the imperial
 arms changed the face of affairs. Pope *Clement* 1708.
 had before given just offence to the Emperor
Joseph, on account of the privileges of the first
 petition; and now he supported the clergy of
Parma in their seditious refusal to pay obedience
 to the Emperor their sovereign. But he was
 obliged to submit with great loss. He lost *Co-*
macchio, and perceiving that the Emperor was
 too powerful for him and his little army, he
 agreed to the terms of peace prescribed to him,
 and after several political tergiversations, ac-
 knowledged *Charles III*. king of *Spain*. Tho' 1709.
 his partiality to the *French* interest was as un-
 doubted as ever, yet *Philip* of *Anjou* severely re-
 venged

- vengeed this step on him and his Nuncio. Soon after this, the controversy with the Janfenists was inflamed by the disturbances of father *Quenelt* and Pope *Clement*, was prevailed with by the Jesuits at *Paris* to issue the bull *Unigenitus*.
1713. This bull, besides being an evidence, that the Pope may err both in matters of faith and historical facts, proved the means of greatly endangering the authority of the Pope. It kindled a flame in *France*, which spread over the whole *Romish* church, broke out more violently after the death of *Lewis XIV.* and will never be extinguished. The new king of *Sicily* would not part with his monarchy, and the zeal which the
1715. Pope manifested, served only to increase the papal pensioners, among whom was now the the Pretender, as he could no longer stay in *France*. The succours which the Pope gave to *Venice*, in the war against the *Turks*, were much to his honour; but the promotion of cardinal *Alberoni* was a measure of which he had great cause to repent. He also had new broils with
1717. the Emperor *Charles VI.* and the bull, which begins with the pastoral office, made no impression in *France*. In the midst of these great confusions, Pope *Clement* ended his days on the nineteenth of *March*. He was not indeed without some tincture of nepotism, but it must be owned to his honour, that it never betrayed him into excesses*.
- 1718.
- 1721.

SECT. 2. The unanimous election on the eighth of *May*, of cardinal *Michael Angelo Conti*,
who

* Cardinal *Albani* has obliged the Republic of Letters, by collecting his uncle's writings, and publishing his *epistolæ* and *brevia selecta*; his *orationes consistoriales*, and his *bullarium*. They have been reprinted at *Franckfort*,

who took the name of *Innocent XIII.* was something very unexpected. His noble descent, and his accomplishments, had raised him to eminent posts, which he always discharged with reputation. But now the infirmities of age disabled him from distinguishing himself as Pope. From the growing opposition against the bull *Unigenitus*, in *France*, the *Low Countries*, and *Germany*, he judged it the more necessary to exert himself in its defence. He consented at length to invest the Emperor *Charles VI.* with the kingdom of *Naples*, which was more commendable than his opposition to the feudal grant from the prince of *Parma* and *Placentia* to Don *Carlos*. Cardinal *Alberoni* was acquitted by him. *Innocent* died the third of *March* *.

1722.

1723.

1724.

Sect. 3. Cardinal *Vincenzi Maria Ursini*, archbishop of *Benevento*, and a Dominican, was chosen the twenty-ninth of *May*, and assumed the name of *Benedict XIII.* It must be owned, that at least in the beginning of his pontificate he shewed many good dispositions and designs.

fort, by the title *Opera omnia*, in two vol. folio. The collection of controversial pieces in the affair of *Comacchio*, published at *Franckfort*, under the title *Raccolta di tutto cio ch' e uscito sulla controversia di Comacchio*, are some of the best attacks and vindications of the papal possessions in *Italy*. The controversy of the *Jansenists*, and father *Quesnel*, has occasioned too many writings to be here cited. The best accounts of the history of this Pope are, the present state of the court of *Rome*, *London* 1721, *Abbe Peter Polidoro's libri sex de vita & rebus gestis Clementis XI.* another life prefixed to the *Franckfort* edition of his works, and also to be found in the *German acta erudit. Morei Ristretto della vita di Clemente XI. in Crescimbeni vite de gli Arcadi.*

* See *Crescimbeni vite de gli Arcadi*, and *Guarnacci vit. pontif.*

But as his excellence lay rather in the virtues of a monk than the abilities of a Pope, it is not matter of wonder, that the cardinals and other great men of the court appeared not perfectly pleased with him; that most of his schemes either proved abortive, or the issue of them was contrary to his intentions; and that the end of his pontificate did not correspond with the beginning. His dislike of pomp and magnificence, his concern for the morals of the clergy, his care for the poor, however commendable in themselves, were, in him, generally mingled with some foible. His friendship with the cardinal *Nocilles*, and his steady adherence to the doctrine of the Dominicans could not but alarm

1725. the Jesuits. Having celebrated a jubilee, and by a peace concluded with the Emperor *Charles VI.* recovered *Comacchio*, he held a provincial synod in the *Lateran*. It is certain, that *Benedict* was disappointed in the great good he had expected from it, that the Jesuits, and their friends among the cardinals, were more active in it than he could have wished, and that at length this synod obtained no general authority. *Benedict* imagining he had procured himself an able coadjutor in the famous *Coscia*, conferred on him the red hat. And now there was a total change of measures; but not at all for the better. King *John V.* of *Portugal* strongly solicited the purple for *Bichi*, Nuncio at his court; but with so little effect, that *Benedict*, or rather *Coscia*, suffered matters to an extremity. But he had more important broils with

1726. the Emperor *Charles* about the kingdom of *Sicily*, and with the king of *Sardinia* concerning the right of nomination to certain ecclesiastical dignities. The commotions in *Lucern* gave him

him some trouble. In church-affairs *Coscia* was 1727.
 zealous for the honour of the bull *Unigenitus*,
 and that the aged cardinal *de Noailles* subscribed 1728.
 it at the close of his life, was owing to him
 and cardinal *Fleury*. But *Benedict* always con-
 tinued a staunch Dominican. He published the
 bull *Pretiosus*, which the Jesuits will hardly ad-
 mit to be a just exposition of the doctrine of
 grace. We must not omit this Pope's pacific
 disposition to reconcile the *Roman, Greek, Luthe-*
ran, and reformed parties. He died the twenty- 1730.
 first of *February*, leaving a greater character for
 personal endowments, especially learning, than
 for the wisdom or prosperity of his pontifi-
 cate*.

SECT. 4. The intrigues and clashings among
 the several *Roman-catholic* courts, and the par-
 tizans of the cardinals protracted the conclave,
 till at last the creatures of the family of *Albani*
 carried their point, and on the twelfth of *July*
 elected *Laurence Corsini*, a *Florentine*, and Cardi-
 nal-bishop of *Frescati*. *Clement XII.* both took
 the name of his benefactor *Clement XI.* and af-
 fected to imitate his conduct, but without having
 his talents or qualities. He shewed an example
 of justice in the punishment of the cardinals
Coscia and *Fini* with their accomplices. It would

* *Benedict* as a preaching friar, has left behind him
 several sermons, also poems and other writings, toge-
 ther with some bulls, of which that beginning with the
 word *pretiosus*, is particularly remarkable. They were
 all published at *Rome*, 1728, in 3 volumes folio, under
 the title of *Opera di Benedetto XIII.* Concerning the
Lateran council, see *Walch's comm. de concilio Later. mensi,*
a Benedicto XIII. celebrato. See his life in *Jour. Rud.*
Contin's Roma sancta; Ionia et mentis et cordis Benedicti
XIII. Guarnacci histor. pontific Alex. Borgia Benedicti XIII.
vita.

- have redounded more to his honour, had he treated the former with greater temper, and not drawn upon himself by an excessive nepotism, which he also authorised, the reproach that his zeal was in great measure the effect of self-interest. He annulled the compact which his predecessor had made with the king of *Sardinia*; and thus drew upon himself a difference with that political court, of which he did not live to see the end. He gratified indeed the king of *Portugal* with conferring the purple on *Bicki*, tho' the appearance of an *Englifo* fleet is said to have contributed to this compliance. But he soon again embroiled himself with that prince, by refusing his approbation to the new patriarch. He conducted himself as incautiously with respect
1731. to the canton of *Lucern*. The republic of *Venice* justly complained of a violation of the privilege of their ambassador; but his chief contest was with the Emperor *Charles*, and with *Spain*. The former would not acknowledge the pretended right of the Pope to *Parma*, nor suffer his faithful *Neapolitan* vassals, like the duke of *Gravina*, to be excommunicated, or molested by the turbulent clergy. The complaints of *Spain* arose chiefly from the tumults in *Rome* about the military levies, from the dutchy of *Parma*, the lordships of *Castro* and *Ronciglione*, and
1735. the infant *Don Lewis*, whom, however, at last Pope *Clement* found himself obliged to confirm in the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*, and to decorate with a cardinal's hat. The latter end of his life he passed in peace, except the extraordinary and fruitless attempt of cardinal *Alberoni*
1740. to deprive the republick of *St. Marino* of its liberty. *Clement* died the sixth of *February*, after making

making very valuable additions to the vatican library*.

SECT. 5. The agitations were so great, that the ensuing conclave lasted the longest of any held since the council of *Constance*. This was imputed to the variances of the old, that is, the *Albani* party, with whom the zealots sided, and the new, or *Corfini*. The cardinals passed some new decrees for preventing nepotism; and for the profit of the apostolic chamber: And these the Pope was to observe. At last the *Albani* obtaining a majority, proposed cardinal *Prosper Lambertini*, a *Bolognian* and Archbishop of that city. He was chosen on the 17th of *August*, and stiled himself *Benedict XIV*. Besides his extensive learning he gave a proof of his peaceable temper by his lenity towards the unfortunate cardinal *Coscia*, tho' in this, his gratitude to his benefactor *Benedict XIII*. had no small share; 1741. and by the conventions successively concluded with *Portugal*, *Sardinia*, and *Naples*, he made 1742. some concessions in each. In the war about the *Austrian* succession he sided rather with the house of *Bourbon* than the queen of *Hungary*; and this possibly occasioned the differences about the election of the emperor *Francis*. He opposed more 1745. than once, tho' to no purpose, the investiture of *Don Philip* in the dutchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*. The glorious conquests of the present king of

* Among Pope *Clement's* bulls, those especially remarkable are, that beginning with *Apostolatus officium*, containing good regulations concerning the choice of a Pope; also that, of which the first words are *Sedes Apostolica*, by which protestants embracing the popish religion are continued in the possession of any churchlands they had. See *Act. historic. eccles.* Concerning his life, see *Acta historic. eccles.* and *Guarnacci histor. pontific.*

- Prussia* could not be agreeable to him; nor was he pleased with the institution of the vicariate-general of *Silesia*: But he shewed his prudence in consenting to what he could not hinder. His abolishing the patriarchate of *Aquileia*, and the diminution of the number of festivals do him
1748. honour; tho' both drew upon him reproaches from some bigotted cardinals. On the other hand he was more justly censured for the changes in the bishopric of *Wurzburg*, and the See of *Fulda*. He conferred on the king of *Portugal* the title of *Most faithful King*; and allowed the king of *Naples* to have an auditor in the *Rota*.
1750. He celebrated a jubilee with great splendor. His government of the church was extremely mild. He was no favourer of the Jesuits. Were this society disposed to do what he has recommended to them, and to abstain from what by his direction the worthy father *Norbert* censured in them, the just complaints which are made of their missions would cease; and it would be happy for the *Jansenists*, if the *French* clergy were of the same temper with *Benedict*. He has eminently distinguished himself in literature, both as a liberal *Mecenas*, and a learned writer. He died in this year 1758*.

C H A P.

* All the writings of this Pope have been published at *Rome* by M. *Azevedo* in twelve volumes, 4to. They consist of *de servorum Dei beatificatione & beatorum canonisatione, libri iv. Acta canonisationis of Fidelis Sigmaringen, Peter Regalati, Joseph Leonissa and Catherino Ricci*, all canonised by himself; extract of the larger work *de Canonisatione* which *Nic. Ricci* probably defended at *Rome*, November 20, 1749. *Adhædices ad quatuor libros de servorum canonisatione; de Missæ officio libri tres; de gestis Jesu Christi & Mariæ*, originally written in *Italian*,
Inlli-

C H A P. II.

Of the History of the P A P A C Y.

SECT. 1. **I**N modern times the Popes have been more concerned to attend to the preservation, than the encrease of their power and authority; and they seem to have been thoroughly sensible of the necessity of such conduct.

SECT. 2. Their spiritual monarchy in its external limits, has doubtless been rather contracted than extended. The persecutions of the protestants in *Germany, Hungary and France*, have not indeed been totally without effect; the several accessions of great princes to the church of *Rome* have not been detrimental to the Pope;

Institutiones ecclesiasticæ also written in *Italian*, & *de Synodo dioecessania libri octo*. Besides these, the following are his. *Lettera al capitolo e canonici della chiesa metropolitana de Bologna*; *Lettera a monsignor Archivescovo di Tarso sopra il batismo degli Ebrei o infanti o adulti*, 1747. *Allocutio habita, dum ecclesiam a fundamentis reedificatam in honorem sancti Apollinariis consecrabat* 1748. *Raccolta di circolari di Benedetto XIV. per l'occasione del' anno santo* 1749, in which also is the bull proclaiming the jubilee; *Dissertatio circa publicum cultum, quem in S. Maria Maggiore quidam vellet Nicolas IV. ad fuerere* 1750 *Epistola ad episcopum Augustanum*; *Scrittura sopra l'estanza di Sminire le feste di precetto*; which with the controversial letters concerning it, by *Alexander Borgia, Angel. Mar. Quirine*, and *Muraiori*, are printed together at *Lucca*, 1748, under the title of *Raccolta di Scritture concernente la diminuzione delle feste di precetto*. The bull issued against the Jesuits in *China* in *Mamachi origin. Christian. Epistola de S. Marone* 1752. His letter to all the Bishops in *Germany*, relating to the guarantee of the ecclesiastical constitution of *Hesse-Cassel*, by the evangelical body, in *D. Winckler's Anecdotes historico eccles.* The history of this Pope to the time of his pontificate is to be found in *Guarnacci hislor, pontific.*

and

and the missions among the Heathens and Eastern christians have unquestionably contributed something to the propagation of the *Romish* faith.

Sect. 3. But it would be no difficulty to shew, that all these means have been far from answering their end in the measure expected; that the endeavours used for bringing back the protestants under the old yoke, especially in *England*, have miscarried; that the protestants, by a closer union, and the sudden encrease of their power, which has in some cases had the immediate effect of weakening *Roman-catholic* houses, are become more than proportionably strong and formidable; and that the propagation of Popery has been restrained by publick laws. To this may be added the intestine commotions of this party, daily threatening a separation; towards which, the members of it, at least those in the united *Netherlands*, are making a very remarkable beginning.

Sect. 4. It is only in the writings of the bigots of *Rome*, and in the professorial chains of the Jesuits, that the inward constitution of this supremacy remains unaltered: But if instead of looking into the *Roman* catechism for what ought to take place, we consider the actual state of things, we must admit the observation of M. *Voltaire*, That in the opinion of the great, at least the *Infallibility of the Pope*, with the power founded on it, is a chimera not believed even at *Rome*, and yet maintained; and the Pope a sacred person, whose feet are to be kissed, but his hands bound*.

* The pretended belief of this article at *Rome* may be seen in *Bianchi's* treatise *Della Potesta e della politica della chiesa*, written in opposition to that friend of liberty *Giamoni*. There is also a work lately drawn up by the inquisition, concerning the papal power, to depose kings

Sect. 5. The justice of this idea of the Pope and his infallibility appears from all the transactions with the crowns of *France*, *Spain*, *Sardinia*, *Naples*, the republick of *Venice*, and even the house of *Austria*.

Sect. 6. It is still more evident, that in church-affairs, and even in cases relating to the persons of ecclesiasticks and church-lands, the temporal princes and states have discovered and asserted their ancient rights; that in *France* those obnoxious decrees of the councils of *Constance* and *Basil* have been admitted as articles of faith; that the papal bulls are no farther submitted to, than as they correspond with the prevailing maxims of state; that on this account, the Popes are very cautious of hazarding a decision in doctrinal controversies; that none prove more refractory sons of the *Roman* father, than the Jesuits, when his will and theirs happen to clash; that the new patriarchate of *Portugal*, and the vicariate-general erected by the king of *Prussia* in *Silesia*, may produce dangerous consequences to the Court of *Rome* *.

Sect. 7. These considerations render it needless to mention, that the Pope has not been allowed to make new conquests. *Castro*, *Ronciglione*, *Comacchio*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, are clear proofs, that it was never imagined, the successors of *Peter* were to bring armies into the field. They have not been wanting in endeavours to assert their pretensions: But fortunately

kings or discharge their subjects from their oath of allegiance; but such a piece would have met with a better reception in the eleventh century, than in the eighteenth. See *Voltier's Siecle de Louis XIV.*

* Concerning the Jesuits in *China*, see *Mosheim's Memoirs of the Christian Church in China*, of which a translation was published in *London* in 1750.

paper-artillery does very little execution. However, on occasion of the many wars in *Italy*, the friendship of the Pope has been solicited, and gained indiscriminately by the good and the bad. But it is a disgrace to the Popes that they have so frequently resembled *St. Peter* in their reiterated oaths and falsties, but not in his sincere penitential sorrow. This was at least the behaviour of *Clement XI.* in the war for the *Spanish* succession, and that of *Benedict XIV.* was not much better.

Sect. 8. The elections of Popes are more and more carried on by intrigue, but at the same time more and more corrupt. The spirit, under whose influence it is conducted, resides either at *Versailles* or *Madrid*, and seldom at *Rome*. It is observed as something extraordinary, that *Benedict XIII.* had been a monk. New ordinances have also been made concerning this affair, the most remarkable of which is that of *Gregory XV.* establishing the scrutiny, the *accessus* and compromise, and the *quasi inspiratio*.

Sect. 9. Nepotism is still a dreadful evil; but it is more supportable now than when *Donna Olimpia* used to comb the Pope's head, according to the expression of the Emperor *Ferdinand III.* when *Innocent* complained of the peace of *Westphalia*.

Sect. 10. Now the cardinals obtained the title of Eminence; and a considerable share in the government: The congregation *de propaganda fide* deserves to be here mentioned. More have been erected, particularly by *Clement XII.* *super nonnullis*, but not perpetual*.

* Cardinal *Quirini's* letters evidence the power of the cardinals, for he takes the good *Benedict XIV.* to task concerning *Aquileia*, and the diminution of the festivals.



ALPHABETICAL

L I S T

O F T H E

P O P E S o f R O M E.

Those marked with * were either Anti-popes,
or for other reasons are not reckoned.

	Page.		Page.
A Deodatus	96	Anastafius IV.	163
Adrian I.	105	Anicetus	30
Adrian II.	118	Anterus	34
Adrian III.	120	B.	
Adrian IV.	164	Benedict I.	80
Adrian V.		Benedict II.	97
Adrian VI.	249	Benedict III.	116
Agapetus I.	75	Benedict IV.	123
Agapetus II.	126	Benedict V.	128
Agatho	96	Benedict VI.	129
Alexander I.	27	Benedict VII.	ibid.
Alexander II.	143	Benedict VIII.	132
Alexander III.	166	Benedict IX.	138
Alexander IV.	186	Benedict X.	142
Alexander V.	218	Benedict XI.	197
Alexander VI.	242	Benedict XII.	204
Alexander VII.	282	* Benedict XIII.	214
Alexander VIII.		* Benedict XIV.	217
Anacletus I. see Cletus.		Benedict XIII.	291
*Anacletus II.	159	Benedict XIV.	295
Anastafius I.	55	Boniface I.	58
Anastafius II.	69	Boniface II.	73
Anastafius III.	124	Boniface III.	89
		Boniface	

	Page.		Page.
Boniface IV.	89	Donus II.	129
Boniface V.	90	E.	
Boniface VI.	122	Eleutherius	31
Boniface VII.	129	Evaristus	27
Boniface VIII.	194	Eugenius I.	95
Boniface IX.	212	Eugenius II.	113
C.		Engenius III.	162
Cælestine I.	59	Eugenius IV.	
Cælestine II.	161	Eusebius	44
Cælestine III.	172	Eutychianus	39
Cælestine IV.	179	F.	
Cælestine V.	193	Fabianus	34
Caius	39	Felix I.	38
Callistus I. or Calixtus,	33	* Felix II.	67
Callistus II.	157	Felix II.	ibid.
* Callistus III.	169	Felix III.	73
Callistus III.	236	Felix IV.	
Christopher	123	* Felix V.	229
Clement I.	26	Formosus	121
Clement II.	139	G.	
* Clement III.	149	Gelasius I.	68
Clement III.	171	Gelasius II.	156
Clement IV.	188	Gregory I.	81
Clement V.	198	Gregory II.	101
Clement VI.	204	Gregory III.	102
* Clement VII.	209	Gregory IV.	114
* Clement VIII.	225	Gregory V.	130
Clement VII.	250	Gregory VI.	138
Clement VIII.	269	Gregory VII.	145
Clement IX.	289	* Gregory VIII.	157
Clement X.	284	Gregory VIII.	171
Clement XI.	289	Gregory IX.	177
Clement XII.	293	Gregory X.	189
Cletus	26	Gregory XI.	208
Conon	98	Gregory XII.	217
Constantine	100	Gregory XIII.	264
* Constantine II.		Gregory XIV.	268
Cornelius	35	Gregory XV.	279
D.		H.	
Damasus I.	51	Hadrian, see Adrian.	
Damasus II.	139	Hilarius	66
Deus dedit	90	Honorius I.	90
Dionysius	38	* Honorius II.	158
Donus I. or Domnus,	96	Honorius II.	

	Page.		Page.
Honorius III.	176	Julius III.	257
Honorius IV.	192	L.	
Hormisdas	71	Laude,	125
Hyginus	29	Leo I.	63
I.		Leo II.	97
Innocent I.	55	Leo III.	106
Innocent II.	159	Leo IV.	115
* Innocent III.	169	Leo V.	123
Innocent III.	173	Leo VI.	125
Innocent IV.	180	Leo VII.	126
Innocent V.	190	Leo VIII.	127
Innocent VI.	206	Leo IX.	140
Innocent VII.	216	Leo X.	247
Innocent VIII.	241	Leo XI.	277
Innocent IX.	268	Leiberius	48
Innocent X.	281	Linus	25
Innocent XI.	285	Lucius I.	36
Innocent XII.	287	Lucius II.	161
Innocent XIII.	291	Lucius III.	170
John I.	72	M.	
John II.	74	Marcellinus	39
John III.	79	Marcellus I.	43
John IV.	92	Marcellus II.	258
John V.	98	Marcus	47
John VI.	99	Marius I. see Martin III.	
John VII.	100	Marin, II, see Martin III.	
Joan	116	Martin I.	93
John VIII.	119	Martin II.	119
John IX.	122	Martin III.	126
John X.	125	Martin IV.	192
John XI.	ibid.	Martin V.	223
John XII.	127	Melchiades or Miltiades	
John XIII.	128		44
John XIV.	130	N.	
* John XV.	130	Nicholas I.	117
John XV. (XVI.)	130	Nicholas II.	142
John XVII.	132	Nicholas III.	191
John XVIII.	ibid.	Nicholas IV.	193
John XIX.	137	* Nicholas V.	202
John XX. or XXI.	191	Nicholas V.	229
John XXII.	200	P.	
John XXIII.	219	Paschal I.	113
Julius I.	47	Paschal II.	153
Julius II.	245	* Paschal III.	167
		Paul	

	Page.		Page.
Paul I.	104	Stephen III. (II.)	103
Paul II.	239	Stephen IV. (III)	105
Paul III.	253	Stephen V. (IV.)	112
Paul IV.	259	Stephen VI. (V.)	120
Paul V.	277	Stephen VII. (VI.)	122
Pelagius I.	79	Stephen VIII. (VII.)	125
Pelagius II.	80	Stephen IX. (VIII.)	126
Peter no Pope	24	Stepen X. (IX.)	142
Pius I.	28	Symmachus	70
Pius II.	237	T.	
Pius III.	245	Telephorus	28
Pius IV.	260	Theodorus I.	93
Pius V.	262	Theodorus II.	122
Pontianus	34	V.	
R.		Valentinus	114
Romanus	122	Victor I.	32
S.		Victor II.	141
Sabinianus	88	Victor III.	151
Sergius I.	98	* Victor IV.	160
Sergius II.	115	Victor IV.	166
Sergius III.	124	Vigilius	76
Sergius IV.	132	Vitalianus	95
Severinus	91	U.	
Silverius	75	Urban I.	34
Silvester I.	451	Urban II.	151
Silvester II.	131	Urban III.	170
Simplicius	67	Urban IV.	188
Siricius	54	Urban V.	207
Sifinnius	100	Urban VI.	209
Sixtus I.	28	Urban VII.	268
Sixtus II.	38	Urban VIII.	279
Sixtus III.	62	X.	
Sixtus IV.	240	Xistus, see Sixtus.	
Sixtus V.	265	Z.	
Soter	31	Zacharias	103
Stephen I.	36	Zephyrinus	33
* Stephen II.	103	Zofimus	57

197-4/6

197-4/6

197-4/6

197-4/6





DW631 .A2W2

A compendious history of the popes,

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00015 4221