

ROME IN THE DARK AGE. (i.e.) in the TENTH CENTURY. AND THE FIRST HALF OF THE ELEVENTH.

The Roman Numerals I-XIV show the localities of the fourteen regions of Augustus

The large capitals A-G show the areas of the seven ecclesiastical regions

Scale: ABOUT 640 YARDS TO THE INCH

THE
LIVES OF THE POPES
IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

BY THE

REV. HORACE K. MANN

"De gente Anglorum, qui maxime familiares Apostolicæ Sedis semper existunt" (*Gesta Abb. Fontanel. A.D. 747-752*, ap. M.G. SS. II. 289).

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THE POPES IN THE DAYS OF FEUDAL ANARCHY
FORMOSUS TO DAMASUS II.
891-1048

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To
HIS ALMA MATER
ST CUTHBERT'S COLLEGE, USHAW
THIS VOLUME
Is respectfully Dedicated
BY
A GRATEFUL SON

PREFACE.

IF edification were the sole, or even the principal, object which I had in view in undertaking to write the biographies of the Popes of the early Middle Ages, I might perhaps have hesitated about publishing the present series. But I wish to pursue a higher end than that of indulging in a style of historical writing which is supposed to be calculated to edify a certain type of mind. I would fulfil what I regard as a command laid upon me by the late glorious Head of the Church, and strive to make known the history of the Popes of Rome. And, as it was a cardinal maxim with Leo XIII. that truth would not injure the Church, I am convinced that he would not have had the *Lives* of some Popes written and the *Lives* of others left unrecorded, nor would he have wished to see some of their deeds blazoned forth and others buried in eternal oblivion.

I know, too, that one of the greatest of the predecessors of Leo XIII. laid it down that "if scandal be taken from the enunciation of truth, it is better to allow the scandal to arise than to leave the word of truth unrecorded."¹

¹ St. Gregory I., "Si autem de veritate scandalum sumitur, utilius permittitur nasci scandalum quam veritas relinquatur." *Hom. in Esch.*, i., hom. 7.

Have I not also the assurance of St. Leo I., the Great, that "the dignity of Peter is not lost even in an unworthy successor"?¹ Besides, I believe that such as have the patience to read the following pages will probably conclude that the scandals of the Papacy of the Dark Age are not so numerous as they had imagined, and that excuses not a few serve to palliate most of those which did take place.² Finally, as the history "of the medieval Papacy" is a "glorious" one,³ it would appear to have been necessary for it to have its dark pages in order that its bright ones may be fully appreciated. It seems as if we must become acquainted with the tree of the knowledge of good and evil before we can properly appraise what is perfect.

To the critics who have expressed widely different views on the literary style in which I have dressed my biographies, I would say that were it not too unconventional, I would follow the lead of an old Icelandic historian, and call this work a *horn-spoon*, "because methinks there is much good stuff therein; but I know that there is need that it be beautified, and I shall, as long as I am able, busy myself with the mending thereof."⁴

It would not be becoming in me to bring to a conclusion the short preface to this volume without thanking those who have helped me to make it. I must offer my warm thanks to those who have so patiently read over the proof-sheets for me, to C. Hart, Esq., B.A., and to F. F. Urquhart,

¹ "Petri dignitas etiam in indigno haerede non deficit." Sermon. 3. n. 3.

² Rome "was perpetually rent by factions (in the tenth century), which are in great measure responsible for the odium which a prejudiced criticism has so often attached to the Papacy as an institution." Hill, *A History of European Diplomacy*, i. 176, London, 1905.

³ Frothingham, *The Monuments of Christian Rome*, p. 1.

⁴ So writes the early thirteenth-century author of the *Lives* of the early bishops of Iceland, ap. *Origines Islandicæ*, i. 426. He was a very original writer, and called his book *Hunger-waker*.

Esq., M.A., and to those who have helped me with the illustrations, to the Rev. A. Chadwick and H. Burton, to A. Harding, Esq., and the Cavaliere C. Serafini. Nor must I forget to include among those to whom my gratitude is due, the authorities of the Public Library of the city of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and of St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw.

H. K. MANN.

A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS
USED IN THIS VOLUME.

- Jaffé, or Regesta . . . = *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Jaffé, 2nd ed., Lipsiæ, 1885.
- Labbe = *Sacrosancta Concilia*, ed. Labbe and Cossart, Paris, 1671.
- L. P., *Anastasius*, or the } = *Liber Pontificalis*, 2 vols., ed. L.
 Book of the Popes } Duchesne, Paris, 1886.
- M. G. H., or Pertz . . = *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*,
either *Scriptores* (M. G. SS.) or
Epistolæ (M. G. Epp.) or *Poetæ*
(M. G. PP.).
- P. G. = *Patrologia Græca*, ed. Migne, Paris.
- P. L. = *Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, Paris.
- R. I. SS. . . . = *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed.
Muratori, Milan, 1723 ff.
- R. S., following an } = The edition of the Chronicles, etc.,
edition of a book } published under the direction of
the Master of the Rolls.

The sign † placed before a date indicates that the date in question is the year of the death of the person after whose name the sign and date are placed.

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INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE we proceed to give the details of the *Lives* of those Popes who held the See of Rome during the period when Italy sank lower in the scale of civilisation than at any other period of its history, it will be of advantage to say something as to the causes which brought about the evils of that age. We would say something of an age when the supreme Pontiffs of Rome, dragged down with Italy, were so degraded, in part by the treatment to which they were subjected, and in part by the vices of some of those whom brute force thrust into the chair of Peter, that one might have been tempted to believe that their authority must for ever have come to an end.

Europe in
the "Dark
Age."

To the reader who has in mind the facts recorded in the preceding volume of this work, these introductory remarks may scarcely be necessary; but they will at least serve to impress still more upon him that the scandals in high places which he will soon see, if he continues his reading, were due rather to external circumstances than to any internal decay of the institution of the Papacy itself.

The period we would discuss—the tenth century and the first half of the eleventh—is often spoken of as the “unhappy or obscure, the iron or leaden age.” And for many reasons it richly deserves the hard names which have been

given to it ; but it must at once be noted that it is very often the subject of undue generalisation. It is frequently asserted that, for Europe at large, it was the blackest period of its long life. No doubt, when the head suffers grievously, the body cannot be in a very satisfactory condition. For Italy, and for Rome—the head and centre at this time both of Western civilisation and of Christianity—the epoch in question was assuredly the most miserable of all the times they have passed through. But, though most of the other countries of Europe were in anything but a flourishing state, the second half of the tenth century saw them in a much better condition than the first half, and they had seen darker days some three centuries before. And so we find that this epoch witnessed at least a temporary revival of learning and discipline in England through the noble efforts of St. Dunstan and his monastic brethren.¹ France, indeed, suffered almost as much as Italy at this time. Its historians are agreed that it never sank so low as in the tenth century. Yet even in France the very beginning of the tenth century saw the foundation of the monastery of Cluny,² the influence of which, in the eleventh century, was to be the leaven which was destined to permeate and elevate the whole mass of European corruption. But, apart from what Fulbert of Chartres called “the strong capitol of the monastic life,”

¹ Cf. vol. i. c. 8 of that fascinating work of Sister Drane, *Christian Schools and Scholars*, and the introduction to Hock's *Life of Pope Sylvester II*. Axinger's French translation from the original German is the one here cited.

² Of this place St. Peter Damian (988–1072), who, as papal legate in France, visited it under the Abbot Hugh, writes (l. vi. ep. 4): “Vidi siquidem paradisum quatuor Evangeliorum fluentis irriguum, imo totidem spiritualium rivis exuberare virtutum. . . . Et quid aliud Cluniacense monasterium, nisi agrum Domini plenum dixerim, ubi velut acervus est caelestium segetum chorus tot in charitate degentium monachorum.” Cf. the first five letters of this book of Damian's letters. Cf. chap. v. (the Cluniac Reformation) in Tout's *The Empire and the Papacy* (918–1273).

the Church in France was in as miserable a condition as the State.¹ Christian Spain, however, on the other hand, advanced its frontiers during this age of woe ; and Germany, which under powerful rulers broke the violence of the barbarian invaders, aided by its great bishops and by the comparatively prosperous state of its monastic institutions, experienced a decided advance in civilisation generally.² It was through Germany that Divine Providence seems to have worked in effecting the reform of the Church in its head.

The life of the Spirit, too, was not altogether dead in the tenth century. There were saintly men in every land, and great saints in some. St. Bernard of Menthon, "the apostle of the Alps," the founder of the hospices on the Great and the Little St. Bernard, was one; St. Odo of Cluny, not to mention his three saintly successors, was another. England produced St. Dunstan, St. Oswald, and others. Italy profited by the presence of St. Nilus, the famous Basilian monk, and St. Adalbert was a source of light to the Slavs. Earnest and zealous men spread the truths of Christianity into countries where they had not as yet penetrated. And the darkness of the tenth century was lightened towards its close by the conversion of the Northmen, the Hungarians, and some more remote Slavonic peoples whose ignorance had not been illumined by the great apostles of the Slavs, SS. Cyril and Methodius.³

¹ "Nec est præsul in Galliis cujus viscera tangat affectio pietatis, aut zelus sacræ legis inflammet. . . . O derelicta, O mœsta, O desolata Galliarum ecclesia." Ep. 2, an. 1003, ap. *P. L.*, t. 141, p. 192. Cf. Odo of Cluny, *Collationes*, ii., c. 6, ap. *P. L.*, t. 133.

² *Christian Schools*, i. c. 9, p. 324 to the end of the chapter. Kurth, *Notger de Liège*, i., p. 1 ff.; Paris, 1905.

³ See Pardiac, *Hist. de S. Abbon*, p. 44 ff., for a list of the saints of the tenth century.

Italy in
the "Dark
Age."

But if not the darkest day for Europe in general, the tenth century, with the first half of the eleventh, was confessedly the blackest night for Italy, and for Rome and its rulers. The causes which brought about the degradation of the Papacy were, to a large extent, those which brought about the fall of the empire. First of these was the barbarians. Under the strong rule of Charlemagne, civilisation had grown apace in Europe. Religion, and consequently learning, flourished under the protection of that great ruler; and, broadly speaking, till the fall of the Frankish empire north Italy at least enjoyed a term of peace and prosperity.¹ The strong right arm of Charlemagne had pushed back the borders of the barbarians, whose inroads were so fatal to the cause of civilisation, and who hung over the empire ready to take advantage of the smallest symptoms of weakness which it might exhibit. These symptoms were not long in showing themselves. Following the example set by Charlemagne himself, the empire was progressively split up by his descendants among their children; and, worse still, those who succeeded him in the title of emperor were destitute either of physical vitality, mental ability, or both. The reins of government slipped from their nerveless grasp under the pressure of the barbarians from without, and of the turbulent dukes and counts from within. The nobility grew unruly, and the

¹ So notes Sigonius, *De Regno Ital.*, t. v. p. 225: "Francis regnum tenentibus . . . et justis Francorum imperiis . . . cum ad sobolis incrementum, et cultum ædificiorum et rectorum disciplinarum ornatum, tum, in primis, ad religionis sanctitatem, et imperii dignitatem profecit (Italia)." And long before Sigonius, Hugh, abbot of Farfa, had written (*Destructio Farfensis*, c. 1, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xi.): "Qui (Francorum reges) post expletionem Langobardorum imperatorum Italicum regnum strenue potenterque per multa spatia imperatorum honorifice gubernarunt, æcclesias Dei exaltando, pauperes recreando, justitiam et legem ubique adimplendo." Hugh wrote at the beginning of the eleventh century.

inroads of Normans, Saracens, and Slavs became incessant. Bad enough before, things became much worse on the deposition of the last Carolingian emperor, Charles the Fat, in 887. The empire was split up into seven kingdoms, and soon into more than fifty feudal sovereignties. In bringing these kingdoms into being, racial and linguistic tendencies and pressing local¹ needs certainly had their share. But beyond doubt the greatest factor in producing them was the personal ambition of those who became their rulers, of men who by their birth considered themselves all equal.² And "the ambition of the powerful, together with the deplorable miseries of the times,"—we have it on the authority of the famous Gerbert (ep. 130)—"turned right into wrong." Already, on the division of the empire at the time of the death of Louis the Pious, Florus, the deacon of Lyons, had, in verse not wanting in pathos, bewailed its partition. He had called on the lofty hills and the deep valleys to mourn over the race of the Franks who had fallen from empire. "A beautiful empire once flourished under a glorious crown. Then was there one Prince and one subject people. Every town had its laws and its judges. . . . The word of salvation was preached to all; and the youth everywhere studied the sacred Scriptures and the liberal arts. . . . The name and dignity of empire lost, we have now kinglets for kings; instead of an empire, its fragments. . . . Of the general good no one has a thought. It is each one for himself. . . . The bishops can no longer hold their synods. There are no assemblies of the people, no laws. Vain were it for an embassy to come hither,

¹ Cf. *Capitular.*, ed. Boretius, ii. 376.

² Regino (an. 888) tells us how, on the death of Charles the Fat, each section of his empire "de suis visceribus regem sibi creari disponit. Quæ causa magnos bellorum motus excitavit . . . quia inter ipsos (principes Francorum) *æqualitas* generositatis dignitatis ac potentiæ discordiam augebat."

for there is no court to receive it.”¹ What would the high-minded deacon have said had he lived to see the deposition of Charles the Fat, and the divisions and wars that followed it?

That which rendered these wars specially disastrous was the fact that one or other of the contending parties was constantly inviting hordes of different barbarians to aid them in attacking their opponents and devastating their territories. Drawn by these invitations, and by the prospect of booty, Northman and Slav, Hungarian and Saracen “sometimes trod the same ground of desolation; and these savage foes might have been compared by Homer to the two lions growling over the carcase of the mangled stag.”²

In addition to the progressive subdivisions of the empire, and to the inroads of heathen or infidel invaders, a third most potent cause of the degradation of Europe in the tenth century and in the first half of the eleventh was the enslavement of the Church in its episcopacy. Freedom of election had been lost in the ninth century,³ and in this Dark Age the Popes and the bishops became the creatures not simply of emperors or kings, but of petty local barons.⁴ Though there were some great bishops in Germany and in England, the tenth century saw an episcopate largely composed of men who cared not for the glory of God and of His Church, who looked not to the beauty of His house, who had no concern for the spiritual and temporal welfare of their flocks, and who held learning in no esteem. Naturally, from the mode of their appointment, very

¹ The poem, “De querela de divis. Imp.,” from which the above extract is taken, is to be found ap. Mabillon, *Analect. Vet.*; or *P. L.*, t. 119, p. 249 f.

² Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. 55.

³ Cf. Imbart de la Tour, *Les élections épiscopales*, 814-1150.

⁴ Except in Germany, where the kings kept the episcopal appointments in their own hands,

many of them became barons rather than churchmen, and worked more for the privileges of a class than for the welfare of the whole body. Under such bishops there can be no difficulty in imagining what their priests were like. And when the salt of the clergy had lost its savour, the great mass of the laity necessarily became acquainted with corruption.

Of the barbarians who devastated Europe in the tenth century, the Northmen,¹ that is, the Norsemen and the Danes, were destined in the sequel to be as great agents for good in the civilisation of western Europe as they had once been powerful factors in its disintegration. The Danes
and the
Norsemen.

Though the piratical raids of the Norsemen had begun even before the close of the eighth century, their expeditions for permanent conquests did not begin till about the middle of the ninth century. About the same time, Harold Fairhair (863-934) in Norway, and Gorm the Old (860-935) in Denmark, strove successfully to make themselves effective rulers in those countries. Their success caused many of the vikings to leave their Northern homes for ever. After their light ships had spread the terror of their name not only over the British Isles, the Low Countries, and France, but even into Spain and the countries of the Mediterranean; and after they had carried "property"² back to Norway and Denmark from every

¹ Cf. *The Vikings in Western Christendom*, 789-888, by C. Keary, 1891. The first "ships of Northmen" touched our coast in 787 (cf. *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*). Before 800 their unwelcome visits had been made to Ireland, Frisia, and Aquitaine. The monastery of Iona was destroyed in 806. By 825 the viking expeditions were in full force. And "we may take the middle year of the ninth century as about the time when the Danish vikings cease to be, like swallows, summer visitors only, but begin to pass whole years through in the enemy's territory" (*ib.*, p. 274).

² Dudo, who wrote about A.D. 1015, and who gives us the earliest Norman traditions, quaintly writes of the Norsemen: "Dimittuntur

other European country, the vikings, about the middle of the ninth century, turned their attention, as we have said, to making regular conquests. Large portions of the British Isles and of France soon fell under their control. This, however, proved fortunate for Europe. Skilled in the art of war, no strangers to the refinements of life, and now masters of a considerable tract of sea-coast themselves, they checked the ravages of their countrymen. When, in 912, Charles the Simple, of France, making a virtue of necessity, ceded to the viking Rolf or Rollo what was, from these very Northmen, afterwards known as Normandy, the wild Norseman and his followers not only became Christians, and adopted the civilisation they found attached to it, but presented a strong barrier to future marauders. In the following century their proficiency in the arts both of peace and war caused them to become one of the chief agents in bringing the anarchy of the tenth century to a close. But before they thus settled down, these terrible sea-rovers, who "never put awnings on their ships, never furled their sails to the wind," and would have no "straw-made beds outside their ships' berths,"¹ were a scourge indeed, as our countryman Alcuin, and, long after him, Pope Formosus, had the best reason to note.² Their aims were as lofty as their methods of striving for their accomplishment were ferocious. Hasting, the Danish sea-king,

a suis inopes, ut mercentur ex extraneis dapes. Privantur suorum fundis ut locentur quiete alienis. . . . Liberatur patria, suis incolis desæcata. Ceteræ condolent provinciæ, plurimo hoste nequiter toxicatæ. Sic depopulantur cuncta quæ sibi sunt obstantia." *De morib. et act. Norman.*, t. i. p. 63, ap. Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Script. Antiq.* On the ravages of the Norsemen in Spain, see Dozy, *Recherches sur l'hist. de L'Espagne*, ii. 250 ff.

¹ See the Wicking laws, ap. Vigfusson, *Origines Islandicæ*, i. 325.

² "Castigatio est magna horum eruptio, antiquis ignota temporibus populo Christiano." Ep. 184, ed. Dümmler. "Normannæ gentis procellas," laments Pope Formosus, ap. Frodoard, *Hist. Rem.*, iv. 2.

who invaded England in 893, had nothing less in view, so we are told, than the making of his king, Biorn Ironside, emperor of the West; and, driven by a storm out of his course, he seized Luna, near Carrara, in mistake for Rome¹ (c. 857).

Worse, however, in themselves than the Norsemen, and certainly much worse for Italy, with which we are especially concerned, were the Saracens. While the Norse dragon was devouring the north, the Moorish crescent was casting its blighting glare on the south of Europe.² In the preceding volume enough has been said to show the mischief they wrought in south Italy in the latter half of the ninth century. To the centres of ruin and devastation which they established there during that period on the Garigliano, in Cetara, and in other places, they added others, towards the close of the same century, among the fastnesses of the Alps. Of these the most important was Fraxineto, in the neighbourhood of Fraxinet or Garde-Fraînet, situated perhaps on the promontory of the maritime Alps, which shuts in the bay of Villafranca to the east of Nice. Here and in the adjoining passes of the Alps they maintained themselves for the greater part of a hundred years. For though attacked at various times, as for instance even by a Greek fleet in 931,³ it was only in 942 that they were expelled from Fraxineto. Protected by the sea and by woods rendered almost impassable by a dense under-

¹ William of Jumièges, *Hist. Northman.*, i. 9, ap. *P. L.*, t. 149. "Hastingus dominum suum (Bier) ad altiora cupiens provehere, de imperiali diademate cum agmine complicum cœpit attentius tractare." No doubt much is attributed to Hasting which he did not accomplish, but there is nothing incredible in the episode spoken of in the text. Cf. Wheaton's charming *History of the Northmen*, p. 160 ff.

² In Spain, as late as 1050, there was still question of the ravages of the Saracens. Cf. can. 6 of the council of Coyaca in the diocese of Oviedo.

³ *Frod., Annal.*, 931, ap. *P. L.*, t. 135.

growth, they despised all local efforts to subdue them. At length, in 942, Hugh of Arles or Provence, king of Italy, obtained the aid of a Greek fleet to attack them by sea, whilst he assaulted them on the land side. The joint attack was successful. The Moors had to abandon their fortress, and fly to the passes of the mountains. But it is significant of the type of men who then controlled the destinies of Europe, that, instead of destroying this band of bloodthirsty bandits, Hugh agreed to let them remain on Monte Moro (Mons Maurus) on condition that, to the best of their power, they would hinder his rival, Berenger of Ivrea, from returning to Italy.¹ It was not till 972² that they were ousted from this last coign of vantage.

Issuing from one or other of these lairs, the fierce Moors beset the passes of the Alps, plundering and murdering pilgrims on their way to Rome, and generally harassing the north of Italy. All the chroniclers³ of the times speak with horror of the sea-washed fortress of Fraxineto; and the dread doings of its Saracenic lords form a subject of frequent notice by them. Such as the following are the facts recorded by them or by the sad testimony of monu-

¹ Liutprand, *Antap.*, v. cc. 9, 16-17. On a spur of the Montagnes des Maures, inland from Fréjus, are the remains of a Moorish fort. These ruins are thought by others to indicate the site of Fraxineto. Cf. Coolidge, *The Alps in Nature and History*, p. 82 f., 1908. Some suppose Monte Moro to be the pass leading from the Saas valley to Macugnaga; but the exact locality of the fortress of Fraxineto or of Monte Moro has not been ascertained. Cf. Poupardin, *Le Royaume de Provence*, ch. vii. p. 243 ff.; Paris, 1901.

² Muratori, *Annal.*, 972, quoting the *Vita S. Maioli* by Syrus. The said *Life* has been republished, ap. *P. L.*, t. 137. The account of the destruction of the stronghold is given, *ib.*, l. 3, c. 1-8. "Sic Omnipotens, sui famuli (Maioli) meritis, præcipitatis impiis, eliberavit cunctis viam Romani itineris," concludes the monk Syrus, after giving a very interesting account of this affair. Cf. *Chron. Novalic.*, v. 18.

³ Cf. *Chron. Novalicense*, iv., c. 22. 3. 6; Liutprandus, *Antapod.*, i. 1-5; ii. 43, etc.

mental inscriptions. In the year 921,¹ says Frodoard, "a great number of Englishmen, on their way to Rome, were crushed to death with rocks rolled upon them by the Saracens in the passes of the Alps." We need not, therefore, suspect Gregory of Catino (who towards the close of the eleventh century drew up the Chronicle of his monastery of Farfa) of much exaggeration when he says² of this period: "When at length, in punishment of the sins of Christians, the power of that dynasty (the Carolingian) began to decline, and became altogether impotent, a multitude of pagans of that wicked race called Agareni, or Saracens, invaded Italy, and few were the cities from Trastido to the Po, with the exception of Rome and Ravenna, which escaped destruction at their hands, or which were not at least brought under the scourge of their tyranny. As for the cities and provinces which they conquered, it was their practice to plunder them of everything, and either to drive away the inhabitants into captivity, or to slay them with the edge of the sword."

The ports of south Italy were crowded with Christian captives waiting to be shipped as slaves to Africa.³ Saracen buildings all along the coast about Amalfi, Naples, and Vietri attest to this day the baleful presence of the Moors

¹ Cf. the entry for 923, "Multitudo Anglorum limina S. Petri orationis gratia petentium, inter Alpes a Sarracenis trucidatur." "An inscription formerly in the parish church of Bourg-St.-Pierre, in the Val d'Entremont, recorded the murders committed by a band of Saracens in the St. Bernard's Pass." *Destruction of Ancient Rome*, p. 158, by Lanciani.

² *Chron. Farf.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, ii., pt. ii., 416. Miley's translation, with additions (*Hist. of the Papal States*, ii. 180), is here cited. Cf. *Destructio Farf.*, c. 1, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xi.

³ As early as 870 the monk Bernard the Wise, on his way to the Holy Land, saw thousands of such captives at Tarentum. Cf. *Itinera Hierosol.*, ed. Tobler, i. 310, quoted by Chalandon, *Hist. de la domin. Normande*, i. 5.

in those districts.¹ Place-names, and Moorish towers on the ruins of Roman amphitheatres, enable their hold on the Rhone valley to be traced with ease. But of all the parts of Italy, it was particularly the *Duchy* of Rome which experienced the greatest hardships at the hands of the Saracens. They began to threaten it about 725.² Rome itself was partially sacked by them in 846, and Liverani³ points out that their actual ravages in the Roman Duchy lasted for a hundred years; that the whole of it was ravaged at one time or another; and that not far short of four hundred towns were destroyed by them. They burnt such famous monasteries as Mt. Cassino, St. Elia at Nepi, Farfa, St. Sylvester on Mt. Soracte, and Subiaco; and established centres of aggression at suitable places both in and near the Duchy. But for such Popes as John VIII., John X., and Benedict VIII., they would have become masters of Italy.

The Hun-
garians.

If there is any exaggeration in the language of Gregory of Catino when applied to the Saracens only, there is certainly none when referred to the united barbarities of the Saracens and the Hungarians. These latter, kinsmen of the Huns and the Avars, proved the worst of the scourges that wasted the continent of Europe at this period. Known to themselves as Magyars (children of the earth),⁴ they were called by others Hungarians, because they came from Jugaria (Ougaria, hence the Greek "Ougroi"), on the slopes of the northern Ural Mountains. This Tartar people, of the great Turanian family, akin to the Turks and to those who gave

¹ *Italian Highways*, p. 216, by E. King; London, 1896. Cf. Lenormant, *La Grande-Grèce*, i. 196.

² Ep. 27, S. Bonif., ed. Düm.

³ *Giovanni X.*, forming the second volume of his works.

⁴ The derivation of Magyar is doubtful. The one given in the text is a likely one. *Ma* means *earth* in most of the Finnish languages; and in Hungarian, *gyer* means *child*. Cf. *Hist. Gén. des Hongrois*, p. 3, by Ed. Sayous, Paris.

their name to the "Bulgarians," came South, driven by hunger and enemies, or simply impelled by their nomad instincts. In the ninth century they settled in south Russia, in the district behind the Sereth, watered by the Pruth, the Dniester, the Bug, and the Dnieper, and then known as Ateleusu.¹ Thence they soon advanced further West, either driven by the Tartar Petchenegs, or invited by the Greek emperor, Leo VI., to help him to make war on the Bulgarians, and, it is said,² by Arnulf, king of Germany, to assist him in his efforts to subdue the Moravians; or, at least partly, urged on again by their love of wandering. As early as the year 862, what we may call the advance guard of this nation of mounted archers, alluded to by Archbishop Hincmar as a people hitherto unknown to western Europe,³ threw themselves upon the kingdom of Louis the German at the time when it was being ravaged by the Danes. For some thirty years not much is known in detail of the doings of the Magyars. They were engaged in subduing the Slavs, wedging themselves in between them, and getting a hold of the country about the Middle Danube and the Theiss. But after the year 892, when in the annals⁴ of the monastery of St. Gall we read the mysterious words that Arnulf the German relieved the Hungarians where they were cooped up, the chronicles are

¹ Cf. Sayous, p. 4; *Les Origines* (vol. i. of the *Hist. Gén.* of Lavissee and Rambaud), p. 718.

² By non-German authors, arguing from rather indefinite statements in the chronicles of St. Gall and Fulda (*Ann. Sangall. maj.*, and *Ann. Fuld.*, both ad an. 892, ap. *M. G. SS.*, i.); and from direct assertions in Liutprand, *Antapod.*, i. 13, and Widukind, *Res. Gest. Sax.*, i. 19. Widukind, a monk of Corbey, wrote about 975. Cf. Sayous, p. 53.

³ *Annal. Hinc.*, ad an. 862, where another body of marauders is spoken of who, "unknown to the Germans," "illis populis inexperti, qui Ungri vocantur, regnum ejusdem populantur."

⁴ An. 892, *Annales Sangall. maj.*, "Arnolfus contra Maravenses pergebat, et Agarenos (Ungaros) ubi reclusi erant, dimisit."

full of the doings of the Magyars. It is the Ungari here, the Ungari there, the Ungari everywhere, as though Arnulf had let the winds out of the bag! The hoofs of their indefatigable horses clattered over almost every road in Germany, France, and Italy.¹ Their arrows brought death to the men and women of the North as to those of the South. And no "distance," says Gibbon,² "could be secure against an enemy who almost at the same instant laid in ashes the Helvetian monastery of St. Gall and the city of Bremen on the shores of the Northern Ocean."³ And so we encounter such entries as these in the chronicles of the period:—A.D. 919, "The Hungarians⁴ harry Italy and part of France; to wit, the kingdom of Lothaire." "This year" (926), record the annals of Reichenau,⁵ "the Hungarians laid waste all France, Alsace, Gaul, and Germany (Alemanniam) with fire and sword"; and under the year 932: "When they had burnt many cities of eastern France and Germany, they crossed the Rhine near Worms, and devastated the kingdom of Gaul even to the ocean, and returned through Italy."

If their widespreading and long-continued ravages caused the Magyars to be described by more or less strictly contemporary authors as a people who were "greedy,

¹ 899 is the date assigned to their first invasion of Italy by many of the annals (*Ann. Sangall. min. et maj., Laubacenses*, etc.). The annals of Fleury, an. 936 ap. *P. L.*, t. 139, have "Prima in totam Galliam Ungarorum irruptio."

² *Decline and Fall*, c. 55.

³ "Ungariorum gens, cujus omnes pene nationes expertæ sunt sævitiam," Liutp., *Ant.*, i. 5.

⁴ *Frod., Ann.*; "922, Feb. 4, Hungari in Apuliam veniunt," is a *nota marginalis* in *MS. Cod. Bib. Casanatensis*, ap. Muratori, *Antiquitates Ital. Med. Ævi*, iii. 676, ed. Milan, 1741. Among the monasteries destroyed by these barbarians was Nonantula, where "codices ibi multi concremati." *Ib.*, v. 674, from the monastic records. *Cf. ib.*, i. 23.

⁵ *Ann. Augienses*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, i. *Cf. Ann. Floriacenses*, an. 936, ap. *P. L.*, t. 139, etc.

audacious, ignorant of God, acquainted with every crime, and keen only for slaughter and plunder,"¹ and as "most fierce in war,"² their appetite for raw flesh made even these coæval writers lay to their charge that they drank the blood of the slain.³ To later writers they were known as men with dark countenances, and deep-set eyes, small of stature, barbarous and ferocious in their language and morals, so that "fortune must be blamed, or rather the divine patience admired, which exposed this beautiful earth not to men, but to such monstrosities of men." So wrote the good Bishop Otho of Frising⁴ in the twelfth century. Of these latter exaggerated descriptions the popular imagination took hold, and in the *ogres* of our childhood we did but shudder at the wild doings of the Ungari in the tenth century.

The Hungarians, however, were not destined to have all their own way. Neither the science nor the art of war had been altogether lost in the West, and at length the Germans broke the power of the Magyars. A great defeat was inflicted upon them at Mersebourg by Henry the Fowler in 933, and another by the Saxons in 938. A final crushing overthrow was sustained by them at the hands of Otho the Great in 955, on the Lech, near Augsburg. Despite these reverses, it was not till the death of their great chief Taksony⁵ (947-972) that their ravages practically ceased. How much they contributed to help the confusion of the tenth century can easily be imagined. "The Hungarians," says⁶ Gibbon, "promoted the reign of anarchy by forcing

¹ Liut., *Ant.*, i., c. 13; or c. 5, ed. *R. I. SS.*, ii. 428.

² Widukind, *Res. Sax.*, i. 17.

³ Liut., *ib.*, ii. c. 2, "Interfectorum sese sanguine potant."

⁴ *De Gest. Fred. Imp.*, l. i., c. 31, ap. *R. I. SS.*, iv. 665. Cf. Ott. Fris., *Chron.*, vi. 10.

⁵ *Ann. Augienses*, an. 934; Liut., *Ant.*, ii. 25 f., etc

⁶ Sayous, pp. 86-92.

the stoutest barons to discipline their vassals and fortify their castles. The origin of walled towns (becoming later on, we may add, the nurseries of our modern liberties) is ascribed to this calamitous period." The empire in the West was being broken to pieces for ever. It was at the same time being pulled down by its children from within, and battered by the barbarians from without. Out of its debris were to spring the nations of Modern Europe. But painful was their birth. Terrible were the throes of Christendom in the tenth century. And while the churches of the North¹ rang with the mournful litany: "A furore Normanorum libera nos Domine,"² those of the South resounded with the tearful supplication: "Nunc te rogamus, licet servi pessimi, ab Ungerorum nos defendas jaculis."³

¹ *Decline*, etc., c. 55. Cf. Muratori, *Annal.*, an. 892, who assigns the wars between Berengarius and Guido as the cause which moved the Italians to fortify their towns, and who quotes some interesting verses of an inscription in which Bishop Leodoinus records the fortifying of Modena:—

"His tumulum portis et erectis aggere vallis,
Firmavit, positis circum latitantibus armis,
Non contra dominos erectus corda serenos,
Sed cives proprios cupiens defendere tectos."

But, as stated in the text, the ravages of the Hungarians were the chief cause of the fortification of both towns and monasteries in north Italy. Cf. an act of 24th June 904, of the seventeenth year of King Berengarius, in which leave is given to the bishop and the people of Bergamo to repair the walls of their city which had fallen into decay: "unde nunc maxime sevorum Ungarorum incursione, et ingenti comitum suorumque ministrorum oppressione tenebatur." No. 410, p. 688, ap. *Codex diplom. Langobardiæ*; Turin, 1873. Cf. Nos. 448, p. 773; 456 and 467.

² The English clergy were saying votive Masses "against the pagan." Cf. Bridgett, *A Hist. of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain*, p. 114, ed. 1908.

³ Muratori, *Antiq. Med. Ævi*, t. i., Diss. 1, p. 21, 2 ed.; Milan, 1738. Oppressed by the Saracens, the people of Arles were praying: "Libera populum tuum xpistianum (sic) de obpressione paganorum," etc. See the Mass "pro persecutione paganorum" at the beginning of the Arles Sacramentary, ap. Poupardin, *Le Royaume de Provence*, p. 408.

The result of all these fierce incursions, and of the intestine wars waged by kings and nobles for the name of emperor or for personal independence, for rivalry or for revenge,¹ was, of course, widespread anarchy, ignorance, and immorality among all classes, both among the clergy² and the laity. The bonds of civil and ecclesiastical law and discipline were cut by the sword, and all—at least the powerful—did what they considered right in their own eyes. Taking every advantage of the troubles which had come upon the fallen empire of the West, the nobles generally made themselves absolute masters in their own dominions, and did just as they thought fit. The canons of the councils of these unhappy times furnish a clear insight of what those deeds were which “they thought right,” and of their results. The synod of Pavia (889), held for the election of Guido as king of Italy, decreed³ that the palatines of the king must refrain from plundering, and that, in coming to a diet (*placitum*), they must not rob the places they pass through, but pay for what they needed.⁴ The people, moreover, must not be unduly taxed nor violently oppressed (can. 7). Another synod, that of Ravenna in 898, under Pope John IX., calls on the Emperor Lambert to repress the arson, the robberies, the brutalities of all kinds which were rampant in the empire⁵ (can. 5).

General
lawless-
ness.

¹ Cf. St. Peter Damian, *Epp.*, iv. 17.

² We read (*Chron. S. Mart. Colon.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ii. 215) of one cleric (Warinus, abbot of St. Martin) that *he is said* to have burned alive Gero, archbishop of Cologne. However, after he in turn became archbishop (976-984), it repented him, and “de crimine Romam ivit.”

³ Can. 8, ap. Muratori, *R. I. SS.*, II. i. 416.

⁴ *Ib.*, can. 9. “Hi (palatini) vero qui tempore placiti diversis ex partibus conveniunt nullam (per)transeuntes in villis seu civitatibus rapinam exercent sibi necessaria antiqua consuetudine digno pretio ementes.”

⁵ Cf. the decrees of the synod of Hohenaltheim, ap. Hefele, *Concil.*, vi. 152 f.

The council of Trosle, held under Heriveus, archbishop of Rheims, in 909, bewails at once the devastation of cities and country and the decay of virtue, and proceeds to lay the blame of the latter on the bishops. They have kept silent when they ought to have spoken out.

Certainly, in this unhappy period, the Church had not much influence for good, as she was in most parts suffering from the most grievous oppression. Candidates the most worthless and unfit were forcibly intruded into her most important offices—even into the chair of Peter. The wealth of some of the larger monasteries and episcopal sees caused them to be much coveted by the powerful. Greedy nobles seized on them by force or contrived to intrude into them some members of their family. The council last spoken of, besides regretting the destruction of many monasteries by the barbarians, deploras the absolute want of all discipline in many others. Some of them cannot be brought to order, as they are under the power of bishops different from those in whose dioceses they are situated. Others have laymen for abbots, who have taken up their abode in the monastic cloisters with their wives and children, soldiers and dogs! And whereas in some monasteries there was luxury and pomp, the direst poverty forced other monks to turn to worldly employments to gain a livelihood.¹ So that, if the somewhat caustic RATHERIUS of Verona (†974) gives² us a striking picture of Italian prelates of the tenth century, eating and drinking out of vessels of gold, entertained by dancing girls, hunting, and travelling in gorgeous carriages, it must not be forgotten that it was with those in the Church as with men

¹ On this council Hefele, *ib.*, p. 146 f. Cf. Labbe, ix. p. 520 f.

² *Præloquiorum*, l. v., n. 5 f., p. 142 f., ed. Ballerini, or ap. *P. L.*, t. 136. The translation of this passage in Gregorovius is exaggerated in parts, especially where there is question of the immorality of the clergy. Cf. his *De contempt. can.*, ii., p. 2, ap. *P. L.*, t. 136, p. 516.

in the State in the tenth century. Luxury was for the few, poverty and oppression for the many. Bishops who were nobles, in many cases violently intruded into the sees they held, lived like the nobles. The inferior clergy lived like the mass of the people, sure neither of their bread nor of their lives. Of this there is more than evidence enough in the fact that, even during the ninth century, councils in their decrees, and kings in their capitularies, found it necessary to be constantly legislating for the protection of Church property; and an author¹ of the last twenty years of the tenth century speaks of the Emperor Otho I.'s restoring churches throughout Italy (Lombardy) and Tuscany which had been brought to desolation by the barbarity and wantonness of former princes. Needless to say that the grossest simony was practised, and that matters went from bad to worse. St. Peter Damian has left on record² the depth of ignorance, simony, and intemperance to which the clergy had sunk by the days when the brave Gregory VII. began to put into action the moral lever with which he was to raise the Christian world into a higher groove.

The recital of a concrete³ case or two of lawlessness will serve better than anything else, perhaps, to put in clear relief the condition of the Church, in Italy especially, in the tenth century.

An historian⁴ who flourished under S. Gregory VII. informs us that Hugh of Provence, king of Italy, finding

Particular instances of lawlessness.

¹ The author of the *Translatio S. Epiphani.*, c. 2, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iv. 248.

² *Opusc.*, 18, 22, 26, etc., ap. T. iii., ed. Cajetan.

³ Taken from Miley's *Hist. of the Papal States*, ii. 239 f. I have verified or corrected his references.

⁴ Arnulf the elder, the historian of the city of Milan. "Sed quia in puerili ætate ad episcopandum minime videbatur idoneus, Ardericum grandævum senem interim subrogavit (Hugo) antistitem, sperans eum etc. . . . Necem illico meditatur occultam. . . . Sed propitia divinitate liberatus evasit Ardericus." *Hist. Med.*, l. i. c. 2, ap. *R. I. SS.*, iv. p. 8.

that he could not succeed in getting his son consecrated archbishop of Milan on account of his extreme youth, had him tonsured (935). He then procured the election of Ardericus, from whose advanced years he anticipated that a vacancy would be sure to occur by the time that his son would have come of age. But as the venerable Ardericus lived longer than he wished, he resolved to put him to death. Accordingly he was invited, along with other magnates of Milan, to Pavia. There, in the midst of a royal entertainment, the followers of King Hugh fell on the archbishop and his friends. Ninety of the Milanese were murdered; but, as if by a miracle, the aged prelate escaped.

For a pecuniary consideration, this same king appointed as abbot of Farfa the murderer of the preceding abbot Ratfredo.¹ This wretch, whose name was Campone, had an accomplice, one Hildebrand, who went to Pavia and paid the money to the king. The new abbot appointed Hildebrand to the richest of the "cells," or subordinate monasteries of the abbey. But before a year had passed, these precious monks, both noblemen, are at open war, with bands of armed men on both sides. Success is at first with Hildebrand, for he hired the banditti and free-bands of Camerino. The monastery of Farfa is carried by storm. But, by a judicious distribution of treasure, Campone wins over the marauders who had secured the victory for Hildebrand; his rival is expelled, and Campone is once more abbot of Farfa.

We will tell one more story of these times from the same annals, as Hildebrand figures in it also. Again in

¹ *Chron. Farf.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, II. ii., 457 f. "Sub hujus memorati Ratfredi Abbatis regimine erant duo scelerati in hoc monasterio, falsi habitus monachi, pessimæque nequitiae." The *Destructio Farf.*, c. 7, is here being followed.

the days of King Hugh, writes the author¹ of the chronicle of Farfa, there were savage wars between Ascarius and Sarilo for dominion over the March of Firmo. Sarilo slew Ascarius and obtained the March. On this, King Hugh broke out into a great fury against Sarilo, and pursued him with vengeance, because Ascarius was his brother Sarilo, driven to the last straits in a small place in Tuscany, where he had taken refuge, put on the cowl of a monk, and with a halter about his neck came out from the town gate just at dawn, and threw himself at the feet of the king. Hugh, moved to compassion, forgave him the murder of his brother, and placed him over all the *royal monasteries* within the confines of *Tuscany* and the *March of Firmo*.² All the abbots submitted to Sarilo except Hildebrand, the rival of Campone. He was accordingly attacked in the castle of St. Victoria, and forced to surrender it. Hildebrand returned with recruited forces, attacked the castle, and compelled the new abbot to retire ignominiously. He, however, returned to the charge, and with success the second time. With abbots such as Hildebrand, Sarilo, and Campone, ecclesiastical discipline might well have been at a discount.

It must not be thought from our reference to councils held in this period that these invaluable aids to order were then regularly celebrated. The fact is, as we have it on the authority of the ablest historian of the councils, Bishop von Hefele,³ this period, especially in comparison with the ninth century, was very poor in synodal gatherings; and those that were held were of no importance.

¹ Gregory of Catino, at the very beginning of the twelfth century.

² *Chron. Farf.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, II. ii. p. 475. "Et motus Rex misericordia super eum perdonavit ei ipsam culpam, ac præposuit eum super cuncta monasteria regalia infra fines Tusciæ et Firmanæ Marchiæ" !

³ *Conc.*, vi. 145, Fr. ed.

Want of
councils in
tenth
century.

Their action was purely local, and had no ameliorating influence on the sad condition of the Church in general.

Great
decay of
learning.

As might be expected, the period of which we are writing was not distinguished for the cultivation of learning in any of its branches. "In the midst of such universal desolation," asks¹ the illustrious author of the *History of Italian Literature*, Tiraboschi, "was the pursuit of learning possible? If the peace which Italy enjoyed under Charlemagne and Lothaire, and the measures taken by these princes to make learning flourish once again, were not enough to rouse the country and make it turn afresh to the 'bell' arti' so long neglected, what must we suppose to have been the effect of disasters so terrible that they would have spread barbarism and ignorance even among more cultured provinces?"

Want of
teachers.

The effect may easily be estimated not only from the considerations set forth by the modern scholar, but from what a quasi-contemporary tells us of the appalling dearth of teachers, even to some extent in his own time. The philosophic abbot, Guibert of Nogent (†1124), writing particularly of the state of things just before his own days, tells us that a teacher in a small town could not be found, and that even the large cities could produce but few. The learning of such masters as were forthcoming was, he says, but very scant, and not to be compared with that of any wandering cleric of modern times.²

Want of
books.

Both a cause and an effect of the prevailing ignorance of the times was a scarcity of books. No doubt there were other causes of this want of books, such as their destruction when monasteries, their chief repositories,

¹ *Storia della Let. It.*, iii. 169. Cf. p. 166. "Quia musica et astronomia in Italia tunc penitus ignorabantur." Richer, *Hist.*, iii. 44. Cf. iii. 49, "Musica multo ante Galliis ignota."

² *De vita sua*, i. c. 4, ap. *P. L.*, t. 156, p. 844.

were destroyed. Another cause was the dearth of paper: "For since Egypt, the ancient home of the papyrus, had fallen into the power of the Arabs, the scarcity of writing material had been keenly felt in Italy, and to this cause Muratori in part ascribes the intellectual barbarism of the tenth century."¹ But we must be on our guard against forming exaggerated ideas of the book famine of this epoch. It was not so much that there were then no books, or but few, in Italy at any rate, as that, owing to the troubled state of the times, new ones were not so frequently written or old ones copied. We have the positive assertion of an author, viz. Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II. (999-1003), who knew more about books than any other man of his period, that there were a great many books to be found in all parts of Italy, as well as in Germany and in the "Belgic" provinces,² *i.e.*, the duchy of Lorraine. And we read of a Spanish priest stopping a whole year at the court of Pope John X. (914-928), and collecting "a multitude of books" with which he returned "with joy" to his own country.³ If, too, it be the fact, as Richer avers it was, that music and astronomy were unknown in Italy in these dark and inharmonious days, there was light enough to prevent the brush of the artist from quite losing its cunning. The "prince of painters" had still his residence in Italy, and when the emperor, Otho III., in all things most eager for the glory of the empire, needed an artist to decorate the cathedral

¹ Gregorovius, *Rome*, iii. 500. The too facile pen of this author leads him to overdraw his pictures. His sketch of the evils of the tenth century is an illustration of this assertion.

² Ep. 130 to the monk Rainard. "Nosti quanto studio librorum exemplaria undique conquiram. Nosti quot scriptores in urbibus ac in agris Italiæ passim habeantur." Cf. ep. 44, *infra*; and Tiraboschi, *ib.*, L. iii. c. 1, n. 29. Havel's ed. of Gerbert's letters is here used.

³ *Chron. Iriense*, n. 7, ap. Florez, *Esp. Sagrada*, t. xx. 603. "Qui collecta multorum librorum multitudine cum gaudio ad propria rediit."

of Aix-la-Chapelle, be summoned the pious Italian John to do the work.¹

Rome in
the Dark
Age.

During this hundred and fifty years of bloodshed and gloom, how fared it with the city of Rome? A poem on a manuscript of the period² supplies us with an answer not wholly wide of the truth. "Alas! unhappy Rome, thy power was built up by great rulers; now, a servant of thy former slaves, thou art rushing to thy ruin. Thy princes have long abandoned thee; thy name and thy glory have fled to the Greeks. Prosperous Constantinople is known as the New Rome. In thy walls and in thy morals, O worn-out Rome, thou art falling to thy ruin. Empire has left thee, Pride alone remains. The worship of avarice has completely possessed you. A mob torn from the ends of the earth, the slaves of thy slaves are now thy lords. Not one of thy old nobility remains with thee; thy free-born sons are reduced to tilling the soil. You who once cruelly put the saints of God to death, are now wont to sell their sacred remains. Were you not nourished by the merits of Peter and Paul, long ago would you have quite shrivelled away."

Taking the evidence of invective verses for what they are worth, we are driven to form our ideas on the state of Rome at this period rather from conjecture from what we know of it in the ninth century, and from a few

¹ Cf. *Vita Balderici Leodiensis*, c. 14 ff., ap. *M. G. SS.*, iv.; and Kurth, *Notger de Liège*, p. 319.

² Though found in a tenth-century MS., the poem was the product of a slightly earlier age, viz. of 878; but it may well be applied to the tenth century. Ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 457.

"Moribus et muris, Roma vetusta, cadis."

I have used Jaffé's edition, but the version in the *M. G. PP.*, iii. 555 is fuller. The following line from it shows that the lords of Rome referred to were the Saracens:—"Manziribus (*i.e.* sons of a harlot, Ismaelites) subjecta jacens macularis iniquis."

passing references to it in the records of the following age, than from the extremely little which contemporary documents have to say regarding it.

Were we to confine our gaze to the legal documents of this epoch which have come down to us, we might be tempted to suppose that all was as usual in Rome. We find that the Prefect was still judging criminal cases (in the name of the Pope) both in the city and in its immediate neighbourhood, and that there were *Consules Romanorum* and *Duces* and other papal officials exercising various executive functions during the whole period of these obscure years. Still was justice in civil cases administered by the seven great officials of the papal court, the *primicerius*, the *secundicerius*, the *arcarius* (treasurer), the first of the *defensors*, the *nomenclator*, the *saccellarius* (paymaster), and the *protoscrinarius*. Indeed, fairly complete lists of these functionaries during this age have been compiled.¹ Assisting these seven *judices ordinarii* were certain subordinate judges, known as *judices dativi*, who, though usually exercising no other than judicial functions, were not competent to decide cases apart from the clerical *judices ordinarii*. And these palatine judges themselves, under increasing pressure of business, gradually ceased in the course of the eleventh century to exercise any other than purely judicial duties.

In theory, then, no matter how "imperfectly known the administrative organisation of Rome before the middle of the twelfth century may be, it rested wholly on the sovereignty of the Pope. It is from him that all authority emanated, and it is in his name, and in virtue of powers which he had delegated to them, that the different officials

¹ Cf. *Études sur l'administration de Rome au moyen âge (751-1252)*, by L. Halphen; Paris, 1907. This is distinctly the best book on the subject.

issue orders, levy taxes, and administer justice.”¹ Further, if the *schola cantorum*, which was also known as the *Orphanotropio*—the ecclesiastical seminary of preceding ages, whence had issued so many Pontiffs who had graced the See of Peter—was still in existence, it is very certain that many who sat in his chair in the tenth century had never been inside its walls, or been subject to any kind of ecclesiastical training. John, “the venerable subdeacon of the Roman Church,” who was its *primicerius* in the days of Pope John XI. (934),² may easily have lived to wish that John XII. had experienced a little of his disciplinary care.

It was really ruled either by the aristocracy or by a tyrant.

Hence, as a matter of fact, if certain outward appearances connected the Rome of the Iron Age with the Rome of the Carolingians, it was really a changed thing. Not merely were its ancient fourteen imperial and seven ecclesiastical regions, which had hitherto existed side by side, replaced by twelve divisions corresponding fairly well to the modern *rioni*,³ but both the papal and the imperial power were reduced there to a shadow. No longer was there a permanent imperial *missus* in Rome; and if an emperor did come there in person or by an envoy, his authority was barely respected during the time of his visit. If the dignity of the emperor, who normally lived at a distance from Rome, was regarded there as of no account, even the authority of the Pope who resided in its midst was often but as little respected. All real power was at this time in the hands of the great families who, through their connection with the local militia, had become a practically independent feudal aristocracy. These families were all jealous of one another,

¹ Halphen, *l.c.*, p. 52.

² Muratori, *Antiquit. Ital.*, iii. p. 237 ff.

³ The twelve divisions embraced only Rome proper, *i.e.*, Rome on the left bank of the Tiber, and took no account of the inhabitants of the Trastevere or of the Island.

and were perpetually fighting for supremacy. The one aim of each party, pursued by every resource of violence and intrigue, was to get control of the chair of Peter. Its occupant must be one of theirs at all costs. And what a price had Rome to pay for their ambitions! Its law and order, its morals, even its very buildings were sacrificed to them.

Peering through the historic gloom, we catch sight of the fierce retainers of the different families feverishly converting into robber strongholds the monuments of antiquity, the Septizonium, the triumphal arches, and the temples of the ancient gods. By degrees the Forum and its immediate vicinity became a nest of castles, from the castellated arch of Septimius Severus in the north-west to the embattled arch of Titus in the south-east. From these fortresses issued forth men who neither feared God nor regarded man,¹ and to whom were sacred neither the canon nor the civil law, neither the vestment of the priest nor the cloak of the citizen, neither the gold of the sanctuary nor the mite of the widow. And, as though these were not troubles enough for Rome, it was, to use the rather exaggerated language of Raoul Glaber,² almost wholly the prey of fire towards the close of the tenth century.

Moreover, whilst violence was the order of the day within the city walls, it was equally rife in their immediate neighbourhood. Robber nobles beset the highways, plundering merchant and pilgrim with equal impunity; while the

¹ The famous Bishop Fulbert of Chartres (†1028) denounces to King Robert the Pious nobles of a similar sort in France, men "who do the king all the harm they are able to accomplish, and who threaten all that they are not able to do." Ep. 57, an. 1020, ap. *P. L.*, t. 141. And, speaking of the viscount Geoffrey, he says (ep. 30, an. 1019) that, by rebuilding the castles which the king has destroyed, and by building new ones to oppress the people, he shows himself one "qui nec Dominum nec excellentiam vestram se revereri."

² *Hist.*, ii. 7.

quaking watchmen on the walls of Rome, at least during the first half of the tenth century, must have been ever afraid lest the wild Hungarian archer, whom they beheld spreading desolation around and discharging his arrows in impotent rage against its lofty towers, might yet stable his horse in the atrium of St. Peter's, and transfer his barbarities to the already blood-dyed streets of the city. Often must they have encouraged one another to untiring vigilance; and often must they have prayed—for faith did not die in Rome during the tenth century—that God would deliver them from the darts of the Hungarians.¹

But again must the note of warning be sounded. Rome was not under a Pornocracy, as some writers would have us think, for a century and a half; nor was it an utter stranger to the arts of peace throughout that long period. There were books there, as we have seen, in plenty; and thither we know went men to consult them.² It was at Rome also, as texts to be quoted in the course of this volume will show, that ecclesiastics purchased ornaments

¹ At any rate we know that the citizen soldiers of Modena so acted in 892. They would have their walls echo with the cry of 'Watch!'

"Do you who keep these walls in arms
E'er watch in midst of war's alarms.
Whilst wakeful Hector went the round,
Troy's ancient walls stood safe and sound."

"Et sit in armis alterna vigilia,
Ne fraus hæc invadat mœnia,
Resultet echo, 'Comes, eia vigila,'
Per muros 'eia,' dicat echo 'vigila.'"

Cf. The poems of two citizens of Modena, ap. *M. G. PP.*, iii. 703 ff. *Cf.* Benedict of Soracte, c. 30, writing of some year about the middle of the tenth century, "Iterum autem venientes Ungari juxta Romam a porta S. Joannis, exierunt Romani et pugnaverunt cum Ungarorum gens, et ceciderunt de nobiles Romani," etc. The Latin of Benedict is a reflex of the times.

² *Cf.* St. Bartholomew's *Vita S. Nili*, § 4, p. 34, of Rocchi's Italian translation.

for their churches, both textile fabrics and articles in metal or marble. Charters of the tenth century have preserved the names of certain Roman artists (*exigui pictores* as they modestly style themselves);¹ and it must be borne in mind that even during the sad days of that darkest age of Rome, the tradition of Roman art was never lost. It survived to a happier time, and passed on its principles to Florence, to be by that more fortunate city so gloriously expanded.² But, considering the grinding poverty with which so many of the Popes of the Dark Age were oppressed, and the turmoil into which their city was so often plunged, an epoch of artistic development is not to be expected. On the contrary, it is matter for congratulation that the arts of painting and sculpture did not perish altogether in Rome. And it is remarkable that it was during this period of artistic depression that the Roman artists were "called upon to produce some of the most extensive works in the history of their school," viz. the redecoration of St. Peter's and the Lateran. Though their work may show "less of artistic quality than at any other time," their school "seems to have been pre-eminent in Europe."³ Nor was their work confined to Rome itself. Frescoes of the tenth century still adorn the walls of the monastic church of St. Elia near Nepi, and the artists who painted them have inscribed their names beneath the feet of the figure of our Saviour whom they have depicted in the apse. The brothers Stephen and John, and their nephew Nicholas, were the three "Roman painters" who executed the frescoes of St. Elia.⁴ When about the year 990

¹ Cf. Fedele, *Una chiesa del Palatino*, p. 359 f., ap. *Archivio della R. Soc. Rom. di stor. pat.*, 1903.

² Cf. the latest edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *History of Painting*, i. p. 153 n., etc.; and Frothingham, *The Monuments of Christian Art*, pp. 114, 308, 349; New York, 1908.

³ Frothingham, *ib.*, p. 308.

⁴ *ib.*, p. 310 ff.

Otho III. wished to decorate the imperial palace of Aix-la-Chapelle, he showed "the high esteem in which the Roman school of painting was held" by employing, as "his chief court painter, the Italian artist John."¹ Finally, in this connection, it is worth noting that modern authorities assign to this age and to a Roman artist the little work *De coloribus et artibus Romanorum*, one of the very few technical productions of the early Middle Ages. It was the work of one Heraclius, who, while lamenting the decay of Roman genius and Roman institutions, and sorrowfully asking who is now capable of understanding and explaining the noble arts of the ancients, bravely made an attempt himself, and issued his practical manual "for painters, with all necessary receipts and directions for mixing and using colours, and for making mosaics."²

In the second half of the tenth century, too, a religious reform was being carried out within the walls of Rome. The "terrible" tyrant Alberic was to a considerable extent under the civilising influence of St. Odo of Cluny (879-942). Under him he became "a pious frequenter of the cloisters," and to him he gave the care of all the monasteries of Rome. Many of them were in consequence led to embrace the Cluniac reform, and some new ones were founded,—one on the Aventine by Alberic himself.³

Among the other monasteries which were built at the time just mentioned was that of S. Maria in *Pallara*, on the Palatine, which was at the same period adorned with frescoes.

There are not wanting authors who maintain that there

¹ Frothingham, *ib.*, p. 313.

² *ib.*, p. 308. I presume it is the work printed by Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.*, ii. 366, and assigned by him to the end of the eighth century.

"Jam decus ingenii quod plebs Romana probatur
Decidit," etc.

³ Cf. Fedele, *Una chiesa del Palatino*, p. 359 f., ap. *Archivio della R. Soc. Rom. di stor. pat.*, 1903.

was no place in Italy in this unhappy time where learning was so conspicuous by its absence as in Rome. One of them¹ cites in proof the words of "the Gallic bishops at Rheims"—"There is no one at present in Rome who has studied the sciences, without a knowledge of which, as it is written, a man is incapable of being even a door-keeper. The ignorance of other bishops is in some degree pardonable if we compare their position with that of the Bishop of Rome. In the Bishop of Rome, however, ignorance is not to be endured, since he has to judge matters of faith, mode of life and discipline, the clergy, and, in short, the universal Catholic Church." The weight of a man's words as evidence depends to a very large extent on the circumstances, such as the condition of body and mind, etc., under which he speaks. The words of a person in anger are not accepted without question. And in connection with the statement just cited, viz., "that, as *report* hath it, *hardly any* one at present in Rome has studied the sciences," it must be explained that the Gallic bishops were engaged in arbitrarily deposing² Bishop Arnulf, and in substituting Gerbert (afterwards Sylvester II.) in his stead. Hence they were endeavouring, by decrying the Pope's intellectual capability, to deprive his expected condemnation of their conduct of all force. When this is explained, the testimony of the

¹ Gregorovius, iii. 498. The council alluded to is that held at Rheims, June 991. A comparison with the original text, which is here subjoined, shows that the disrespectful language of Arnulf of Orleans has not lost any of its force through the translation of Gregorovius. "Sed cum hoc tempore Romæ nullus *pene* sit, *ut fama est*, qui litteras didicerit, sine quibus ut scriptum est, vix hostiarius efficitur, qua fronte aliquis eorum docere audebit quod minime didicit. Ad comparationem quippe Romani pontificis, in aliis sacerdotibus ignorantia utcumque tolerabilis est; in Romano autem, cui de fide, vita, moribus, disciplina sacerdotum deque universali ecclesia Catholica judicandum est, intolerabilis videri potest." Migne, t. 139, p. 314.

² Of this council more will be said under Sylvester II. Cf. Hock's *Life of Sylvester II.*, c. 5. French trans.

"Gallic bishops" as to ignorance in Rome does not count for much. It is not equal to the testimony of Ratherius of Verona, which is quite to the opposite effect. He categorically asserts¹ that there was no place where ecclesiastical science was better taught than in Rome; and Gerbert himself lets us know² that, even towards the close of the tenth century, it was one of the cities to go to for books. No doubt for Rome there was a great falling off in learning in this unhappy period; but we must beware of taking it for granted that its light was there quite extinguished.

The Popes during the "Iron Age."

But how fared it with Rome's rulers, the Popes, during this calamitous epoch? In the same way, though to a much worse degree, as it fared with so many other European rulers. Just as the power of other Western sovereigns was curtailed by the practical independence which so many of their nobles won for themselves, so that of the Popes was hampered by the Roman nobles. With the fall of the imperial authority the curb was removed from them. They soon seized all power in Rome, and oppressed both the Pope, the clergy, and the people.³ Some among

¹ "Quo aptius possum, quam Romæ doceri? Quid enim de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus alicubi scitur, quod Romæ ignoretur." *Itin. Rath. Rom.*, p. 440, ed. Ballerini.

² "Romæ dudum ac in aliis partibus Italiæ, in Germania quoque et Belgica, scriptores auctorumque exemplaria multitudine nummorum redemi." Ep. 44, written about the beginning of 985. Cf. Tiraboschi, L. iii., c. 2, n. 24.

³ Bonizo of Sutri (†1091), of whom more hereafter, writing from what he had heard of these times, expressed all this very clearly in his *Liber ad Amicum*, l. iii. (ap. Migne, t. 150, or Watterich, i.): "Nam Romanis auxilium imperatoribus ferre non valentibus, propter Sarcenorum frequentissimos incursus, Francis divisus et ab ecclesia sequestratis, urbis Romæ capitanei . . . Romanam ecclesiam validissime devastaverunt. . . . Hi vero, Urbis capitanei, accepta tyrannide, licenter cuncta faciebant. Nam non solum cardinalatus et abbatias et episcopatus turpissima venalitate fedabant, sed ipsum etiam Romanæ ecclesiæ Pontificatum, non spectata aliqua morum dignitate nec aliqua

them endeavoured to make the Papacy an appanage of their families.¹

Foremost amongst the nobility was the house of Theophylactus, whose relations or descendants were the practical rulers of Rome during this period.² Of this house, if we are to trust Liutprand, the most notorious members were a certain Theodora and her equally famous or infamous daughters, Marozia and Theodora the younger. As ambitious as they were beautiful, they obtained the greatest influence in Rome by a prodigal prostitution of their charms. The supreme power in Rome was for a while practically in the hands of these licentious women. "Rome," says a contemporary chronicler,³ "fell under the yoke of women. As we read in the prophet: 'The effeminate shall rule over them'" (Isa. iii. 4). Creatures such as we have described would naturally not stop at anything which would serve their ends. Nothing was sacred to them. Popes, at times members of their own families, and consequently not of a race calculated to produce saints, were made and unmade at pleasure. Sometimes even laymen were intruded into the chair of Peter. For the advantage of the *party* anything was lawful. That men sprung from a family of debauchees, and without any clerical training, should be a scandal to the Church, is no matter for astonishment.

tantæ ecclesiæ prærogativa, solummodo ad libitum, cui placebat vel qui plus manus eorum implebat, donabant; et non solum clericis, sed etiam laicis. Sicque languescente capite infirmabantur et cetera membra in tantum ut non solum altaris ministri secundi ordinis, sacerdotes et levitæ, sed ipsi Pontifices passim 'concubinati' haberentur."

¹ "Nonnulli . . . episcopatum, non divinum, sed hæreditatis putant esse compendium. . . . Hoc non fecit papa Formosus. Non enim hæreditario jure S. R. ecclesiam tenuit." *Invectiva in Romam*, p. 829 f., ap. *P. L.*, t. 129.

² *Cf.* the genealogical chart at the end of this introduction.

Bened. of Mt. Soracte, *Chron.*, n. 30.

The great wonder is that there were not more really bad Popes in this miserable era. Guided by the expressions of the great Cardinal Baronius, many seem to imagine that *all* the Popes of the tenth century were bad. His language is, no doubt, strong enough. "The greatest monsters of cruelty and injustice," he writes in an oft-quoted passage, "arrogated to themselves, during that period, the election of the Roman pontiffs. And, oh, shame! oh, heartbreaking! what monsters did they not force upon that throne of the Apostle which angels regard with reverence! What woes originated from this source; what dark and bloody tragedies! Alas! alas! for the age in which it was reserved for the spouse purchased by the Redeemer in His blood, the spouse without stain or blemish, to be so defiled with the filth thrown upon her as to be made (like her Divine founder) the object of scorn and the laughing-stock of her enemies."¹ With the documents at his disposal, Baronius was, no doubt, justified in making these reflections. But since his time sources have been brought to light which, had the cardinal known them, would have caused him to modify his strictures. Were we, however, to allow that the Popes of this period were as bad as ever they have been painted, what has been said above, which we will now in part repeat in the words even of Gibbon,² must be borne in mind: "These Popes had been chosen, not by the cardinals, but by lay-patrons" . . . and "were insulted, imprisoned, and murdered by their tyrants; and such was their indigence, after the loss and usurpation of the ecclesiastical patrimony, that they could neither support the state of a prince nor exercise the charity of a priest." Further, as there is no question that in any case the Church was in great danger, it may be pointed out, again

¹ Baron., ad an. 900, n. 3, p. 501, ed. Lucca.

² *Decline*, etc., c. 49.

with Baronius,¹ that the fact that the Church (which he compares to the ark of Noah) did not then perish is a striking fulfilment of the promise made to St. Peter that "the gates of hell should not prevail against it."

In fine, all who reflect on the lives of the Popes of the tenth century, especially if they be such as are content with the present position of dependence which has to be endured by the Holy Father in Rome, must ever remember that the history of the Popes of the tenth century "is the history of the Popes deprived of their temporal power."²

Deprived of their temporal power, the Popes of the tenth century lost the patrimonies which had hitherto enabled them "to support the state of a prince and to exercise the charity of a priest." Some of their patrimonies were seized by the powerful, some were freely given away by the Popes themselves to their supporters; while, with regard to others, the supreme pontiffs were, so to speak, forced to fall in with the feudal ideas in vogue at the time, and to grant them to be held in feudal tenure, very often receiving but scant service in return. Hence we see Gregory V. (998) granting to the famous Gerbert, archbishop of Ravenna, and to his successors, not merely the counties of Comacchio and Cesena, but even the city of Ravenna, with its district and all its dues, along with the right of coining money.³ And when, in the eleventh century, the Popes recovered temporal dominion, it was as Princes, and not, for the most part, as proprietors. Their territories became the "Patrimonium beati Petri"

Loss of
the papal
patri-
monies.

¹ Ad an. 900, n. 1, p. 500.

² O'Clery, *History of the Italian Revolution*, p. 27; London, 1875.

³ "Donamus tibi tuæque ecclesiæ districtum Ravennatis urbis, ripam integram, monetam, teloneum, mercatum, muros et omnes portas civitatis." Ep. 14, Greg. V., ap. *P. L.*, t. 137, p. 921. Cf. *infra*, vol. v. p. 102 ff., for the feudal grant of Terracina by Sylvester II. to Daufferius; and p. 96 for the canons of the synod of Ravenna in 898.

in a new sense, and yielded them only what was their due as ruler, and not as owner.¹

The sources of our knowledge of the lives of the Popes in the tenth century.

Without here going into any detail on the subject, we may note that one point cannot fail to impress itself deeply on the mind of the historian as he studies this period. That one point is, that the historical sources for it in general,² and particularly for what relates to those who occupied the chair of Peter during its progress, are most unsatisfactory. Not only have the contemporary papal biographies, which for three centuries have provided us with a reliable source of information, ceased to be forthcoming; not only have even inscriptions, much less collections of inscriptions, ceased to be produced,³ but during the whole of the tenth century no remnant of the pontifical "registers" has come down to us. Indeed, it may be questioned whether they were ever compiled.⁴ In Rome men would seem to have been so much occupied in trying to preserve their own lives or the smallest semblance of order, that they had no time to devote to the production of literary works of any kind.⁵ Hence, apart from the *one-line* contemporary notices which form, as it were, the continuation of the *Liber Pontificalis*, information on many of the Popes of the tenth century can only be procured from writers who were neither strictly con-

¹ Fabre, *De patrimoniis Rom. Eccles.*, p. 109.

² *E.g.*, Lot notes that between 966 and 973 there is only one chronicle for the history of the Carolingians. *Les derniers Carolingiens*, p. xxxi.

³ To this Grisar (*Analect. Rom.*, i. 139) calls attention. He observes that, after the ninth century, inscriptions became ever more rare, and that no traces of collections of inscriptions are to be found till well on into the eleventh century.

⁴ *Cf.* Lapôte, *Jean VIII.*, p. 16.

⁵ So in France Gerbert, who is ever deploring *the times* (*cf.* epp. 139, 147) and the lack of men at once learned and good (epp. 139, 147), writes: "Meliora tempora expecta, quibus valeant resuscitari studia, jampridem in nobis emortua," ep. 152.

temporary nor had any intimate acquaintance with Rome. Hence authentic information about the Popes of this epoch is of the very scantiest, and it may be emphatically laid down that at least the vices attributed to some of the Popes of the tenth century are nothing like so well authenticated as the virtues of those of the ninth. Much of what is said against some of them may be true, but the evidence forthcoming to substantiate it is not enough to bring conviction to a judicial mind.

There is another important point to be borne in mind in this connection, and it is this: the essence of the Papacy, according to the Catholic point of view, is spiritual authority. No promise, it is pointed out, was made by our Lord that St. Peter and his successors should be either good men or temporal rulers. According to Catholic teaching, the line of the Popes was given to the world that through the ages there might be those who could always direct men aright in their spiritual necessities; who could always point out to them the right paths they must follow in their belief and conduct. To the Alpine traveller it is not the virtue of his guide that is to him of the first importance; it is his knowledge of the mountain paths. And if, in the period under discussion, it be proved that the sovereign pontiffs lost at once their virtue and their temporal authority, it is certain that they never failed in their office as spiritual guides to men through the mists and darkness of the mountainous desert of life. With regard to some at least among the Popes of this period it was a case of doing, not as they did, but as they said. Fortunately, among the troubles of this weary period heresy was not one. Neither heresy nor schism added to the difficulties of the Roman pontiffs. They were not called upon to give any important guidance to the Church in what it had to

Essence of
the Papacy,
spiritual
guidance.

believe or practise. No doubt the spiritual influence of the Papacy decreased during the century and a half of which we are speaking, but its spiritual prerogatives, unlike its temporal, did not fail; and at the close of this disastrous period it was to give abundant evidence of its undying life by suddenly manifesting the most astounding vigour in both the spiritual and the temporal spheres. Hence when writers freely speak of the growth or fall of the Papacy, the distinction between its temporal and spiritual side must never be lost sight of. As in a man the body may flourish, pine away, or die while the soul lives on, the Papacy in temporal matters may, as it often indeed has done, show every sign of life, decay, or even death, whereas its spiritual prerogatives always endure. And not only do they merely endure, but, speaking broadly, it would appear that the exercise of these prerogatives, even in non-essentials, has gone on steadily increasing since they were first bestowed on St. Peter. At any rate there can be no question that, at the present day, when the Pope is deprived of the temporal power so necessary for the full and free use of his authority, the exercise of his spiritual power is more far-reaching in its effects than ever it has been before in the history of the Church.

State of
the East.
i. The Near
East.

Though at this period but comparatively slightly connected with the West in matters either spiritual or temporal, the Eastern Empire,¹ if perhaps better governed than the West, still resembled it in many unfortunate particulars. Its Church, united with the See of Rome more in name than in fact, was in a very unsatisfactory condition. Greatly distracted, owing, among other causes, to the fourth

¹ As far as the State was concerned, the victories of John I., Zimisces (963-969), and the terrible Basil II., Bulgaroctonus (963-1025), brought about the last period of growth which was to be known by the Byzantine Empire. The tenth century saw a revival of art also at Constantinople,

marriage of Leo VI.,¹ the Wise, it has been truly said of it that, by the year 963, "the Eastern Church had entered on that period of stagnation in which it lies at the present day."² And the synods held at Constantinople during this dreary age "only prove the sad state of the Eastern Church."³ With regard to the temporal affairs of the Eastern Roman Empire, we find the historian⁴ of Byzantine history in the tenth century making the same complaints about the scarcity of documents as the historian of the Papacy, and equally regretting the impenetrable darkness which covers many of the events he would elucidate.

Even the Far East shared the depression of the West; and the continent of Asia suffered in sympathy with that of Europe. "It is not a little singular," writes Mr. Beazley,⁵ "that at the very same period when the expansive energy of Western Europe, even in pilgrimage, seemed to have become practically exhausted, or at least unfruitful, both the Caliphate and the Celestial Empire should have suffered so severely from social and governmental disorder. The whole world seemed to receive about this epoch a certain lowering of its tide of life."

The annexed tables may well serve as a conclusion to this introduction, wherein we have seen "the more powerful oppress the weak, and men, like fishes of the sea, devouring each other."⁶ It may be hoped that they will be of

¹ He had himself legislated against even third marriages. His disregard both for his own laws and for the canon law of the Greek Church and for the feelings of the people caused a schism.

² Hefele, *Conc.*, vi. 191.

³ *Ib.*, p. 268.

⁴ Cf. *Nicéphore Phocas*, by G. Schlumberger; Paris, 1890. After complaining of "la rareté des documents," Schlumberger continues: "L'histoire du dixième siècle byzantin, comme du reste celle du dixième siècle occidental, est encore enveloppée d'épais brouillards, qui ne se dissiperont jamais complètement," p. ii.

⁵ *Dawn of Modern Geography*, i. 47. Cf. ii. 114.

⁶ *Conc. Trosleianum*, Labbe, ix. 523.

use to the student who wishes to traverse the mazes of the tenth century.

1. SHADOWY KINGS OF ITALY AND NOMINAL EMPERORS FROM THE END OF THE HOUSE OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THE HOUSE OF SAXONY.

	Began to reign.	Elected emperor.	Death.
Berenger I., duke of Friuli	888	915	924
Guido, duke of Spoleto	889	891	894
{ Lambert, son of Guido, associ- ated with Guido	891	crowned 892	898
Arnulf, king of Germany, de- scended into Italy	894	" 896	899
Louis III., the Blind, king of } Provence }	900	901 blinded 905	} c. 923

OTHER VERY FUGITIVE KINGS OF ITALY.

	Began to reign.	Leaves
Rodolf II., king of Transjurane Burgundy	921	Italy 926
Hugo, king of Provence	926	abdicates 945 " 946
Lothaire (son of Hugo), associ- ated in the empire	931	†950
{ Berenger II., marquis of Ivrea, grandson of the emperor Berenger Adalbert his son, elected with his father }	950	Both deposed in pre- sence of Otho I. } 961

KINGS OF GERMANY AND
EMPERORS OF THE ROMANS.

Carolingians—

*Arnulf, 887.

Louis IV., the Child, 899.

The Saxon dynasty—

Conrad I., 911.

Henry I., the Fowler, 918.

*Otho I., the Great, 936.

*Otho II., 973.

*Otho III., 983.

*S. Henry II., the Lamb, 1002.

EASTERN EMPERORS.

The Macedonian dynasty—

Leo VI., the Wise, 886.

Constantine VII., Porphyro-
genitus, 912-958.

Joint rulers, Alexander, 912-913.

Romanus I., Leca-
penus, 919-945.

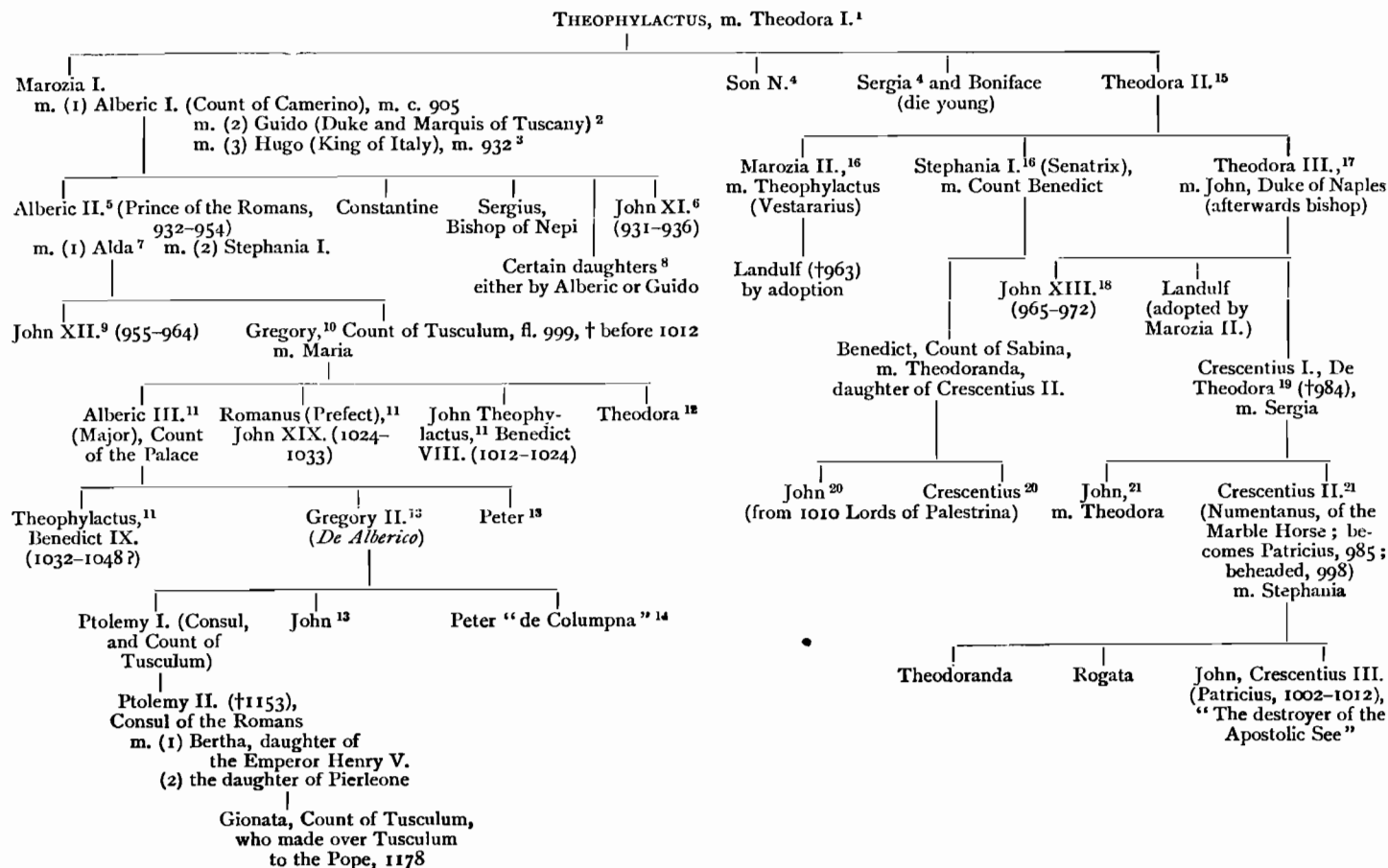
Romanus II., 958-963.

Basil II., Bulgaroctonus, 963-
1025.

Joint rulers, Nicephorus II., Pho-
cas, 963-969.

* An asterisk shows those who were emperors of the Romans,

II GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF THEOPHYLACTUS.



¹ Liutprand, *Antapod.*, ii. 48; Benedict of Soracte, c. 29. In the letter of Vulgarius to Theodora (ed. Dümmler, p. 146) Theophylactus is called Dominus urbis. Cf. another letter to them, ap. Gregorovius, *Rome*, iii. 251 n.

² *Ib.*, iii. 18. ³ *Ib.*, iii. 44.

⁴ Panegy. Berengar., iv., lines 124-5. On Sergia, etc., see the epitaph, ap. Liverani, *Op.*, i. 390.

⁵ Bened., c. 29.

⁶ Frodoard, *Hist. Rem.*, i. iv., ap. *M. G. SS.*, xiii. 580.

⁷ Alda was the wife of Alberic II., Liut., *Ant.*, iv. 3; Frodoard, *Ann.*, 936.

⁸ Cf. ep. to John XI., ap. Pitra, *De epp. Rom. Pont.*, p. 475; Benedict, c. 34; and bulls of Agapitus II. and John XII., ap. *Regest. di S. Silvestro*, p. 272 in *Archivio Rom. di Storia Patria*, 1899.

⁹ John XII. was the son of Alberic II. Cf. *L. P.*, ii. 246-7; Liut., *Legat.*, c. 50; Benedict, etc.

¹⁰ The connection of Gregory of Tusculum with the house of Theophylactus is one of the weak links of my living chain. I have not been able to find satisfactory ancient authority for the relationship assigned to him by various modern authors. While Liverani, *Giovanni X.*, vol. ii. of Liverani's works, pp. 65, 78, gives a *Deusdedit* as the brother of John XII., others, e.g. Fedele, *I conti del Tuscolo ed i principi di Salerno*, p. 8, ap. *Archivio Rom. di Storia Patria*, 1905, make Gregory the son of Alberic II., as I have done.

¹¹ The relationship of these men with Gregory is clear. Cf. *L. P.*, in *vit. Bened.*, viii., etc.; Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv., pt. 1., p. 15 n. In a charter of 1028 (ap. *Archivio Rom.*, 1900, p. 198 f.) appears "Domnus Albericus illustrissimus et clarissimus viro (sic) et comes sacri Lateranensis palatii," who speaks of "his city of Tusculum." Evidently Alberic III. From the *Reg. Farf.*, iii. 150, it is clear he was also "Master of the imperial palace."

¹² Her descent from Gregory is proved by a document in the *Codex diplom. Cavensis* given in full by Fedele, *ib.*, p. 19 f.

¹³ See the epitaph cited *infra*, vol. v. p. 159. Cf. Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, v. p. 584, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, i.; Gregorovius, *Rome*, *ib.*, p. 138 n. In *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 60, mention is made of Gregory, "consul of the Romans," and of his sons Ptolemy and Peter. *Ib.*, iv. 113, the same (?) Gregory is called Gregory "de Alberico"; and in iv. 61 we are told of the marriage of Ptolemy II. to Bertha, and of his father Ptolemy, and his grandfather Gregory.

¹⁴ This is the position assigned him by Duchesne, *L. P.*, ii. 307, n. 15. But Tomassetti (*Della Campagna Romana*, ap. *Archiv. Rom.*, 1886, p. 82) makes him the grandson of Gregory II., through his son Gregory III.

¹⁵ The genealogy of the "Crescentius branch" is less clear than that of the "Alberic and Tusculum" branch. I cannot say who was the husband of Theodora II., nor exactly who were her children. Gregorovius, *Rome*, iii. 358 n., believes that the husband of Theodora II. was the consul Gratian. In assigning her a daughter, Theodora III., I am following certain modern authors, but I cannot find sufficient ancient authority for so doing.

¹⁶ These daughters of the younger Theodora sign a document in the year 945. Gregorovius, *ib.*, 258 n. and 313 n. Marozia II. married Theophylactus, *ib.*, 251 n., and adopted Landulf, a son of Theodora III. Cf. an epitaph, ap. Jungmann, *Dissert.*, xviii. n. 58. Stephania I., who, with her husband, Count Benedict, is mentioned in a deed of gift to the monastery of St. Alexius on the Aventine (987) (*Regest. di S. Alessio*, ap. *Archiv. Rom. di Storia Pat.*, 1904, p. 368), may afterwards have married Alberic II.

¹⁷ Another very weak spot of the "Theophylactus" chain; see n. 15.

¹⁸ John XIII. was the son of a bishop, John, *L. P.*, ii. 252. He granted Palestrina "to his most dear and beloved daughter in the Lord, the Senatrix Stephania" (*i.e.* his aunt, Stephania I.). Cf. Kehr, *Regest. Pont., Roma*, p. 185. He also granted his nephew, Count Benedict, the county of Sabina (*ib.*, p. 186), and gave him to wife Theodoranda, his grand-niece, the daughter of Crescentius Numentanus, "of the Marble Horse." Du Cange, *in voce* "nepos," shows that that word is frequently used for cousin, where especially there is any question of inferiority in age or dignity. Cf. *infra*, p. 285.

¹⁹ Cf. epitaph, ap. Jungmann, *ib.*, n. 57.

²⁰ Cf. *infra*, p. 348; Kehr, *l.c.*, *Latiuni*, p. 63.

²¹ Gregorovius, *Rome*, iii. 386, n. 2. On Crescentius II., see *infra*, p. 348. At the finish, I feel bound to say that, if this genealogical tree is shaken, it is very probable that the "Tusculum" and "Crescentius" branches will break off short at Gregory, count of Tusculum, and Theodora III. respectively. One of the chief causes of difficulty in drawing up a chart of the family of Theophylactus is the constant recurrence of the same names in the same and in different families. Otherwise, it might be possible to identify, for instance, the "illustrissimus puer, Crescentius," who, in a deed of September 17, 985, appears as the son of the "nobilissima femina, Stephania." Ap. *Archiv. Rom.*, 1898, p. 512.

KINGS OF GERMANY AND
EMPERORS OF THE ROMANS.*The Franconian dynasty—*

- *Conrad II., the Salic, 1024.
- *Henry III., the Black, 1039.
- Henry IV., 1056.
- *Henry V., 1106.
- *Lothaire the Saxon, 1125-1138.

KINGS OF ENGLAND.

- Alfred the Great, 872.
- Edward the Elder, 901.
- Athelstan, 925.
- Edmund I., 941.
- Edred, 946.
- Edwy, 955.
- Edgar the Peaceable, 958.
- Edward II., the Martyr, 975.
- Ethelred II., the Unready, 979.
- Edmund II., Ironside, 1016.
- Canute the Great, 1017.
- Harold Harefoot, 1035.
- Hardicanute, 1040.
- S. Edward III., the Confessor,
1043-1066.

* An asterisk shows those who were emperors of the Romans.

EASTERN EMPERORS.

The Macedonian dynasty—

- Joint rulers*, John I., Zimisceus,
969-976.
- Constantine VIII., 1025-1028.
- Romanus III., Argyrus, 1028-
1034.
- Michael IV., the Paphlagonian,
1034-1042.
- Michael V., 1042.
- Constantine IX., Monomachus,
1042-1055.

KINGS OF FRANCE.

- Charles the Fat, 884.
- Charles III., the Simple, 893.
- Louis IV., d'Outremer, 936.
- Lothaire, 954.
- Louis V., 986.
- Hugh Capet, 987.
- Robert, 996.
- Henry I., 1031-1060.

FORMOSUS.

A.D. 891-896.

Sources.—A one-line notice in the *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne, ii. 227), instead of the former regular biographies. (Cf. vol. ii. 354 of this work.)

Of no little importance in connection with the reign of Formosus are the controversial writings of Auxilius and Vulgarius, of whom (after discovering several pamphlets of theirs) Ernest Dümmler penned an account in his *Auxilius und Vulgarius*,¹ Leipzig, 1866. Of these writers the former, Auxilius, a Frank at least by descent, and a citizen of Naples, was ordained priest by Pope Formosus.² When the enemies of Pope Formosus declared his ordinations null and void, Auxilius, feeling that the Pope's cause was his own, took up his pen in his defence. The date of his death is not known, but he "seems to have died as a monk at Montecassino."³ The five following short treatises are

¹ That I know anything of this little work is due to the kindness of my friend W. H. S. Meredith, B.A. (Oxon.), who translated for me part of the German portion of it. Many of the statements made by Dümmler can only be ascribed to the want of a complete understanding of Catholic dogma.

² He says of himself: "Nos autem, qui de longinquis regionibus ad apostolorum limina properamus, sacræ unctionis charismatibus, quæ per illorum pontificem accipientes initiamur, nullatenus a posteriore apostolico expoliari debemus." *In def. s. ord. Form.*, i., c. 11, ed. Düm., p. 73. Cf. *ib.*, c. 9.

³ Balzani, *Early Chroniclers of Europe: Italy*, p. 104.

usually assigned to him; but the fourth is really the work of Vulgarius:—

1. *In defens. s. ordin. P. Formosi*, in two books, written in 908, under Sergius III. (*cf.* ed. Düm., p. 95), ap. Düm., p. 59 f.

2. *Libellus in def. Stephani ep. (Neap.)*, et *præfat. ordin.*; *Ib.*, 96 f.

3. *Libel. de ordinat. a P. Form. factis*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 129, 1054 ff. Dümmler gives a fuller edition, pp. 107–116.

4. *Libel. super causa et negot. Form.*; seu *Libel. cujusd. inquirerent.*, *P. L.*, *ib.*, p. 1103 ff. This was really written by Vulgarius.

5. *Tractat. qui Infensor et Def. dicitur*, ap. *P. L.*; *ib.*, 1073–1102; written, like No. 3, c. 911, and, like it, dedicated to Leo, bishop of Nola.

The latter, Eugenius Vulgarius, “une mauvaise langue,”¹ flourished between 887 and 928. He was an Italian grammarian, and, like Auxilius, seemingly a citizen of Naples. His *De causa Formos. libellus* (according to Düm., p. 117 f, written in 910; but *cf. ib.*, c. 1, p. 118) was “not only a defence, but a panegyric.” But after he had been incarcerated for a time by the order of Sergius, he abandoned the party of Formosus, and servilely flattered Pope Sergius III. Some suppose he returned to his former allegiance under John X., and credit him with writing the *Invectiva in Romam*, ap. *P. L.*, *ib.*, p. 823 ff.² This tract, drawn up under John X., inveighs against the Romans for their treatment of the body of Formosus, and upbraids them with acting in this case as they have been wont to do from the earliest times, viz., with putting their benefactors to death. As Dümmler found the name of Vulgarius attached to No. 4, that pamphlet should also be ascribed to him, and not to Auxilius, as it used to be on conjecture. It must be borne in mind that the writings both of Auxilius and Vulgarius are party pamphlets.

Something must now be said, at rather greater length, about the most notorious chronicler of the tenth century, Liutprand, bishop of Cremona. Born in Lombardy, towards the year 920, in an “official circle,”—his father had been sent as ambassador

¹ Lapôte, *Jean VIII.*, p. 362.

² If Vulgarius was not at least a priest, he cannot have been the author; for the writer of the *Invect.* says (*sub fin.*): “legatione et sacerdotio Christi fungimur.”

to Constantinople—he was possessed of a fine voice which helped him, as a lad, to gain the favour of King Hugo. When this tyrannical monarch had to quit Italy (945), Liutprand, now a deacon of Pavia, turned to the rising sun, Berenger II., and contrived to bask in the light of his favour also. For some reason, however, he earned the displeasure of Berenger, and had to betake himself to Otho I., from whom he received a gracious reception. Through the influence of Otho he became bishop of Cremona (961), and from that time forth was in the thick of affairs. He went as the ambassador of Otho both to Rome (964, 965, 967) and to Constantinople (968, 971; he had been there already, 949–950). His death seems to have occurred at the beginning of 972. Evidently his career and position pre-eminently fitted Liutprand to become an historian of his own times. And to this he was urged by Recemund, bishop of Elvira, with whom he formed a friendship whilst at the court of Otho (956). Yielding to the bishop's suggestion, he wrote three works, all of which, though incomplete, are still extant. Of these the most important is the *Antapodosis*, or *Book of Retribution*, written, in six books, between the years 958 and 962. It treats of events which occurred throughout Europe during an interval of sixty-two years (888–950). His *Historia Ottonis*, written in obedience to the command of that emperor, treats of affairs “of which he had been an eye-witness from 960 to 964.” Finally, his *Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana* gives a racy account of an embassy which he undertook to the court of Nicephorus Phocas, to ask that the hand of Theophania, the daughter of Romanus II., might be given to the young Otho (II.). On the character of Liutprand and the historical value of his writings a very great deal indeed has been written. Of the lively bishop an equally lively Frenchman writes¹ that he was a wretched Lombard cleric in Otho's pay, who hated everything Roman, because the Romans welcomed with too little enthusiasm the German invasion of their soil. Quite in harmony with this author write Muratori,²

¹ Lucius Lector, *L'élection papale*, p. 44; Paris, Lethielleux.

² He speaks of “le laidezze e maldicenze delle quali è sì vago nella sua storia Liutprando. Prestava egli fede a tutte le pasquinate e a tutti i libelli infamatori di que' tempi, che nè pure allora mancavano,” *Annal.*, ad an. 911.

Rohrbacher,¹ and other distinguished historians. And if, generally, his credit as an historian was formerly rated too low, Balzani² notes "a modern tendency to rate him somewhat above his due." He includes among those who display this tendency, Liutprand's latest editor, Dümmler. We shall probably avoid both extremes if we conclude by allowing that, while perhaps he did not deliberately concoct untruths, he had not that gravity or critical talent required in an historian who would win the confidence of any serious person. With his taste for narrating the obscene, and telling anecdotes, which are often but the repetition of scandalous gossip, he may well be compared to Infessura or Burchard in the fifteenth century. Even Dümmler notes³ his party spirit, and his hatred of Berengarius, and points out that, especially in the earlier books of his *Antapodosis*, where he relied on the narrative of others, and often confused the order of events, he must be corrected by other authors; and that even in the other books it is clear that he *always* attached too much credence to fables and idle reports. These words of the learned Dümmler must convince anyone that Liutprand must be read with great caution. The best edition of the works of Liutprand is that of E. Dümmler,⁴ which is an emended reprint from the *Mon. Germ. SS.*, iii. The *Ant.* and the *Relat.* also, ap. *R. I. SS.*, ii. p. 1, and the *Hist. Ottonis*, ap. Watterich, i.

In the chronicle of the careless and ignorant Benedict, monk of St. Andrew's on Mt. Soracte, finished about 973, there is some grain amid much chaff. His work shows, writes Pertz, that he made the worst use of the best sources. It has been reprinted from the *M. G. SS.*, iii., by Migne, t. 139. A good chronicler is Regino, abbot of Prüm (†915), whose work was continued to 967 by a monk of the monastery of St. Maximinus of Triers, ap. *M. G. SS.*, i.

A fragment of a Greek chronicle of the lives of the Popes, including those from Formosus to John X., is of no great value. It was constantly quoted by the Spanish bishop, Bernard Guido

¹ *Hist. de l'église*, t. 59, vol. xii. p. 430 f.; Paris, 1851.

² *Chroniclers of Modern Europe: Italy*, p. 141.

³ *Præfat.*, p. x. Cf. Jungmann, *Diss.*, xviii.

⁴ Liutprandi, *Op. Om.*, ed. Dümmler; Hannoveræ, 1877

(†1331) in his *Lives of the Popes*, and is not, as Gregorovius erroneously writes, "merely a translation from B. Guido." The fragment was published by Cardinal Mai (*Spicil. Rom.*, vi. p. 599 f.). Guido's *Lives* is in the same volume. Of more value is a catalogue of the tenth-century Popes in a MS. written at the very end of that century. Archbishop Sigeric (of Canterbury) visited Rome in 990. A contemporary MS. gives a short itinerary of his journey, and attached to it is a list of the Popes from John X. to John XV., both inclusive. The catalogue (printed in *The Memorials of St. Dunstan*, Rolls Series) is useful, as it gives us the titular churches to which the Popes had been attached when cardinals. It will be quoted as the *Sigeric Catalogue*. It is also printed in the *L. P.*, ii. p. xv. Of Frodoard; the panegyric, *De laud. Bereng.*; the *Annals of Fulda*, etc., mention has been made in vol. ii. of this work.

Seven of the letters of Formosus may be found, ap. *P. L.*, t. 129, p. 837 f. A few more, *privileges* for the most part, may be found elsewhere; e.g. one for the bishop of Piacenza, first published by Mons. P. Piacenza in vol. vii. (1898) of the *Archiv. Stor. per le Provincie Parmensi*.

Works.—In the first part of his *Auxilius und Vulgarius*, Dümmler says something in a rather bitter way about Formosus and his immediate successors.

EMPERORS AND KINGS OF ITALY.

(See p. 40.)

EMPERORS OF THE EAST.

Leo VI. (the Wise), 886–912.

Early
career of
Formosus.

OF the early career of Formosus (born 816), bishop of Porto, the successor in that see (864) of the deposed Radoald, a Roman¹ and the son of one Leo, enough has already been said in the previous volume. There mention

¹ *Annal. S. Columb.*, an. 882, ap. *M. G. SS.*, i. Cf. *Invect.*, p. 825. "Patronum tuum Formosum papam in tuo ab ipsis cunabulis educatum gremio . . . quem litteris imbuisti," etc. A Corsican tradition makes Formosus a member of the familia Perello, and of the commune Vivario in Corsica.

was made of his embassy (864) to Constantinople on the subject of the election of Photius, and of the great work he performed in converting the Bulgarians to the faith of Christ.

Formosus seems to have erected, during his pontificate, a memento of this latter episode of his life, in the shape of a painting in a little oratory beneath the temple of Claudius, near the church of SS. John and Paul. In this picture our Lord was represented in the midst of SS. Peter, Paul, Lawrence, and Hippolytus. At His feet were depicted a barbarian chief on one side, and Formosus on the other. The painting was discovered in 1689, and a copy of it was published by De Rossi. Even then, though the name was visible, the figure of Formosus himself had faded; and for some time past this interesting monument has become quite obliterated.¹

Formosus enjoyed the confidence of Hadrian II. as he had that of Nicholas I.; and, at first, seemingly, that of John VIII. also. Then, suddenly accused (876) of ambitious scheming with Bogoris, king of Bulgaria, and of aiming at the Papacy, he fled from the face of the angry John, and afterwards swore never to return to Rome. Recalled, however, by Marinus I., and by him absolved from the oath he had unwillingly taken at the council of Troyes in 878,² he was reinstalled in his position as bishop of Porto, consecrated Stephen VI., and was pressed to succeed him.³

“Stephen, the son of Hadrian, having gone the way of all flesh,” says Vulgarius, or whoever was the author of ^{Election of Formosus.}

¹ Direct from Duchesne, *L. P.*, ii. p. 190. Lanciani, *Ruins of Ancient Rome*, p. 355, thinks the figure of Formosus was deliberately obliterated after his condemnation by Stephen (VI.) VII. An illustration of this picture is given in Cabrol's *Diction. d'archéol. chrét.*, p. 105, sub voce *Bains*.

² Aux., *Inf. et Def.*, c. 32.

³ Cf. *supra*, iii. 308.

the *Invectiva in Romam*,¹ "thy bishops and nobles, O Rome, thy clerics too, and the classes (*populus*) and the masses (*vulgi manus*) came together, and going to the episcopal church of the See of Porto, situated within the city, they acclaimed its bishop (Formosus) Pope." The same authority tells us how Formosus refused the high honour which was thus thrust upon him, and fled to the altar of his church, from which he had to be dragged clinging to the altar cloth. The date generally assigned to this event is October 6, 891; but neither the day nor the month are known with certainty.

As Formosus was a bishop already, he was not consecrated again; but, amid the greatest demonstrations of joy, was simply enthroned,² and received the homage of all. He was, at any rate, the genuine choice of the Romans. He was chosen spontaneously by them without any pressure from without,³ and simply on account of his merits—his high birth and the nobility of his character.⁴ He was also seemingly chosen without opposition; for what Liutprand⁵ relates about a counter-election of Sergius

¹ *Invect.*, p. 825-7. "Principes . . . vulgus et scolæ tuæ, ad maximum usque ad minimum, eum elegerunt, acclamaverunt, laudaverunt, et adoraverunt; et episcopi cum sacro Lateranensi ordine inthronizaverunt." Cf. Aux., ed. Düm., p. 62, "Quem (Formosum) clerus et populi Romani summopere studuerunt eligere." Cf. *ib.*, 70; *Annal. Alaman.*, ad an. 891, ap. *M. G. SS.*, i.

² Cf. *Inf. et Def.*, c. 26; *Invect.*, p. 826; the Roman council of 898. "Omnes illum inthronizavimus," ap. Mansi, *Conc.*, t. xviii., p. 221.

³ "Sine cujuslibet gentis obsidione," Aux., ed. Düm., p. 70.

⁴ Can. 3 of the council of Rome (898), held to rehabilitate his memory by John IX. Labbe, ix. 503. Cf. Vulgarius, ap. *P. L.*, t. 129, p. 1106.

⁵ *Ant.*, i. c. 29-30. Gregorovius, misinterpreting the friendly violence spoken of by the *Invect.*, says (iii. 217 n.) that it relates that "Formosus had been raised to the Papal chair by violent means!" And with no other authority but the mistaken Liutprand, he persists in describing Sergius as the opponent of Formosus.

is the result of utter confusion on his part of dates and persons. Sergius opposed John IX. in 897.

Translations from see to see were at this time certainly regarded as uncanonical, but exceptions to the law against them had always been tolerated. A good cause had always been held to be sufficient to justify a translation; and, in the case of Formosus, the Roman council of 898 declared that the satisfactory reason was present.

As the sequel proved, Formosus had many enemies. Some were hostile to him because they were opposed to translations from see to see under any circumstances; others because they thought that he ought to have kept to his oath and not returned to Rome; some, again, because they supposed he had been guilty of intriguing for the archbishopric of the Bulgarians, and others simply because he was not of their faction. Among these last was especially, as we shall see, the ducal, now imperial, house of Spoleto. But none of these parties made any decided move on the death of Stephen (V.) VI. The election of Formosus was unopposed.¹

On the deposition of Charles the Fat (887) the Caro-^{The}lingian empire finally went to pieces. Arnulf, an illegitimate descendant of Charlemagne, possessed himself of Germany and aspired to be recognised as emperor, but had to recognise as kings, Odo, count of Paris, over the West Franks; Boso of Provence or Cisjurane Burgundy; Rodolf of Transjurane Burgundy (*Regnum Jurense*, the Juras and Switzerland); Berengarius of Friuli, and Guido, duke of Spoleto (889), in Italy.

Guido, successful at first over his rival Berengarius, had ^{Formosus and the Empire, 892.}

¹ It would seem that the account given by Darras (*Hist. de l'église*, xix. 193; Paris, 1873) and others of the election of Formosus is not to be relied on, as it largely rests on the twelfth-century chronicle of Zwethl, and on an imperfect understanding of the *Invektiva*.

had himself crowned emperor by Pope Stephen (V.) VI. (891).¹ In the following year, in order to strengthen his hands in his unceasing struggle² against Berengarius, who was still unsubdued in his Duchy of Friuli, he associated his son Lambert with him in the *empire*, and caused³ him to be crowned by Formosus in 892 (April 30?). But though the Pope had at one time⁴ written to Fulk, archbishop of Rheims, and a relative of the house of Spoleto, that he had a father's love for Lambert, and wished to keep an inviolable peace with him, he afterwards found it necessary (893) to invite Arnulf to come and free "the kingdom of Italy and the belongings (*res*) of St Peter" from "bad Christians,"⁵ *i.e.* from the oppression of the two emperors. As emperors the representatives of the house of Spoleto continued to act towards the Popes as they had done when they were merely dukes. They strove to further their interests at the expense of the Holy See.

Fighting, too, had begun again between Guido and Berengarius; and there was no one to check either the Greeks or the Saracens in South Italy. Formosus believed that the presence of a stronger monarch like Arnulf was necessary for the peace of the peninsula. He would be able to curb the grasping ambition of the house of Spoleto, and perchance prevent the further advance of Saracen or Greek.

With the Pope's *missi* to Arnulf went *primores of the kingdom of Italy*, some of them at least of the party of Beren-

¹ Cf. *supra*, iii. 376 ff.

² Formosus, writing in 892 (Frodoard, *Hist. Rem.*, iv. 2), says; "Fatemur, Italiam tunc semel et secundo horrida bella perpressam et pene consumptam."

³ "Lambertus in imperium (a Formoso) coronatus, sicut Wido Augustus pater ejus imperat." *Chron. Casaur.*, R. I. SS., ii., p. ii. 822. Cf. Ep. Form., analysed by Frodoard, *Hist. Rem.*, iv. c. 2, sub fin.

⁴ Frod., *ib.*, c. 3.

⁵ *Annal. Fuld.*, an. 893.

garius. Arnulf received the envoys graciously, dismissed them with presents, and promised to enter Italy.¹ This he did in the early part of 894, before the close of a very severe winter. Success attended his march at first, but fever, which invariably overtook the German armies during their descents upon Italy, fell upon his troops and forced him to return without reaching Rome.²

The death of Guido (894) did not alter the situation, which, as Duchesne notes, was almost that of the year 754. Formosus, Arnulf, and Guido or Lambert stand to each other as did Stephen III., Pippin, and Aistulf. Lambert, now sole emperor, seems to have again forced the Pope to place the imperial diadem on his head.³ But he could not prevent him from a second time sending (895) earnest entreaties to Arnulf to come to Rome. "By the advice of his bishops," the German king complied with the Pope's request, and set out for Italy in the October of the same year.⁴ After overcoming the greatest obstacles, Arnulf at length appeared before the walls of Rome. Here a new and unexpected difficulty presented itself. Instead of finding Rome in the power of the Pope, and its gates thrown open to welcome him, he discovered that the city was in the hands of Ageltruda, the mother of the

Arnulf
enters
Rome.

¹ *Annal. Fuld.*, an. 893.

² *Ib.*, 894.

³ "Wido . . . moritur. Lantbertus, filius ejus, regnum obtinuit, et Romam veniens, dyadema imperii a præsule sedis apostolicæ imponi fecit." Regino, an. 894. "Wido, Italici regni *tyrannus* . . . obiit. Lantbertus eodem modo *regnum invadendo* affectatus est." *Ann. Fuld.*, 894.

⁴ *Ann. Fuld.*, 895. Mgr. Duchesne (*Les premiers temps de l'état pontifical*, p. 152, 3, and p. 156) freely accuses Formosus of playing a double and crafty game in his dealings with the house of Spoleto and Arnulf. But in the absence of exact evidence, the charge can only be made on the French legal axiom that an accused is to be regarded as guilty till he establishes his innocence. But, on the preferable English principle, Formosus must be regarded as guiltless of the accusations made against him by Duchesne till they can be proved.

emperor Lambert, that the gates were all closed against him, and that the Pope was a prisoner. Ageltruda, the daughter of that Adalgisus, duke of Beneventum, who in 871 had seized the emperor Louis II., was one of the many Italian women of this period who distinguished themselves by their daring, if not always by their virtue. Astounded at this unexpected resistance, Arnulf turned to his troops to know what was best to be done. With courageous unanimity they all cried out that the city must be carried by assault. The storming was begun at once. The defenders were driven back from the walls with showers of stones, the gates were battered in with axes, and the walls shaken with rams, and scaled with ladders. By the close of the day "the Pope and the city were freed from their enemies."¹

Arnulf
crowned
emperor,
896.

There went out then to the Ponte Molle to meet the king, and to escort him into the city, "the whole senate of the Romans" and the "school" or colony of the Greeks with banners and crosses. Escorted into the Leonine city with the customary hymns and acclamations, Arnulf was honourably received by the Pope on the steps of the basilica of the Apostles. Formosus then led the king into the church, and "after the manner of his predecessors, anointed and crowned him, and saluted him as Augustus"² (Feb. 22? 896). After arranging various matters, Arnulf received the homage of the Romans in St.

¹ We are here following the spirited account given in the *Annals of Fulda* (an. 896, *M. G. SS.* i. 411)—"apostolico pariter et urbe de inimicis liberato." The account of Liutprand, *Ant.*, i. 25-8, is rejected as obviously inaccurate and fabulous. The same may be said of the version in *De laud. Berengar.*, l. iii. p. 398, ap. *R. I. SS.*, ii. pt. i. Cf. *Annal. Alamannici, et Laubacenses*, an. 896, "Arnolfus Romam vi cæpit," ap. *M. G. SS.*, i.

² *Annal. Fuld.*, *ib.* "Secundum morem antecessorum suorum imperialem consecrationem coronam capiti imponens, Cæsarem Augustum appellavit."

Paul's. The oath of allegiance, which is inserted in the annals of Fulda, shows clearly that the obedience of the Romans to the emperor was to be second to that which they had to pay to the Pope. It runs as follows: "By all these holy mysteries of God, I swear that, saving the honour, obedience (*lege*), and fealty I owe to the Lord Pope Formosus, I will be faithful to the emperor Arnulf all the days of my life; and never will I to his detriment ally myself to anyone, nor ever afford any help to Lambert, the son of Ageltruda, or to his mother herself, towards worldly honour (imperial power); and never will I do anything in any way to hand over this city of Rome to Lambert or his mother Ageltruda."

Ageltruda escaped to Spoleto; but two of the chief nobles of the city were accused of high treason for having aided her to seize the city, and were exiled to Bavaria. Leaving one of his vassals, Farold, to guard Rome, Arnulf advanced towards Spoleto; but, attacked apparently with paralysis, as his father, Carlomann, before him had been (877),¹ he had to withdraw into Bavaria. He never recovered from the stroke, but died on November 29, 899. Before the emperor reached Bavaria, the aged Pope he had come to aid had also died (April 4, 896).²

Nothing could have been more unfortunate for Italy, and especially for Rome and the Papacy, than the departure and death of Arnulf. When his, the only arm capable of keeping anything like order, was withdrawn, not only was the whole country torn with intestine war, but the representatives of moral power in the world became the sport of petty Roman barons. Nothing more strongly justifies the efforts of Formosus in his endeavours to procure the

¹ According to Liutprand, Ageltruda had contrived to get a poisonous draught administered to him. *Antap.*, i. 32.

² *Ib.*, "Die sancto paschæ."

His death.

Results of the departure of Arnulf.

active interference of Arnulf in Roman affairs than the sad events that happened in Rome immediately after his death.

Nine Popes succeeded one another in eight years. Raised to the papal throne by factions, several of them suffered a violent death at the hands of factions. It is and has been the fashion with some authors to blame John VIII. and Formosus for imploring imperial protection, and much is said about their faithlessness to "Italy" by so doing. Much is written not only about the aspirations of national churches, but about the state of national parties at this time. It would, however, all seem to be beside the mark. It presupposes the playing of too high a game of politics for the period. Politics there were, and parties there were, but they were on a petty scale. To introduce our present ideas of European national politics into the tenth century is to convey a total misconception of the then existing state of affairs. Politics and parties were not then affairs of nations, but of individuals grabbing for power, and ready to ally themselves for their own ends with any one, Christian or heathen, or whether he spoke the same *patois* as they did or not. As yet there were no more formed nations than there were formed languages.¹ Europe was then aristocratic, feudal, and local, not national.

¹ This view is, I find, certainly that of some German historians. "Arnulf's visit to Italy, the first so termed pilgrimage to Rome . . . has been regarded as a misfortune, because visits to Rome became from this period customary, and ever proved disastrous to the empire. But judgment ought to be given according to the difference of times and circumstances. The union between the people of Lombardy and of Rome was not so close at that time as it became at a later period, no Italian national interest had as yet sprung up in opposition to that of Germany, the Italians were uninfluenced by a desire of separating themselves from the empire as in later times, but were rather inclined to assert their right over it. Guido, who was connected with the Carolingians, attempted to turn the separation which had taken place between the northern nations to advantage, and appropriated to himself the title of emperor; and, as far as these circumstances are concerned,

Before we turn to relate what is known of the ecclesiastical doings of Formosus, there still remains something to be said of his political action. On the death of Charles the Fat, the nobles of France, passing over a posthumous son (Charles IV., the Simple) of Louis the Stammerer, elected Count Eudes or Odo, the valiant defender of Paris against the Normans (885), to be their king. He was supposed to rule over the country between the Meuse and the Loire. But in the reign of this Pope certain of the nobles, probably¹ as much to make head against the power of Eudes as from loyalty to the Carolingian dynasty, chose the boy, Charles the Simple, king (893).

Formosus
and
Charles
the Simple
894 (?).

Fulk, archbishop of Rheims, was the chief supporter of Charles, and succeeded in attaching to him the interest of Arnulf, an illegitimate Carolingian, and of Pope Formosus. The sympathies of a Pope were naturally with a scion of the house of Charlemagne; and Fulk did not fail, by drawing a strong picture of the vices of Eudes, to endeavour to arouse them in behalf of his protégé. He obtained from Formosus in Charles's interest several letters, of which Frodoard has preserved the outlines; and that too, though at the time he had his hands full with the house of Spoleto. Besides writing to Fulk to instruct him how he was to behave towards Eudes, the Pope adjured that prince no longer to molest King Charles in his person or property, but to grant a truce till Fulk could come to Rome. The bishops of France were at the same time invited to warn Eudes not to usurp what belonged to another, and to grant the truce. The young Charles was congratulated on

Arnulf's visit to Italy appears to be justified." Thus writes W. Menzel (*Hist. of Germany*, i. 302, Bohn's English ed.) from a German point of view. Cf. Lot, *Les derniers Carolingiens*, p. 168 ff.; Paris, 1891. "Quand on lit l'histoire du haut moyen âge et du X^e siècle en particulier on est étonné de l'absence d'idée politique," etc.

¹ Cf. *Ann. Vedast.*, an. 893, ap. *M. G. SS.*, i.

his elevation to the throne, and on the devotion which he had expressed to the Holy See. He was also instructed as to how he was to rule. And as a pledge of his affection Formosus sent the young king the blessed bread which he had asked for.¹

At first no success attended the efforts of Formosus. Not only did the fighting between Charles and Eudes continue, but Arnulf took advantage of these troubles to harry that part of the country which was in the hands of Charles. Robbed by both Arnulf and Eudes, Fulk implored the Pope to order Arnulf by his apostolic authority not only not to harass Charles, but, on the contrary, to help him as one relative ought to help another. He also prayed Formosus to threaten Eudes with ecclesiastical censure, but pointed out to him that, in the present disturbed state of the kingdom, he could not come to Rome. The one thing which the archbishop had at heart was peace—not, as he told the Pope, because Charles's party was the weaker, but lest the resources of the kingdom should be so exhausted by war that it would become an easy prey to the Normans. The efforts of the Pope and the archbishop were at length crowned with success. First a truce was concluded between the two rivals, and then a final peace on the basis which Fulk asked the Pope to suggest to Eudes and the great ones of the kingdom. Charles was to succeed, on the death of Eudes, to the kingdom which was his by hereditary right, and meanwhile a partition of the kingdom was to be made, and a suitable portion assigned to Charles²

¹ Frod., *Hist. Rem.*, iv., c. 2, 3. Cf. his poem *De Christi triumphis*, l. xii., c. 5 :

“Bellorum motus per Francica regna coercens
Primates monet ecclesiæ certare labore,
Totius curæ madeant ne regna cruore,
Christicolæ reges bellisve armentur iniquis.”

² Frod., *ubi supra*.

(896). Becoming sole king in 898 by the death of Eudes, Charles distinguished himself, as we have seen, by granting Normandy to the Northmen (911), kept the semblance of kingship till 923, and died in 929. The share of Pope Formosus in bringing about this peace, so important for France, is often passed over.¹

From the very first months of his pontificate, Formosus turned his attention to the Church in France. He nominated as his vicar, in accordance with occasional precedents, the archbishop of *Vienne*, Bernoin (Barnoinus), the brother of King Boso,² and did what he could to remedy evils which seemed to be on the increase. Everywhere among both clergy and laity was the spirit of personal aggrandisement rampant. Simple bishops were striving for the honour of using the pallium, while lay nobles were seizing the property of the Church.³ To put some check on the rapacity of the nobles, Formosus issued a sentence of excommunication against the powerful Richard, duke of Burgundy, brother of Boso, and one of the supporters of Charles the Simple against Eudes, and against Manasses, count of Dijon, and others. At the same time he ordered⁴ Fulk of Rheims to repeat the sentence against them. They are denounced by the Pope for having, amongst other crimes, been guilty of putting out the eyes of Theutbald, bishop of Langres, and of casting Walter, archbishop of Sens, into prison (896). For the same purpose, Formosus had already sent two bishops, Paschal and John, into France. By the order of the Pope, these legates presided at a council held at

Formosus
and the
Church of
France.

¹ *E.g.* by Kitchin, *Hist. of France*, i. 173.

² "Formosus vices suas Barnoino commisit." Hugh of Flavigny in *Chron.*, l. i., ap. Pertz., viii., or *P. L.*, t. 154, p. 171. Hugh wrote at the very beginning of the twelfth century. His chronicle reaches to A.D. 1102.

³ Frodoard, *Hist. Rem.*, l. i., c. 1 and 2.

⁴ *Ib.*, and Hugh of Flav., *ubi supra*.

Vienne (892), where various canons were issued, condemnatory of the usurpations of Church property, and of the outrages offered to clerics.¹ To restrain the ambition of certain bishops, on the other hand, Formosus authorised Fulk to convoke a synod and pass suitable decrees on this subject in the Pope's name.² But whether such a synod was ever held, or another one which the Pope himself had ordered to meet at Rome in March 893, is not known. Fulk of Rheims had been summoned to the latter, which was to be held to avert the ruin with which the Roman Church was threatened, to take measures concerning the troubles in the Eastern Church, and to deliberate concerning a schism among the bishops of Africa, in connection with which deputies had come to Rome to seek a decision.³

An embassy to Formosus from Africa.

The following extract from Neale⁴ will show how it is that we are unable to furnish any details about the embassy from Africa here spoken of; though, at the same time, it furnishes a reason why such an embassy might well have been sent. "Of Chail II., the Catholic Patriarch (of Alexandria), history has preserved no particulars after the legation of Cosmas to assist in the re-establishment of Photius. He departed this life after an episcopate of more than thirty years (903), and the see remained vacant. He had been long preceded to the grave by his namesake (Chail III.), the Jacobite Patriarch (899), and that see also remained vacant. This double vacancy seems to point to some persecution or affliction which both communions

¹ Labbe, ix. p. 433, "Jussu D. Formosi."

² Frod., *Hist. Rem.*, iv., c. 1.

³ *Ib.*, c. 2. "Formosus monet eum (Fulconem) compati debere Romanæ ecclesiæ, atque imminenti ejus subvenire ruinæ." The action of Formosus in the matter of the Photian schism has been explained under the *Life* of Stephen VI.

⁴ *Patriarchate of Alexandria*, ii. 174.

equally shared ; but such is the ignorance or carelessness of the historians of the period, that we are unable to detail its nature, cause, or duration."

Despite the difficulties and dangers of getting to Rome at this period, it was the pressure of similar difficulties and dangers at home that caused men to betake themselves thither, and to appeal for the protection of the Pope. Although at this time there were many whom no fear of God or of man would restrain, there were still left some who, if they feared not man, yet revered God, and the one whom they regarded as His vicar on earth, the Pope of Rome. Everything that was under his protection was sacred in their eyes. At all times, even during the darkest hours of this dark night of the Papacy, even when the occupant of the papal throne was personally unworthy of anyone's honour, men came to Rome to beg the Pope to cast his protecting mantle over them and theirs. Octavian might be despicable, but Pope John XII. was the Vicar of Christ.¹ In the reign of Formosus several abbots came to Rome to beg him to take their monasteries under his special protection.² One, the abbot of Gigny, took the precaution of offering to the Pope the monastery which he and a relative of his had founded out of their own resources, "in order that it might remain immune."³ Servus Dei, bishop of Gerona in Spain, came to Rome to beg Formosus "to confirm by

¹ "It is remarkable that the first papal bulls confirming to episcopal sees freedom of election date from the end of the ninth century, and that during the tenth century the custom spread of obtaining from the Holy See such confirmatory bulls." Cf. Imbart de la Tour, *Les élections épisc.*, p. 201.

² Ep. i. Abbot Adalric came to Rome, says the Pope, to ask "ut ipsum venerabile monasterium una vobiscum apostolica muniremus auctoritate." Cf. ep. 7.

³ Ep. 7. The deed (*testamenti pagina*) by which he offered his monastery to Formosus, was entrusted by him to the Pope's care. Cf. ep. 4.

a privilege of his apostolic authority (*confirmationis*)" the goods of his church.¹

In connection with this bull, it is interesting to note with Omont that it is still in existence. The most ancient papal bulls actually extant date only from the beginning of the ninth century. Up to the commencement of the eleventh century they were all written on papyrus,² of from one to several yards in length. Their great size, and the fragile nature of the material on which they were written, are enough to explain how it is that only twenty-three such bulls have come down to us. While Spain boasts ten of them, France eight, Italy three, and Germany two, it appears that England does not possess a single one.³

Fulk of
Rheims.

Amongst the fragmentary correspondence in connection with his church which Frodoard has preserved for us, he has left enough to show that even Fulk of Rheims, who was generally on the right side, striving hard for reform along with the Popes, could be guilty of tyranny, and stand in need of papal correction. Heriland, bishop of Thérovanne, presumably a friend of Fulk, driven from his diocese by the ravages of the Normans, fled to the archbishop of Rheims. Fulk temporarily placed him in charge of a diocese which at the moment happened to be without a bishop, and wrote to ask the Pope to confirm Heriland in its possession. He at the same time asked Formosus to give as successor to Heriland a man who

¹ Ep. 4.

² If by chance they were not written on papyrus (*charta Romana*), the attention of correspondents was specially called to the fact. Cf. ep. 4 of John X., ap. *P. L.*, t. 132, p. 804.

³ H. Omont, *Bulles pontificales sur papyrus, IX^e-XI^e siècles*, p. 2. I have to thank Mons. Omont for kindly sending me this interesting pamphlet, which contains a complete list of these venerable documents, which have for a long time engaged the attention of students of diplomatics and paleography. *Ib.* p. 3.

from his birth and knowledge of their tongue would be more acceptable to the barbaric people who occupied Heriland's late diocese. When, however, it came to the Pope's ears that Fulk had, in giving the see, "like a benefice" (*beneficiali more*), to Heriland, set aside a lawfully elected candidate, and had even sent the said candidate into exile when he wished to turn to Rome for justice, Formosus sent him an order, "peremptory indeed, but fraternally expressed," to appear before¹ him. With the issue of this, as of so many other affairs at this period, we are unacquainted.

Similarly, though we know that this Pope had relations with this country, the unsatisfactory nature of the historical data of the period leaves us very much in the dark in connection with them. Among a number of documents which Eadmer, the disciple and friend of S. Anselm (†1137), describes² as in part obliterated through age, and, in part from the material on which they were written (papyrus), quite worn away, he found a letter³ of Pope Formosus to Plegmund, and he has cited a few lines of it.

Formosus
and
England.

Rome was at this period very well acquainted with the

¹ Frod., *Hist. R.*, iv. 3.

² "Hæc (privilegia) in Archivis Ecclesiæ Dni. Salvatoris reperta. . . . Sed aliquibus eorum nimia vetustate obliterated, aliquibus in cartis ex biblo (papyrus) compositis, et peregrinis characteribus inscriptis, et ipsis quoque ex majori parte detritis," etc. *Hist. Nov.*, l. v. p. 126 f., ed. 1623.

³ This is the last of the series of papal letters given in Malmesbury (*De Gest. Pont.*, l. i.) of which the genuineness is called in question (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii., 65 n.). But, in view of the description of the documents given above by Eadmer, and of the well-known fact that at this period a very large proportion of papal documents were written on papyrus, and hence have to such a large extent perished, Lingard (*Anglo-S. Ch.*, i. 80 n.) was no doubt right in admitting "the authenticity of the letter . . . on the authority of Eadmer." And this the more justly that the series is in harmony with the letter of John VIII., which is to be found in his authentic register.

condition of things in England. Each year from 887 to 890 the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records the sending of alms or letters to Rome. The country, owing to the ravages of the Danes, was in a sorry plight, whether looked at intellectually and morally or physically. But in his kingdom of Wessex the great Alfred was making heroic exertions to improve the state of affairs. Doubtless with a view to seconding his efforts, Formosus made persistent efforts to rouse the bishops of the country to more energetic action. That he was well supported by Plegmund, one of the able and good men whom Alfred had gathered round him, appears from the following letter of the Pope to the bishops of England, which Malmesbury has preserved for us (895):—"When we had heard that the abominable rites of the pagans had revived in your country, and that like dumb dogs you kept silent, we were minded to cut you off from the body of the Church. But, as we have learnt from our beloved brother, Plegmund, that you have at last aroused yourselves . . . we send you the blessing of God and St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and beg you to persevere in the good work you have begun. . . . Suffer not the flocks entrusted to your charge to be any further injured by a dearth of pastors. But when one dies, let another fit candidate be forthwith canonically elected to replace him on the motion of the primate. And he, as you well know, is our venerable brother Plegmund, whose dignity we will not suffer to be in any way lessened, but nominate him our vicar . . . and by the authority of God and of blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, we command all to obey his canonical dispositions."¹

What was the result of this letter is not satisfactorily known. The issue of the affair, as stated by Malmesbury,²

¹ Ep. For., ap. Malms., *ubi supra*, ed. P. L., t. 179, p. 1471.

² *De Gest. Reg.*, ii., § 129.

is clearly, to say the least, inaccurate, as he makes Formosus write in 905 to Edward, the son and successor of Alfred.¹ However, out of the chaos of the statements on the subject two facts may be plucked. The Pope's recommendations relative to the bishoprics were carried out at last, somewhere about 909, in the reign of Sergius III.; and about the same time Plegmund went to Rome "and took the alms for the people and for the king," says² the nobleman chronicler, Ethelwerd. No doubt he also went to confer with the Pope on the "bishopric question,"³ though the action which Malmesbury attributes to Formosus must, with our later historians, be assigned to Sergius. At a council called together by Edward, and presided over by Plegmund, five new bishoprics, making seven in all, were established among the West Saxons. After the council Malmesbury tells us how "with splendid presents" Plegmund went to Rome (evidently the mission spoken of by Ethelwerd) and "with great humility pacified the Pope. He then read to him the decrees of the king, with which the Pope (*i.e.*, Sergius) was greatly pleased." They were then duly confirmed by him, and such as should attempt to interfere with them were condemned.

Incidents such as this let us see how the unceasing exhortations, threats, and praises of the Roman pontiffs greatly helped to preserve the nations of the West from sinking back into the barbarism from which their ministers had first drawn them.

¹ Formosus died in 896. Rule, in the *R.S.* ed. of Eadmer, p. 271, gives as a "probable emendation of nongentesimo quinto," "quinto de nongentesimo, *i.e.*, 895." Alfred was still king of England in 895.

² *Chron.*, an. 908. Count Ethelwerd died probably at the close of the tenth century. Cf. an entry in his *Missal* (pp. 1-2) by Leofric, first bishop of Exeter (1050); ed. Warren, Oxford, 1883.

³ Cf. also *Hist. of the Church in England*, Flanagan, i. 197.

The
Church in
Germany.
The sees
of Bremen
and
Hamburg.

Formosus had also to intervene in the ecclesiastical affairs of Germany, in a case which had been begun under his predecessor. When Hamburg had been burnt by the Danes (845), Pope Nicholas¹ had joined its see to that of Bremen, and exempted the combined see of Hamburg-Bremen from the jurisdiction of the archiepiscopal see of Cologne. The loss of Bremen had never pleased the archbishops of Cologne; and Herimann made an attempt to recover the former rights of his see over it. This was during the episcopate of Adalgarius, who, according to a later writer,² "received the pastoral staff from King Arnulf, and the pallium from Pope Stephen" (VI.). The dispute was referred in the first instance to Pope Stephen, who ordered³ (890) both parties to send delegates to Rome. As only the representatives of Adalgarius, and then Adalgarius himself, presented themselves at Rome, Stephen decided not to settle the matter out of hand himself, "lest the affair might spring up again and the quarrel wound fraternal charity." But he ordered Fulk, archbishop of Rheims, to convoke in his name a synod to meet at Worms, "in the month of August, on the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, in the forthcoming tenth indiction" (892). At this synod both Herimann and Adalgarius were commanded to present themselves,⁴ and the Pope engaged to settle the question once for all on the report of Fulk. Before the time fixed for the holding of the synod, Stephen was no more. Formosus, however, adhered to what had been decreed by Stephen, and ordered Herimann to present himself at the council, and then, along with

¹ Cf. vol. ii. pp. 126, 271 of this work.

² Adam of Bremen (l. i., § 48), who wrote, in the second half of the eleventh century, a valuable work on the history of the bishops of Hamburg, ap. *P. L.*, t. 146.

³ Ep. 12, ap. *P. L.*, t. 129, p. 800.

⁴ Ep. 32, *ib.* Cf. *Frod., Hist. R.*, iv. 1.

